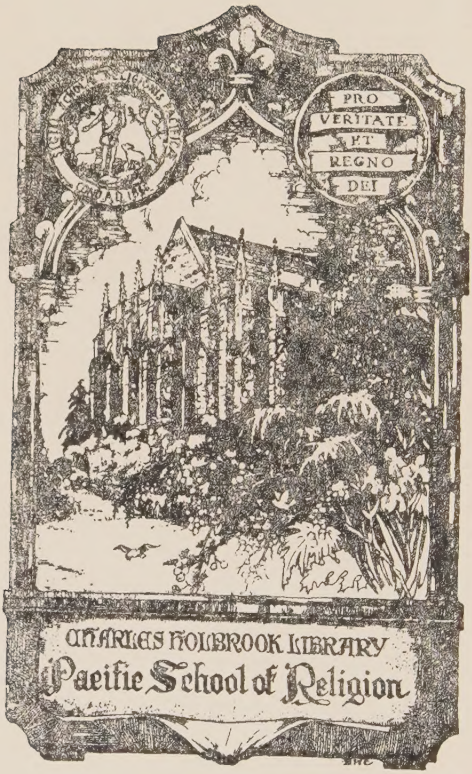
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TEXTS AND STUDIES

CONTRIBUTIONS TO

BIBLICAL AND PATRISTIC LITERATURE

EDITED BY

J. ARMITAGE ROBINSON B.D.

FELLOW OF CHRIST'S COLLEGE CAMBRIDGE

NORRISIAN PROFESSOR OF DIVINITY

VOL. II.

A STUDY OF CODEX BEZAE
THE TESTAMENT OF ABRAHAM
APOCRYPHA ANECDOTA

CAMBRIDGE

AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS

1893

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CODEX BEZAE

A STUDY OF THE SO-CALLED WESTERN TEXT OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

BY

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"Quis enim sanae mentis homo Cod. D sequatur?"

MATTHAEI.

"The Codex Bezae sets criticism at defiance."

MIDDLETON.

"The singular Codex."

ELLICOTT.

PREFACE.

THE present treatise is the result of an attempt to solve the textual enigmas which recur so constantly in the pages of the Codex Bezae. We are advised by Dr Hort that "knowledge of documents must precede final judgment about readings"; and certainly there never was a text where our knowledge was so imperfect, and where a right understanding was so imperative. The Codex Bezae in some passages shews an accuracy of transcription which is quite exceptional; in others it displays a laxity of reading which is simply appalling. Everyone knows and admits this, but no one has found a scientific method for separating the precious from the vile, "the good fish from the other fry."

I have therefore undertaken to re-examine the manuscript and write the life-history of its text: and in doing this I have found that what I had long suspected but scarcely dared to say was indeed true; namely, that the textual critics of modern times have in certain directions overbuilt their foundations, and run ahead of their proofs. And it will be seen from the following pages that if New Testament criticism is to progress with any confidence, we must retire in order to advance; we must go back again to positions clearly defined by Mill and Wetstein, deserting the theories which underlie the majority of the texts published in later days.

I can well believe that the mere suggestion of the necessity of a backward step in criticism will be received by many with an incredulous smile: they will say what Dione said of Diomed,

νήπιος, οὐδὲ τὸ οἶδε κατὰ φρένα Τυδέος υἱός,
ὅττι μάλ' οὐ δηναιὸς ὃς ἀθανάτοισι μάχηται.

To such I can make but this reply: that every other textual hypothesis has been worn threadbare before it has been discarded: that I have adopted the present theory only after a long and careful investigation: and that I am confident that it will be found that the present re-statement of an ancient interpretation will lead to a permanent simplification of the perplexities of the New Testament text.

CHAPTER I.

Introductory Notes on the Codex Bezae.

It may be assumed that the search after the primitive form of the books of the New Testament, and in particular of the four Gospels, will demand the service of many minds, that have undergone very diverse forms of training. There must be a wide acquaintance with languages, if we are to understand the bearing of the Versions upon the restoration of the text, and give their evidence the right weight; there must be a keen Semitic feeling which is able to distinguish the Syriasm imported by a translator from that which belongs to the primitive apostolic idiom, or to restore the latter against editorial refinement; there must be a close study of the palaeography of the scripts which are involved in the problem; and this study must further be balanced by an acquaintance with the laws of phonetic change, so that we may not refer rare forms, when we meet with them, to mere accident or to the negligence of scribes. And in the grouping of the evidence and the estimation of the relative value of the possible solutions of the problem, a quick imagination must be side by side with a subtle reasoning power on the judgment-seat. It is too much to expect that all of these forms of fitness for critical work should be found in one person or in one school: each of the great New Testament scholars has his weak side; every successive school persists in neglecting some part or other of the evidence: and yet in spite of the slow steps by which the Textual Criticism of the New Testament is advancing, we are satisfied that it will not be long before resolute and patient labour will pluck the heart out of some of the mysteries which characterize the subject: the fields being white to the harvest, we may congratulate ourselves that the reapers are also ripening.

The object of this tract is to supply the workers with some fresh suggestions as to the handling of the central problem of the criticism of the New Testament, viz. the origin and meaning of the so-called Western Text. It is recognized that the earliest Eastern and Western witnesses to which we have access are characterized by a family likeness in their evidence: the Old Latin and the Old Syriac Versions of the Gospels bear witness to the diffusion of such a type of text in early times as we find in the Greek of the Codex Bezae: but all speculation as to the origin of this eccentric text has hitherto been unfruitful; we have run up against a dead wall, and to all appearance the wall is a pretty thick one. No one knows how this Western text came into being: we can indeed see it gradually corrected out of existence, or absorbed into revised texts both in the East and West; but its genesis is an enigma. It is clearly not altogether apostolic, for the interpolations which it contains resist such an inference; yet we cannot prove that it is unapostolic, for its antiquity is indisputable. Nor has the problem been rendered much easier by the recovery of the literature connected with the Tatian harmony: we may be sure that Tatian's text was Western, but whether it was Western in cause or effect, or both in cause and effect, is still unknown.

Now, in order to make the investigation a little easier, I propose to attack the question just at the hardest point: to make a new examination of the Western text in its leading monument, the great Cambridge manuscript, known as Codex Bezae, and to challenge it once again to tell its history.

The Codex Bezae in the Sixteenth Century.

It is well known that there have been very diverse opinions as to the origin of the MS. itself, to say nothing as to the origin of the text. Kipling, who edited the text so excellently for his day, was of opinion that the MS. had an Egyptian origin: in this belief he was followed by Schulz, who emphasised the same view in a valuable little dissertation on the subject. On the other hand, the moderns usually follow Scholz and Scrivener in the

opinion that the MS. is of Gallican origin, the Greek text being occasionally affected by Latin forms[1], and the Latin translation being vitiated by all sorts of decaying modes of speech, which intimate that the scribe was writing in the provinces, probably to the west of the Alps, and at a time when the Latin speech was breaking up. So that it is generally held that the Codex Bezae was written in the Rhône Valley, probably at Lyons where, according to Beza, it was found; and that it never was out of France (unless it be for a possible visit to the Council of Trent, whither it is said to have been carried by a French bishop) until it was presented by Beza to the University of Cambridge in the year A.D. 1581. And while the reasons for these conclusions are not perfectly decisive, they are cumulative and in the main convincing. Accordingly I shall not repeat in detail the arguments, which may be found in Scrivener's edition of the MS. or in any good textual handbook: our task lies in another direction. I am willing to grant the hypothesis of the Gallican origin of Codex Bezae as a basis upon which to build: if the foundation be a rotten one, the edifice will soon betray the fact. It may be further admitted that the MS. which Beza presented to the University of Cambridge is the same as the MS. which is quoted in the margin of Robert Stephen's New Testament of A.D. 1550 under the sign β, and which Stephen affirms to have been collated by certain of his friends in Italy: and it is possible that this identification may lead to the further admission, to which allusion was made above, that the Codex Bezae was carried to the Council of Trent in 1546 by William à Prato the bishop of Clermont in the Auvergne. But this point must be reserved for a closer examination. It is sufficient here to say that such a supposition at once explains the difficulty as to how a Lyons MS. could be collated in Italy.

But, while making these preliminary admissions, I do not admit that Beza ever recognized his own MS. in the β of Stephen; nor again, as Gregory[2] following Scrivener[3] asserts, that Beza had

[1] Such as λεπρωσος, φλαγελλωσας and the like, which might be expected from a Latin scribe writing a bilingual copy.

[2] *Prolegg. in Tischendorf*, pp. 213, 214.

[3] *Codex Bezae*, p. ix, note 3.

access to the collations of Henry Stephen. This last idea is a misunderstanding based on the prefaces of Beza's New Testament, which speak of a collation by Henry Stephen of all the good editions and of 25 MSS. But an examination of the annotations of Beza in his edition of 1598 will shew the following points: (1) that Beza quotes the sixteen authorities of Stephen from the margin of the edition of 1550, and treats them as sixteen MSS., although one of the authorities (α) is the Complutensian polyglott: (2) he numbers the authorities which he quotes as Stephen had numbered them; (3) he quotes the Codex Bezae and the β of Stephen as two distinct authorities: (4) the only other authorities which he uses are the Codex Claromontanus, and another MS. which had recently come into his possession. To establish these points it is only necessary to give a few instances. If we take the annotations to the 14th chapter of Matthew, we have

v. 2. *Iste*, Οὗτος. In secundo codice scriptum erat, *μήτι οὗτος*, id est, Num iste?

Baptista, ὁ Βαπτίστης. Veteres duo codices additum habent, *ὃν ἐγὼ ἀπεκεφάλισα*, id est, quem ego decollaui.

Here a reference to the margin of Stephen shews

μήτι. β.
ὃν ἐγὼ ἀπεκεφάλισα. β. δ.

v. 12. *Corpus*, *σῶμα*. Quoddam exemplar legit *πτῶμα*, id est cadauer, sicut etiam loquitur Marcus 6, 29. Praeterea in quibusdam codicibus additur relatiuum *αὐτοῦ*.

Here Stephen notes

πτῶμα. η.
αὐτοῦ. θ. ιδ'.

v. 19. *Et acceptis*, *καὶ λαβών*. Particula *καὶ* non erat in vetustis codic. neque reperitur in Vulgata versione.

Where Stephen notes against the *καὶ*

\ἐν πᾶσι (\=deest).

v. 22. *Praeire sibi*, *προάγειν αὐτόν...* In quibusdam codicibus deest *αὐτόν*. Rursus in aliis legitur *προάγειν* sed mendosé.

Here there is no note in Stephen; *quibusdam codicibus* stands either for *quodam codice*, viz. the Codex Bezae: or for the Codex Bezae together with some other unknown copy. *προάγειν* (2°)

must be meant either for *προσάγειν*, which I cannot find the authority for, or for *προάγιν*, which is the spelling in Cod. Bezae. But as the itacism would surely not have been noticed, it is probably the former. The note is very confused.

v. 34. *Gennesaret*, Γεννησαρέτ. In duobus exemplaribus legimus Γεννησαρὰ, Gennesara. In alio quodam, Γενησαρέθ, Genesareth.

Compare with this Stephen's margin

γεννησαρά. β.
γεννησαρέθ. γ.

It will be seen that the Codex Bezae appears in Beza as *duo exemplaria*, viz. D and *β*.

In the same way the famous interpolation concerning the man working on the Sabbath Day (Luke vi. 4) is referred to by Beza as found

in quodam exemplari et meo vetustissimo.

When Beza comes to the interpolation in John vi. 56, he does not notice that the passage is in his own beloved *vetustissimus*, but, seeing it quoted on the margin of Stephen as from *β*, he makes the following disgraceful note:

v. 53... Caeterum in uno codice vetusto mirum hîc quiddam deprehendimus. Nam post *ἐν ἑαυτοῖς*, qui est finis versiculi 53, adscripta haec erant,... Haec ego sicut temere non expunxerim, ac praesertim priorem partem, quae totidem verbis alibi repetitur; ita non facile admiserim, quum in uno illo exemplari sint a nobis reperta. Certe alteram partem suppositam esse suspicor, quia simile nihil alibi invenio. Neque enim usquam fit mentio sumendi corporis, praeterito sanguine; et exemplar illud, unde haec desumpsimus, fuerat in Italia collatum, ubi facile fuit aliquid subiicere in Bohemorum (id est Evangelii) odium.

Similar distinction between Stephen's *β* and Cod. D may be seen in the case of the interpolations in Acts vi. 10 (*in meo vetustissimo et alio praeterea manuscripto*); in xvi. 35, which is quoted only from Stephen; and in xvi. 40, where Beza adds to Stephen's testimony the words, *et in meo vet. exemplari*. How closely his *apparatus* is identified with Stephen's may be seen in many cases: e.g. John xiii. 2, where Stephen merely says

γινομένου. β.

which Beza gives as

in vetustis codicibus omnibus, uno duntaxat excepto.

The foregoing specimens are sufficient to shew the accuracy of Hug's statements (*Introduction*, § lviii.), who shews reasons to believe that Beza's *apparatus* coincides closely with that of Stephen.

In fact Hug shews that, when in the first Bezan edition (A.D. 1565) we find that Beza used a collation of 25 MSS. (more or less) from the library of Stephen, we are to correct 25 to 15 (XV. for XXV.), and understand by this the *apparatus* on the margin of Stephen, with a possible deduction for the use of the Complutensian polyglott. In the second edition we have (A.D. 1576) seventeen MSS.; and this means the fifteen (or sixteen) of Stephen, *plus* either the Cod. Bezae or the Claromontanus or both. In the fourth edition, Beza has nineteen authorities, viz. the sixteen of Stephen, the Cod. Bezae, the Cod. Claromontanus, and another MS., which he says had recently come into his possession (e.g. in Matt. xxviii. 20 we have the note "caeterum in vetustissimo manuscr. codice, quem nuper sum nactus, sic ista scripta inueni" etc.). It will be seen that it is very doubtful whether we ought to take literally the statement that Beza handled the actual collations of Henry Stephen; these fifteen or sixteen collations could not have been contained in a single book, except in a printed book. And this means that if Beza handled anything, it was Stephen's text of A.D. 1550, with possibly a few additional notes. Hug is probably right in saying that "Stephanus scattered the various readings in his margin for that one, among his purchasers, who, at a future time, might desire to make use of them. This was Theodore Beza, a pupil of John Calvin, who appropriated the Scriptural collations, for which Robert was indebted to his son Henry."

And now let us go back from the time of Beza and Stephen towards the earlier history of our codex, and in particular to the sixth century when the MS. is supposed to have been written, and examine it with a view to detecting local peculiarities.

CHAPTER II.

The Locality of the Codex Bezae in the Tenth Century.

As we ascend the stream of time we may take note of the marginal annotations which have been made in our MS. by different hands; and in particular there is a series of sentences in the margins of the text which would seem to intimate that the MS. was still in France in the tenth century. In order to explain this, I shall be obliged to refer to, and partly to reproduce, some notes which I made two or three years ago on the famous S. Germain Codex of the Latin Bible, known to New Testament students by the sign g^1, and published by Dr John Wordsworth in the first number of his *Old Latin Biblical Texts*[1].

Shortly after the publication of this text, this work was reviewed by M. Samuel Berger in the *Bulletin Critique* for 15 Sept. 1884, who remarked *inter alia* as follows: "L'Evangile de S. Jean est partagé dans le manuscrit en 316 sections, et 185 de ces paragraphes (si j'ai bien compté) sont accompagnés de courtes devises, sans aucune relation avec le texte de l'Evangile, écrites en un latin barbare, et dont voici, par exemple, quelques-unes. xxx. (c. iii. 1) *Perfectum opus.* xxxi. (iii. 3) *Insperata causa perficitur.* xxxii. (iii. 7) *Quod verum est dicito.* xxxiii. (iii. 9) *Si mentiris arguent te.* xxxiv. (iii. 12) *Gloria magna.* xxxv. (iii. 14) *Pro manifestatione.* xxxvi. (iii. 16) *De juditio quod verum est si dixeris, libens eris.* xxxviii. (iii. 19) *Ad peregrinationem itineris venies.* Il n'est pas possible de voir dans ces singulières notes autre chose que des formules de bonne aventure, de celle que l'on a appelées *sortes sanctorum.*"

[1] The Sortes Sanctorum in the S. Germain Codex, *American Journal of Philology*, Vol. IX., p. 58.

There is not the slightest doubt that M. Berger's explanation of these marginal sentences (which had been copied for Dr Wordsworth by Mr G. L. Youngman, but not understood by him) is correct. The book has been used for purposes of divination, a custom which seems to have prevailed widely in early times both in Civil and Ecclesiastical matters[1].

Without going into the matter in detail it will be sufficient to observe that the most probable method of using the *Sortes* would be by the selection of a number, for there are objections to the method of opening the book at random where the margins are thickly studded with sentences. Probably therefore a number was selected and the pages of the Gospel of John were turned until the sentence was found to which that number was attached.

By the kindness of Dr Wordsworth and the courteous assistance of one of the students in the Theological College at Salisbury, I have been furnished with a transcript of Mr Youngman's notes on these Sortes, and am enabled to draw one or two further conclusions. The transcript shews the successive sentences arranged with the attached numerals in a series running with frequent chasms from i. to ccxvi. (read cccxvi.). In a few cases the numeral is wanting, and there are occasionally slight clerical errors like the one just mentioned, which are capable of immediate rectification. We will examine the series of sentences more closely presently. Meanwhile let us turn to another peculiar feature of the Codex which has hitherto remained without explanation.

On fol. 89 b the following note is made by Dr Wordsworth (p. x.): "At the end of the letter to Damasus is a sort of wheel full of numbers, apparently some arrangement of the Canons which follow on $4\frac{1}{2}$ pages." My attention was drawn to this wheel by Dr Wordsworth, with an enquiry whether any explanation could be given of it. In order to settle this point, I made a copy of the series of numbers in question. They are arranged in the separate compartments of a wheel with eight sectors; and a little examination shews that they have nothing to do, as far as can be seen by a cursory examination, with the Eusebian Canons; but,

[1] Prof. Robertson Smith has pointed out to me a curious analogous case of divination by opening the Koran at random, as practised by Walid. b. Yazid who died A.H. 126. Cf. Ibn Athir (ed. Tornberg), v. 219.

observing that the numbers form a broken series from 1 to 316, we easily infer that the wheel is a part of the Sortes Sanctorum and that in some way or other its compartments are meant to be employed in the problem of determining one's destiny. So much is certain. We may not be able to say according to what method a number was selected from one of the eight compartments, but the relation between the wheel of numbers and the sections in St John's Gospel is certain. When we come to examine the numbered compartments more carefully in comparison with the numbered sentences, we find that in the majority of cases a number in one of the compartments corresponds to a number in the margins to which a sentence is attached, as of course it should do on the hypothesis of identity between the two series; but there are many cases in which the two series will not agree, and the suggestion arises in one's mind that perhaps the wheel of numbers was not made directly from the Codex, but that both it and the series may be derived from some earlier and more complete series. This supposition would easily explain the incomplete character of the numerical assonances; for example, in the first compartment of the wheel there are 33 numbers, of which 11 do not find a place in the numbers of the Sortes. We shall examine these and see whether the suspicion of an earlier set of divination sentences is confirmed in other directions.

Let us then turn to the Codex Bezae, where we shall find that the lower margins of the Gospel of St Mark contain, in a rude Greek hand, a succession of short sentences.

Of these Scrivener says (p. xxxvii.), "They consist of moral apophthegms, some of them silly enough." Amongst his facsimiles he gives a sentence from the margin of the verso of leaf 302:

εαν ψυση ελεγχουσιν σε

and conjectures that these rude uncials may be due to the hand that wrote the τίτλοι in Matthew and Mark, i.e. to a hand of the tenth century. Again, at the end of the book, he makes a collection of the sentences, 69 in number, but without noticing that they are a system of "Sortes Sanctorum."

When we examine these Greek Sortes by the side of the Latin system in the S. Germain MS. we easily see that they form a part

of the same system. For example, the sentence quoted above is evidently the same as appears in g^1, under the form "si mentiris, arguent te"; and this is only one out of a large number of coincidences so complete that we may be certain some connection exists between the two systems. Moreover the list in D may be seen to be a translation from the Latin, by a frequently prefixed word *ἑρμηνεία*: as if the sentences had originally stood in two languages in some bilingual codex.

In order to determine the nature of the relationship between our two series we must examine more closely, and we may easily assure ourselves in the first place that neither catalogue was taken from the other, for each list of sentences contains many things that are wanting in the other. But in the next place, if the two sets of sentences be arranged side by side, we can easily see that if a number be attached to each of the sentences in Codex Bezae corresponding to its place in the Codex, the sentences thus numbered will be in harmony with the actually numbered passages in the S. Germain Codex. In order to make this clear we may actually write down the first portions of each of the two catalogues as follows, the S. Germain list being given completely and the parallel sentences noted from the other list:

S. Germain Cod.	*Codex Bezae.*
(i) cessa ei certaueris.	(i) *αφες μϊ φιλονϊκησϊς.*
(ii) qd fit cōplebitū.	(ii) *το γενωμενον τελϊουτε.*
(iii) non ad ipsis causa.	(iii) *ουκ επϊτυχανϊς του παργμάτōς.*
(iv) perficitur causa.	(iv) *τελϊουμενον παραμα.*
(? xiii) spes bona.	.....
gaudium fiet.	(xiv) *απο λυπϊς ης χαραν.*
(xv) est decē dies fiet.	(xv) *μετα δεκα ημερας γϊνετε.*
(xviii) et bene.	(xviii) *ακολουθησον καϊ καλον ου γϊνετε.*
(xxii) perfectū opus.	(xxii) *τελουμενον παργμα καλον.*
(xxii, l. xxiv) credere quia causa bona ē.	(xxiv) *πιστευσον οτη το παργμα καλον εστιν.*
etc.	etc.

The barbarisms are easily corrected in the foregoing: *ad ipsis*, for example = *adipisceris*, and so on. These corrections being made, it is seen that, as far as it goes, the list in Codex Bezae is complete, though only a fragment of the original scheme; and

that the list in the S. Germain MS. is a series of extracts from the original scheme.

The agreement between the numbers shews that the Beza sentences and the S. Germain sentences are taken from a numbered series of sentences similar to that in the S. Germain Codex, i.e. the numbers are not due to the sectional arrangement of St John in the S. Germain Codex into 316 paragraphs, but to a similar arrangement in a previous Codex. And since the S. Germain Codex has these paragraph divisions also in common with the original from which the Sortes were taken, it follows that this original may very well have been, at least in St John, the MS. from which the S. Germain Codex took the foundation of its text. We thus throw into very close relation the Codex Bezae, the S. Germain Codex, and the archetype of the latter in St John.

Moreover, the two series of annotations belong nearly to the same period of time; the S. Germain MS. being of the ninth century, and the Bezan annotator being referred by Scrivener to the tenth. And since the two Codices in question are both found in modern times in French abbeys, we may perhaps be allowed to assume that the Codex Bezae was in France in the tenth century.

CHAPTER III.

The Codex Bezae in the Ninth Century.

On fol. 150 b of the MS. there is a liturgical note by a hand of the ninth century, at the top of the left hand column, to the following effect

τη κυριακη των προφȣτησματων

accompanied by the labarum with *a* and *ω*. This note is rather perplexing: but it seems to be a corruption for

τη κυριακη των προφωτισματων

i.e. it indicates a lesson beginning at John xii. 1 which is the top of the column, for some Sunday connected with those who have been approved as candidates for baptism, and who in the language of the Church are already *φωτιζόμενοι, illuminati*. But what Sunday can this be, and what service can be especially given up to the imperfectly initiated Catechumens? I think the answer must be as follows: it is some Sunday before Easter when the Catechumens pass through another stage of their novitiate, and probably it will be the time of the delivery to them of the Symbol of the Faith (*traditio Symboli*). Now this rite took place in the Gallican Churches on Palm-Sunday, as we may see from the lectionary of Luxeuil, a thoroughly Gallican book of the seventh century, which marks the Legenda in Dominica Palmarum as follows:

Lectio *Hierimiae prophetae.*
Epistola Pauli apostoli ad Hebraeos.
and Lectio *Sancti Evangelii secundum Iohannem.*

Diebus illis ante sex dies Paschae, venit Dominus Iesus Bethaniam, ubi fuerat Lazarus mortuus, etc.... *usque* Nisi granum frumenti cadens in

terram mortuum fuerit, ipsum solum manet: si autem mortuum fuerit, multum fructum affert:

i.e. John xii. 1—24: and that this is the lesson for the *Missa in Symboli traditione* may be seen from numerous references in Western writers: it was the custom for example in Milan in the days of Ambrose, as the following extract from his 20th Epistle will shew: "Sequenti die, erat autem dominica, post lectiones atque tractatum, dimissis catechuminis, symbolum aliquibus competentibus in baptisteriis tradebam basilicae." He is speaking of what happened on a certain Palm-Sunday.

The same day is fixed by Isidore for the Spanish Churches; "hoc die Symbolum competentibus traditur propter confinem Dominicae Paschae solemnitatem: ut qui iam ad Dei gratiam percipiendam festinant fidem quam confiteantur agnoscant[1]."

Isidore tells us that the common name for this Sunday was Capitilavium, because, as we might almost have guessed from the lesson read, the baptized infants on this day received unction and had their heads washed, in remembrance of our Lord's visit to Bethany, and the washing and anointing of His *feet* by Mary.

We may add to the foregoing references the decree of the Council of Agde (A.D. 506). "Symbolum etiam placuit ab omnibus ecclesiis una die, id est ante octo dies dominicae resurrectionis, publice in ecclesia competentibus tradi."

We may be sure then that the lesson marked by the corrector, whom Scrivener calls J, is the old Gallican lesson for Palm-Sunday, as we find it in the seventh century lectionary of Luxeuil. We can hardly then allow that the Codex Bezae was far away from France in the ninth century, for by this time it is not likely that the Gallican use was still in force at Milan. And at any rate, when we put this piece of evidence side by side with what has gone before, it will be admitted that the Gallican features are becoming prominent.

It may be perhaps objected that substantially the same lesson is used in the Greek Church in the Liturgy for Palm-Sunday: but a Greek scribe would have simply called it the *κυριακὴ τῶν βαΐων*. Moreover we do not deny the occasional agreement between the Gallican and Greek systems. We simply observe that it is not

[1] Isidore, *De Offic. Eccl.*, c. 27.

the Roman system that we have here, and we try to interpret liturgically the Greek heading by which the day in question must have been known in the Western Calendar[1].

Almost contemporary with these liturgical annotations of the scribe J, but perhaps a few years later, there is a long series by another scribe L: there are 149 places where Scrivener notes his handiwork, and he refers all the lessons in question to the ordinary Greek synaxarion. No doubt there is a close connexion between the Greek and Gallican rituals, but the matter is by no means as simple as Scrivener represents it.

The lists of lessons introduced by L are usually given in the form *αναγνοσμα*, followed in many cases by *περι του σαββατου* or *περι του κυριακη*. But it is very seldom indeed that any indication is given of the Sabbath or Sunday that is intended.

This of itself is an indication that the lessons were not marked in from a synaxarion, but from a more simple order like the Lectiones Dominicales in the Bobbio Sacramentary[2] where a series of Missae Dominicales is given with an appropriate lesson, together with the special services for *Depositio Sacerdotis*, and for the *Missa Defunctorum*, etc.

The scribe L had a book something like this, with a series of Saturday and Sunday Lessons unattached to any special days: he had also the lesson for the Departed, and the lessons for Holy Week and a few great festivals.

We have not, however, succeeded in identifying his system.

[1] The so-called Missale Gothicum has a special service,

Missa in Symbuli Traditione.

That this is meant for Palm Sunday may be seen by the various prayers: e.g.

Immolatio Missae.

Vere dignum et justum est.....

Tibi enim cum lingua coma servivit arborea, cum arenosa itinera ramis viruerunt composita etc.

And that the lesson read is from John xii. may be seen *inter alia* from the

Collectio in Pacem.

Universorum ipse dominator qui conditor, creaturae tuae praestanter amabilis et amator, *cui Martha satagit, Maria pedes abluit, cum quo Lazarus redivivus accumbit* etc.

[2] Muratori, *Sacramentarium Gallicanum* in Musaeo Italico, I. p. 273 sqq.

If, for instance, we look on fol. 120 b of our MS. we find that L has noted a lesson, apparently John v. 19—24, as [π]ερι αναπαυαμενος; this Scrivener identifies with the lesson John v. 17—24, which is given in Greek synaxaria for the fourth day of the second week after Easter. The lesson, however, is evidently meant for the *Missa Defunctorum* (τῶν ἀναπαυομένων), and therefore the reference to Easter Week is meaningless.

That ἀναπαύω is the right word to describe the intermediate state may be seen from Luke xvi. 23, where the scribe has expanded the passage και λαζαρον εν τω κολπω αυτου by the addition of the word αναπαυομενον; cp. also Apoc. xiv. 13.

In the Bobbio Sacramentary, which is supposed to contain so much ancient Gallican matter, the lesson is not the one marked in Cod. Bezae; but the somewhat similar passage, John vi. 39, 40, is read in the *Missa Defunctorum*, and the lesson John v. 24—29 is read in connection with the *Missa Sacerdotis Defuncti*.

It seems, then, that the system of the scribe L was not unlike that of the Bobbio MS., but cannot be identified with it.

The same thing is true when we examine the systems more closely; on fol. 87 b, for instance, the lesson Matt. xxv. 31—46 is marked by L as ανναγνοσμα περι του κυριακη: and Scrivener accordingly identifies it with the κυριακὴ τῆς ἀποκρέω: it is, however, marked in the Bobbio MS. as an ordinary Dominical Lection: and if we could find a sufficient number of similar coincidences, we should say that the system of this Sacramentary was the system of the Bezan annotator. The verifications, however, are not forthcoming, and we can only say that there is reason to suspect the existence of some liturgical usage current in Eastern or Southern France which would turn out to be exactly parallel to that in the Codex Bezae. Such a system would be derived ultimately from a very early and simple form of what we now know as the Greek Synaxarion.

We do not, however, pretend to have thrown much direct light upon the nationality of the corrector whom Scrivener calls L

CHAPTER IV.

Sixth Century Gallicisms of Codex Bezae.

Those who have held the theory of the Gallic origin of the Codex Bezae have done so on the ground that there were words in the Latin text which belonged not merely to the Vulgar Latin as distinguished from the classical speech, but to those dialectical forms of the Vulgar Latin which were supposed to be characteristic of Southern Gaul.

For example, Scholz in the Introduction to his New Testament[1] says

"In Gallia meridionali patria codicis quaerenda est. Etiam orthographia in vocibus latinis servata v. c. *temptatio*, *quotiens*, *thensaurus*, *anticus*, *locuntur*, *inicus*, *secuntur* huic certe regioni magis quam alii convenit; voces *soniis* (gallicè *soins*) (μερίμναις), *refectio* (κατάλυμα), *sideratos* (κυλλούς), *involet* (κλέψῃ), *demorari* (διατρίβειν), *natatoria piscina* (κολυμβήθρα), *taediari* (κηδεμονεῖν), *applontat* (ῥήσσει), *certabatur* (διισχυρίζετο), *sestertia ducenta* (ἀργυρίου μυριάδας πέντε), *(δηνάριον), in aliam regionem plane non quadrant: sunt enim voces gallicae."

With this list Scholz practically dismisses the subject. It need scarcely be said that a modern student would hardly be convinced by such a list[2]: in fact the only word in all Scholz's array that carries much weight is the word *soniis*, used as an equivalent of μερίμναις. But even in this case (which we shall enquire into more carefully by and by) there is great difficulty in the determination of the origin of the form, and much doubt as to whether Scholz has given its true French equivalent. But leaving this on one side, and remembering that the student of

[1] p. xxxix.

[2] Imagine the geographical delineation of the sign * for *denarius*; the Diocletian edict which fixed prices throughout the whole Roman Empire uses this sign!

Latin inscriptions is constantly baffled in his work by too hasty attempts to give a local habitation to special forms and spellings, we think it best not to begin by discussing in detail every word which may be supposed to have a Gallic flavour, but to proceed in a new manner, independently of earlier investigators, so that our results may be based as far as possible upon new observations, and not derive their weight from their possible consensus with the conclusions of Kipling, or Scholz, or Scrivener.

On the hypothesis that the Codex Bezae was written in Gaul, presumably not very far from the place where Beza said it was found, i.e. at Lyons,—or if we prefer to think, from the fact that Beza in his last edition called it Claromontanus (as though he had found out in his last days that he had been misinformed as to its origin by the person who sold it to him), that it was written not far from Clermont,—we have to transport ourselves in thought to the Gaul of the sixth century at the time when the Keltic population was being hurled back by Frankish invaders, and when the earlier colonists from the Eastern shores of the Mediterranean, who had civilized the Rhône Valley, were far on the road to absorption and disintegration amongst the younger and more vigorous populations that were disputing the right to existence in Central and Southern France. Amongst these struggling populations we find an active Christian Church with a ritual and liturgy of its own, which can be distinguished in many ways from the corresponding Roman rituals, by the prevalence of many Greek and Oriental customs and formulae which never seem to have taken root in Rome itself. Whether these peculiarities be original with the Church that emigrated from Smyrna to the banks of the Rhône in the second century, or whether they are to be referred to some later influence, is not the immediate question for us. It is sufficient to say that the Gallican ritual had many Eastern features. Let us take an instance; in the Gallican Mass, after the entry of the officiating bishop and the preliminary sentences, the service proceeds with the *Trisagion*, the *Kyrie Eleison*, and the *Benedictus*, after which the lessons from the Scriptures begin. Now this use of the Trisagion in this connection is not a Roman custom; in fact we have in the place of it the *Gloria in excelsis*. But it was a custom of the early Gallic

Church, for we find it enforced by the second council of Vaison (A.D. 529) in a manner which shews that it was a feature of the worship of the settlements in the Rhône Valley[1]: the language of the Council is as follows:

"in omnibus missis, seu in matutinis, seu in quadrigesimalibus, seu in illis quae pro defunctorum commemoratione fiunt, semper Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus eo ordine quo modo ad missas publicas dicitur, dici debeat; quia tam sancta et tam dulcis et desiderabilis vox, etiam si die noctuque possit dici, fastidium non possit generare."

We see that the object of the Council is to make the use of the Trisagion a general feature of Christian worship.

Now let us see how the French Christians pronounced this often repeated Greek word.

A reference to the life of Saint Géry, the bishop of Cambrai in the seventh century, gives us the following, "Aius, Aius, Aius per trinum numerum imposuit in nomine Trinitatis[2]." It appears then that this word came to be pronounced *Aius* instead of Agios, which does not at all surprise us, knowing how easily the aspirates are misplaced in Low Latin, and how in French similar words wear away, as for example, Augustus passes into Août, so that the middle consonant weakens and disappears, especially when the accent is on the first syllable.

Now if we turn to the account of the Gallican ritual given by S. Germain of Paris[3] at the end of the sixth century, we find the canticles at the commencement of the service described as follows:

DE AIVS.

Aius vero ante prophetiam pro hoc cantatur in graeca lingua.... Incipiente praesule Aius psallit, dicens latino cum greco.

Further on in the service we have

DE AIUS ANTE EVANGELIUM.

Tunc in adventu sancti Evangelii claro modulamine denuo psallet clerus Aius in specie angelorum ante faciem Christi, &c.

[1] In this and the following paragraphs, I am drawing largely on the account of the Gallican Service given by Duchesne, *Origines du Culte Chrétien*, and on the Gallican liturgies published by Mabillon, Muratori &c.

[2] *Analecta Bollandiana*, t. VII. p. 393.

[3] Migne, *Patr. Lat.* t. LXXII. from Martene, *Thes. Anecd.* t. V.

Or if again we turn to the so-called Gallican Sacramentary published by Muratori from a Bobbio MS. of the seventh century[1], which Muratori himself believed to come from the province of Besançon, where was the abbey of Luxeuil from whence Columban migrated to Italy, we shall find another instance of the curious pronunciation of the word in question. The Missal referred to begins with a ritual of mixed Roman and Gallican usage, headed "Missa Romensis Cottidiana." Here we find the sentences

Dicitur post Aios

Tu, summe Deus, Aios, ipse sanctus, omnipotens Sabaoth, etc.

And near the end

Collectio post Aios

Iudicia tua, Deus, etc.

There is, therefore, no doubt as to the pronunciation of the word in the Gallican Church, and in fact the last MS. quoted carries the usage up to the seventh century. And this being so, we need not doubt that we have also the correct spelling in the MS. of S. Germain previously quoted.

It would, therefore, seem that the pronunciation of the word Ἅγιος was Ἅιος at a very early time in the Gallican Church, before the Greek had disappeared from the service and been replaced by the Latin: for we need not suppose that in the cases referred to the spelling is due to the transcribers of some later period. It is evidently the spelling, as the pronunciation is the pronunciation, of the end of the sixth century.

The question which we ask then is this: are there any traces of similar phonetic decline in the Codex Bezae? can we find the form Ἅιος, or in default of this any similar forms? We know that the French language from an early period is full of such weakenings: the names of places shew it even better than the parts of speech. That Lugdunum, for example, in some way passes from its Kelto-Roman form (Llwych-dun) into the French Lyons is certain[2]. So too Bordeaux stands for Burdigalium;

[1] Muratori, *Museum Italicum*, I. p. 273 sqq. Migne, *Patr. Lat.* LXXII. 448. Duchesne on p. 150 refers the publication of this sacramentary to Mabillon.

[2] The old catalogue of the Corbey MSS., which is referred to the eleventh

and Autun for an ancient Augustodunum; and Loire for Liger; in the same way the gulf of Lions derives its name, in all probability, from an original name 'sinus Ligusticus,' = *Λιγύων*, as it does not seem possible to connect it immediately with the city of Lyons[1]. Similarly in the case of some other letters, as Rhône for Rhodanus. Let us, then, see what similar forms occur in the Codex Bezae of the weakening of the "g" sound before a vowel either in the Greek or Latin.

In Luke viii. 36 we find in the Greek

ΑΠΗΓΓΕΙΛΑΝ ΓΑΡ ΑΥΤΟΙC ΟΙ ΙΔΟΝΤΕC ΠΩC ΕCΩΘΗ Ο ΛΙΩΝ,

where ΛΙΩΝ stands for ΛΕΓΙΩΝ as the Latin shews.

Is this a mere scribe's slip of the pen, or is it an attempt to represent the pronunciation?

In Acts xiii. 5 we have

ΚΑΤΗΝΓΕΙΛΑΝ ΤΟΝ ΛΟΝ ΤΟΥ $\overline{\text{ΚΥ}}$

Was the scribe assisted in the error of writing *λόγον* as *λον* by the weakness of the middle consonant? Probably the reader will laugh at the idea; but let him turn to Acts xiii. 46, where he will read

ΥΜΕΙΝ ΠΡΩΤΟΝ ΗΝ ΛΑΛΗΘΗΝΑΙ ΤΟΝ ΛΟΝ ΤΟΥ $\overline{\text{ΘΥ}}$

and he will be obliged to admit that the repeated error is curious, if it be simply palaeographic, and not phonetic[2]. Again in John xiv. 9 he will read

ΚΑΙ ΠΩC CΥ ΛΕΙC ΔΕΙΞΟΝ ΗΜΕΙΝ...

Then turn to the Latin text of the MS. and notice how often similar loss of syllables occurs.

In Matt. xxii. 5 we have

qui autem neglentes abierunt,

where we should expect *negligentes.*

century, shews an early stage of the corruption of the word: it gives *Herenei episcopi Ludunensis contra omnes hereses.*

[1] The name 'Sinus Ligusticus' does not seem, however, to have been traced west of Genoa.

[2] Probably a similar error is found in Luke viii. 53 *και κατελουν αυτον*, where we should have *κατεγελων*: but the verb-form was changed to *γελεω* and the *γ* not sounded in the compound word.

In Luke xx. 27

eius tacuerunt accentes autem,

for *accedentes,* is a similar case.

In Luke xxi. 23

erit enim nessitas magna super terra,

for *necessitas.* We begin then to suspect that, instead of the Beza text being a collection of blunders, it may be a valuable storehouse of transitional forms in the language at a time when many changes were going on.

Are not these the very forms that we should expect in the early stages of a language which made *eo* and *jo* out of *ego, froid* out of *frigidus, soleil* out of *soleculus, genou* out of *genoculum, fraile* out of *fragile, trente* out of *triginta, bonheur* out of *bonum augurium,* and the like? We must clearly carry our enquiry after French and late Vulgar Latin forms in the Codex Bezae much further, and be prepared to find cases in which the scribe has been credited with blunders where he is phonetically perfectly correct.

Let us turn to Luke xi. 5

et ibit ad eum
media nocte et dicit illi amie.

We should naturally pass this *amie* as a pure blunder, but we turn to Matt. xxvi. 50 and find nearly the same form

ad quod venisti ame,

so that the spelling is not an error of the unconscious kind: there is method in this scribe's noddings. We find ourselves here on the road to the French *ami:* and I think we may say that, if this instance is a good one, we part company at this point with any one who is disposed to hold that the scribe of the Beza MS. was an Italian; for the Italian language preserves the form *amico,* i.e. it has hardly deviated from the Latin. Or again let us look at Matt. xxviii. 15, we have

apud iudaeos. usque in hoernum diem.

The word *hoernum* attracts attention from its deviation from the conventional *hodiernus.* We might pass it, but in Acts ii. 47 we find

cottie in unum in ecclesia,

where we should expect *cottidie,* and in Acts x. 30

et cornelius ait a nustertiana die,

where we ought to have *nudiustertiana*. In every case the syllable *di* has disappeared.

Now let us turn to the French language, and examine the form which the Latin *hodie* takes; we have as its equivalent *aujourd'hui* where *hui* evidently stands for *hodie;* the change being the same as in the Beza Codex. And again we see that this is not the change which we should expect from an Italian scribe, who would write something nearer to the modern form *oggi.*

Let us now look at some curious verb-forms. Turning to Luke ix. 3, we find

et sanare infirmos et dix ad eos,

where we should naturally say, ex errore pro *dixit.*

But let us compare Mark vi. 27,

sed statim mis speculatore,

for *misit speculatorem,* and we see that it is a similar case to the preceding; and the dropping of the final syllable is not accidental, it is the result of phonetic law. And as in the French the unaccented syllable weakens away so that *dixit* becomes in French *dit,* (for *dist?*), and in Italian *disse,* our scribe throws off the final syllable of his verb-forms.

In words of more than two syllables, the weakness is usually felt in the syllable after the tone, where the middle consonant, as we have shewn by many instances, will drop out and a new combination of vowels will take place.

In Mark i. 3,

rectas fate semitas dī nostri,

the first hand has written the letters *ci* over *fate;* but we may reasonably believe that he had a motive for his first erroneous transcription, i.e. the spelling which he gives is the local Vulgar Latin pronunciation of the verb: which is exactly represented by the modern Italian, and stands very near indeed to what the French form must have been before the supplemental *s* in *faites* was developed (probably by analogy).

We can support this reasoning by another similar case, of weakness in a word in common usage, in Matt. xviii. 25,

Non hante eo unde redderet,

where we ought to have *habente*. This *hante* is the first stage towards the French *ayant*. And that the syllable in question really was subject to this weakness may be seen, as we shall shew by and by, by the French and other Romance futures, where we find the Vulgar Latin *cantare habeo* become *chanterai* because *habeo* itself reduces to *ai*.

This case speaks more strongly for a French locality than for an Italian, because, although the Italian exhibits some cases of the weakened forms of *habeo* (as *ho*, *hanno* against *ebbe*, etc.), yet in this participial form it writes *avendo* and thus preserves the *b* sound.

Occasionally in the Beza MS. we find a point placed over a letter, but it is not easy to see with what intention, whether it is to indicate something as to the breathing, or whether it is a simple erasure of the letter in question, or non-sounding of it by the reader. For instance, in Mark xiv. 3, we find

ampullam nardi pistici praetiosi,

where the word *ampullam*, which seems to be a diminutive of *amphora*, is marked with a point as if the writer wished to pronounce it *ammulam* or *amulam*. And he has done something of the same kind in Mark xiv. 13 where he has marked *amphorae* in the same way, as if again the letter *p* were not to be sounded. But did the Vulgar Latin speech really say *amula* in the time when the Codex Bezae is supposed to have been written? Let us examine; there is a ninth-century MS. of the Ordo Romanus (Cod. Parisinus 974) written probably by a Frankish hand, which Duchesne has published as an Appendix to his *Origines du Culte Chrétien*. The writer says expressly that he is writing in the Vulgar-Latin: "Curavimus, non grammatico sermone, sed aperte loquendo veritatem indicare." The MS. was originally in the possession of the church of Saint-Amand en Puelle, being inscribed with the words "Almae ecclesiae sancti Amandi in Pabula liber." We should naturally regard it, then, as a French MS.

When the writer describes the offerings made for the altar he expresses himself as follows:

Et diaconi recipiunt amulas et portatur stationarius calix a subdiacono regionario, et refundit diaconus ammulas in ipso calice sancto. Et dum repletus fuerit, devacuatur in sciffo quas portant acholithi.... Deinde revertitur (pontifex) ad permanent diaconi ad amulas recipiendas.

Further on he uses the alternative term *ampulla;* e.g.

tunc vadunt diaconi et tollent ampullas cum oleo que ponuntur a diversis etc.[1].

Et venit ad eum regionarius secundus et accipit ab eo ampullas cum balsamo.

Et vadet ante pontificem et stat ante eum cum ampulla[2].

It appears then from the MS. that it was proper in the Vulgar Latin of the period to pronounce the word as *amula;* and this explains the occurrence of the erasing point in the Codex Bezae.

This may seem to be a trifle; but it is just such trifles as these that confirm the argument for the Gallic origin of the scribe of Codex Bezae.

Having noticed, then, the way in which the scribe has indicated the pronunciation which he wished the reader to follow in the case of the word *ampulla*, let us see whether there are any similar cases in the text, where a letter is marked for erasure, or where attention is called to it for any other purpose.

In Acts xx. 31,

quia triennio noc̈te ac die,

it seems reasonable to suppose that the *c* in *nocte* was not sounded, so that the word was already far in decline towards the forms which we find in French as *nuit* and in Italian as *notte*. Nor is it surprising that the weakness of the speech should show itself early in a common word like this. The form given in the MS. is a shade nearer to the Italian than the French, but is recognized to be the parent of them both; the forms being taken from the oblique *noctem* where *m* is no longer sounded.

A very curious case occurs in Acts xix. 36,

oportet vos questos esse.

[1] Duchesne, l.c. p. 450. [2] p. 451.

The erasing point comes in here on account of a tendency in the Vulgar Latin to break up words artificially into imaginary compounds: thus they separated *prodest prodesse* etc. into *prode est* and *prode esse*, until at last *prode* came to be regarded as a real word, even as early as in the Codex Claromontanus. It is found also in Cod. Bezae in Luke ix. 25. Something similar seems to have happened to *oportet:* for Schuchardt quotes one case of its decomposition[1] (viz. oportum est), and it is possible that the pronunciation of our MS. intimates a similar change.

In Acts vi. 8 the scribe has marked the *p* in *stephanus* with a point of erasure; meaning, as I suppose, that it was no longer sounded: the letter is, in fact, absent from the French *Étienne*, but is preserved in Italian (*Stefano*).

In Acts xx. 9,

sedens autem quidam iubenis,

the scribe intimates the non-pronunciation of the final *s* in *sedens;* sometimes he actually drops the participial ending, as in Acts xix. 16,

insilien in eos homo.

These participial endings we shall discuss more at length by and by.

If we compare the French *celui* with its old form *icelui*, we shall see that the first word of the pair *ecce illui*, out of which it has been derived, has been subject to aphaeresis; and a similar thing must be said of the form *icist* = *cist*, and of the Italian *costui* which must be traced to *ecce istui*. It is interesting to notice the traces of this weakening in the first syllable of *ecce* in the writing of our MS.

In Luke xvii. 21,

neque dicent ecce hic aut cce illi,

where we should pass it as a blunder if it were not that the same thing occurred in Luke xiv. 2,

observantes eum et cce homo.

We may take it then that our scribe was disposed not to sound the initial vowel, and this feature is the first stage of

[1] *Der Vokalismus des Vulgar-lateins*, II. 504, 505.

the aphaeresis of the syllable in the Romance languages. In Matt. iv. 11 we have

et e·cce angeli accesserunt,

which is a curious case of the syllable-division, but whether the initial letter is sounded is uncertain. The point is near the top of the line and may intimate the erasure of the *e*.

Reviewing the series of illustrations which have been given above of forms which may properly be called Romance Forms, we may conclude that the balance of the evidence is in favour of regarding the MS. as a Gallic rather than an Italian production. And if this were so, we should hardly expect that in the sixth century it was very far from the place where Beza said it was found; i.e. Lyons, or, as Beza says in his last edition (probably acting on better information), Clermont in the Auvergne.

We shall now pass from those forms which belong to the Romance languages to the forms which belong more nearly to the Vulgar Latin of the Empire, and try and extract from them some account of their local habitations.

Additional Note to c. IV. *on Scholz's list of Gallicisms in the Codex Bezae.*

WE are now in a position to examine Scholz's crucial instance of Gallicism in the Codex Bezae: viz. the use of the word *soniis* as a translation of *μερίμναις* in Luke xxi. 34. Concerning this word Scrivener notes (pp. xliv f.):

"Scholz and others have noticed *soniis* (*μεριμναις*) in Luke xxi. 34 only, for which *a*, *e* have *solicitudinibus*; *b*, *f cogitationibus*; *c* and the Vulgate *curis*. That *sonius*, which is not a Latin word at all, is connected with *soinus* and the French *soin* is plain enough, and Ducange cites from one Latin and Greek Glossary 'somnium *φροντὶς ἰδιωτικῶς*,' from another 'somnior *μεριμνῶ*,' whence was corrupted *sonius*, thence *soinus* and *soin*. ('Nisi competens soinus eum detineat.' Leges Henr. I. Regis Angliae cap. 29 in Ducange *Medii Aevi Latinitas*, sub voce *Sunnis*.)"

Now in the first place, we need not hesitate to regard *somnium* in the Glossaries quoted as a mere error, or at all events an equivalent of *sonium*. For Ducange points out the following cases of substitution of the former word for the latter:

Vetus placitum in Vita Aldrici episc. Cenoman. p. 110. Ne infirmitas aut legitima somnis eum detinuerit, etc.

Ita perperam *somnis* habetur in lege Langobard. lib. 2, tit. 43, § 1, et *sumnis* lib. 3, tit. 23, § 3.

It seems clear that these alternative spellings are mere scribe's errors, and that the real spelling of the word is *sunnis* or *sonnis*, which would answer very well to the *sonium* of our text; and would certainly be the parent of the French word *soin*.

Two things may be said with regard to this word; on the one hand, it has every appearance of being a German word: on the other, it occurs in all the Romance languages, and must therefore be regarded as Low Latin. Its earliest appearance is in the laws of the Franks. Let us turn to the Salic Law, and we shall find as follows:

xlvii. ...Et si quis commonitus fuerit et eum sunnis non tenuerit et ad placitum venire distulerit tunc ille qui cum eum negotiavit mittat tres testes quomodo ei nunciasset ut ad placitum veniret.

We have only to compare with this allusion to a detention by *sunnis*, the authorities cited by Ducange under *essoin*, to see that the two words are equivalent:

Essonia, exonia, exonium. Essonium de malo lecti, cum quis morbo ita detinetur in lecto ut ad judicium venire non potest...Prima statuta Roberti Regis Scotiae. *Pro essonio, quod Gallice vocatur mal de lit, hoc est malum de lecto, Anglice Bed evill.* Essoine de maladie residente in Consuet. MS. Normann.

Essoine is therefore the French equivalent of *exonium*, artificially formed from *sonium*.

But if the word occurs so early as the Salic Law, it may be suggested that it is a Frankish word; and if we turn to Kern's account of the Frankish words in the lex Salica[1] we find the following suggestions:

§ 231. *Sunni*, stem *sunnia* (which occurs already in Tit. I, and which we find again in Sect. 2), means a lawful excuse, impedimentum legitimum, exceptio. The M. D. (Middle Dutch) word is *nootsinne:* O. N. nauðsyn; a derivative is N. D. verb *vernootsingen* to excuse (sig=oneself) by proving a lawful impediment; in the municipal law of Zutphen "ten ware sake dat hij sig dede vernootsinnigen, te weten dat hij door lijfsmoodt, watersmoodt, ofti heerengebodt verhindert ware geweest."

Kern goes on to suggest a connexion with the Gothic *sunja*, truth; *sunjon sik ἀπολογεῖσθαι, sunjons ἀπολογία*, and the Latin *sontica causa, insons.*

That is, Kern does not feel quite clear in his mind as to whether he is dealing with a word derived from the Gothic *sunja* or the Latin *sons.* What is certain is that the word in question is in use among the Salian Franks at the very earliest period, viz. before the time of writing of the Codex Bezae. And since the word passes over into the French language, it is not surprising that its occurrence was hailed as a convincing proof of Gallicism. But we must not make such conclusion too rapidly, for, as we have intimated, the

[1] Hessel's edition, p. 538.

word turns up in all the Romance languages: if we are to regard *soin* and *essoin* as belonging to this stem, we can hardly exclude *besoin:* and this group of words is widely diffused: we have the Provençal *besonh bezonh*, the old Catalonian *bessonh*, the Italian *bisogno*, and the Rhaeto-romanian *basengs*, to set against the Old French *besoing*; and just in the same way as the French *témoin* is derived by *temoing* from the Latin *testimonium*, we may infer a Low-Latin word *sonium* if not *besonium*. In the same way we find the Provençal *sonh soing*, *suenh*, and the Old Italian *sogna*, and the Wallachian *sogn*, over against the French *soin*.

It will be seen that we have here a veritable problem: if we say that we are dealing with a Germanic stem, we must go on to recognize that *besoin* contains a Germanic prefix *bi* equivalent to the modern German *bei*; and we have then to assume that the words in question came into France with the Frankish invaders and into Italy with the Lombards, which would of course explain why it turns up in the Salic laws, in the laws of Childebert and Chlotarius[1] and in the laws of the Lombards.

But it is very difficult to believe that *besoin* is a German word, in view of the fact that no trace of it can be found in the German speech, while *every* Romance language has it.

The other supposition is that the word is truly a Romance word, and the prefix *bes* has been added, which in Romance languages gives a bad sense to the word to which it is attached, so that if *soin* meant simply care, *besoin* would mean *anxiety* and so *necessity*.

To this Diez objects that in that case the Romance languages ought to shew the word written with a double *s*: and Littré replies that the double letter does occur in the Old Catalonian.

It seems to me that this latter hypothesis must be the true one: we may take it for granted that the Latin term *sontica causa* is the equivalent in the Roman Law for the *sunnis* of the Law books quoted above: but if that be the case, it can hardly be an accident that Frankish lawyers called a legal excuse by the name of *sunnis* which compares so well with the Roman *sons*, which is the root of *sontica*. The early Frankish and Lombard lawyers must therefore have been under the influence of the Roman Law, and the word which they use is a Roman legal loan-word.

There is then no difficulty about the diffusion of the word in the Roman speech.

In any case it will be difficult to limit the word as found in the Codex Bezae to the position of the country under the power of the Frankish invaders. It might just as easily be an Italian word: and while we readily admit that if the Frankish origin could be established, the word in the Codex would fairly belong to a scribe writing under Frankish dominion, and so Scholz's contention would be established; yet we cannot shut our eyes to the fact that the word may after all be Vulgar Latin and not necessarily Vulgar Latin of as late a

[1] Ducange. Adde placitum Childeberti et Chlotarii § 5. *Si placitum sunnis non detricaverit.*

period as the sixth century. I do not then think that it is clear that *soniis* has been substituted for some earlier word *solicitudinibus* or *cogitationibus*: it is quite possible that it may be an archaic translation, for which various substitutes have been suggested by transcribers and re-translators.

Scholz also points out that in the Codex Bezae in John x. 10 *involet* is a translation of κλέψῃ, and we may suppose that it was the similarity between the word and the French *voler* which made him register the form as Gallic. More cautiously Scrivener, discussing the theory of Scholz, says, "less certain is the inference drawn from *involet* as a translation of κλέψῃ in John x. 10 only, all the other versions having *furetur* in this place. *Involo* is rendered by Ducange *per vim auferre* and compared with the French *voler*, but Servius, the Commentator on Virgil in the 5th century, says 'Vola dicitur media pars manus...unde et involare dicimus, quum aliquid furtim vola manus substrahitur.'" He then refers to Catullus, *Carm.* xxv. for a case of the use of the word, and might equally well have referred to Pliny. This, of itself, is enough to make one suspicious about the Gallican theory[1]. And when we notice further that the word on one side appears in the Salic Law in the form *embulare* (whence the Old French *embler*), and on the other that it is a common word in modern Italian (*involare involatore* &c.), we need scarcely hesitate to say that the proofs of its exclusively Gallican usage are not forthcoming.

Probably a more convincing way of proving Gallicism in the Codex Bezae would be to compare its palaeographic and phonetic peculiarities with those of a companion MS. which has a similar presumption in favour of a French origin, viz. the famous Old Latin Pentateuch of Lyons, which was published in 1881 by M. Ulysse Robert with a very complete exposition.

The Lyons Pentateuch is not nearly so eccentric a MS. as the Codex Bezae; it is more carefully written and the text shews signs of more thorough revision. Yet there are not wanting signs by which we can determine something as to the nationality of the first scribe.

Suppose, for example, we were to test the MS. in order to see whether it ever dropped the weak intervocalic *g* whose omission is so common in Cod. Bezae. We should, I think, find only a single instance, viz.

sarcophaum for *sarcophagum*.

But this single instance would have to be set with the *aios* of the French Churches and λ[εγ]ίων and other cases in the Codex Bezae.

Again if we were to look for the similar case of the disappearance of intervocalic *c*, as in the Beza form *fate* for *facite* &c., we should find the Lyons Pentateuch writing *feerit* for *fecerit*. It may be an accident, but it is just such cases that make one suspicious.

[1] Vaniçek derives the word from the Sanskrit *gvola*.

Many other minor coincidences of spelling may be noted, such as the metathesis of the aspiration in proper names etc., e.g. while Cod. Bezae in Acts xvi. 16 writes *phytonem* for *pythonem*, the Lyons Pentateuch in Exod. i. 11 turns *Pithom* into *Phythonam*.

These are trifling instances and the subject demands a close and careful examination. I believe it would turn out, upon investigation, that both of the MSS. in question are bona-fide Rhône-valley MSS. as far as their scribes are concerned, but the problem only begins at this point; for what we really want to know is the nationality of the first translators of the Septuagint and New Testament.

We shall, from time to time, as our argument proceeds, point out any phonetic and linguistic concurrences between the two MSS. in question.

The very same results appear, when we proceed to test the Old Latin MS. of S. Germain (g^1), in order to see whether it shews any traces of the striking disappearance of the intervocalic *c* and *g* in the Old French, or of similar phonetic weaknesses. A reference to Wordsworth's edition of this MS. will give us the following information on the point[1].

"G appears to have had a very slight sound between two vowels, being often omitted in *tetii* (Matt. ix. 21, 29 ; xiv. 35 ; xx. 34), and so in xxvii. 31, *crucifierent:* cf. xiv. 25 *uilia* for *uigilia*, and *dinus* for *dignus* in Luke xii. 16."

These cases must be added to our previous ones; they furnish us with confirmation of our theory that Cod. Bezae and Cod. Sangermanensis are both French in origin. In *vilia* for *vigilia* we have the equivalent of the French *veille*.

[1] *Old Latin Biblical Texts*, No. I., p. xxxix.

CHAPTER V.

Vulgar Latin of the Codex Bezae.

We now return to the discussion of the Vulgar-latinisms. The ms. is full of Vulgar Latin forms, which seem to cover a good period of time; some of them we have already discussed, where they were so far advanced as to be capable of identification with known forms in Provençal, Italian or Old French. But there are many which belong to a more remote period and which do not admit of such definite classification. We do not know what was the primitive text from which Codex Bezae derived its Latin or its Greek; it is an open question yet whether it is European or African, Roman or Gallican. We must be prepared for anything in the way of philological surprises. If in our new enquiry into the Vulgar Latin we should find Africanisms we shall simply have to say that, so far as these are traceable, the ms. must be described as a Gallican ms. made upon an African base. If forms occur which are Roman rather than Gallican, or South-Italian rather than North-Italian, we must say similar things. The whole problem of the origin of the Latin versions is to be left an open question: for our text may well contain by inheritance many peculiarities which are not capable of explanation as Gallicisms of the sixth century.

One caution must be premised: we know enough now of the Codex Bezae to make us very careful not to refer to the blunders of scribes the rare forms which we find in the Latin and in the Greek: these forms are our best landmarks, and we must be very careful not to reject them hastily. When we find an assumed error of spelling repeating itself in the text at different

parts, we learn that we are dealing not with an error, but with a phonetic peculiarity. Sufficient instances of this have already been given, and more are yet to follow.

When, for instance, we find that the scribe spells *carcar* twice[1] against *carcer* twenty-eight times, we must reflect that *carcar* is a genuine collateral form, which may be frequently found in the Acta Fratrum Arvalium[2], and is also attested by the Greek loan-word *κάρκαρος*.

So when we find *jajunare* seven times against fifteen times of *jejuno*, we shall register the spelling as giving us another side-form.

When we find in Acts xx. 20, 27 the forms *substraxerim substraxi*, we do not say that this is a mere cockneyism of the scribe; for we recall the French *soustraire* which is commonly referred to a Vulgar Latin *subtustraho*, for which the classical Latin knows only *subtraho*[3].

Again when we find *congaudebant* in Luke i. 58 and *cum-gaudete* in Luke xv. 6 etc., we may not refer it, as Scrivener does, to the barbarism of a scribe who is trying to render literally *συγχαίρω*, for the word is not only attested in the oldest Romance speech, e.g. Provençal *congauzir*; French, *conjouir*, but it appears also in the Latin of Tertullian and Cyprian[4].

We shall then regard it, for the present, as a genuine Vulgar Latin form of wide diffusion; for it cannot be shewn that all these writers and dialects have taken it from a translation of the Scriptures.

But in order to impress the reader more forcibly with the need that there is for a fresh scrutiny of Codex Bezae in search of lost or obsolescent forms, we will point out one very striking case in which it has preserved an early Latin form, undoubtedly archaic and belonging to prae-classical times.

[1] Luke iii. 20; Acts xxi. 12.

[2] Cf. *C. I. L.* vol. VI. pars 1, p. 513 (A.D. 87), p. 517 (A.D. 89), p. 533 (A.D. 105), p. 535 (A.D. 117), p. 541 (A.D. 120), etc.

[3] Here the Italian is *sottrarre*: which seems to come from the classical form.

[4] Rönsch, *Itala u. Vulgata*, shews the word to belong to all the Old Latin texts in 1 Cor. xii. 26, and refers to Cyprian, *Ep.* 50, Ambrose, *Ep.* 6. 34 and Sulp. Severus, *Ep.* ii. *ad Aurel.* 11.

Let us look at Acts v. 38

ΟΤΙ ΕΑΝ Η ΕΞ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΩΝ Η ΒΟΥΛΗ ΑΥΤΗ
QVIA SIC ERIT AB HOMINIBVS CONSILIVM ISTVD.

Notice that *ἐὰν* is translated by *sic:* we should naturally let this pass as a scribe's blunder; but as we read on, we find in Acts vii. 2

ΕΙΠΕΝ ΔΕ Ο ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΥΣ ΤΩ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΩ
ΕΙ ΑΡΑ ΤΟΥΤΟ ΟΥΤΩΣ ΕΧΕΙ • Ο ΔΕ ΕΦΗ

for which the Latin is

AIT AVTEM PONTIFEX STEPHANO
SIC HAEC SIC HABENT • AD ILLE DIXIT.

Here we notice that the Latin translator, who is following the Greek word for word, has again translated *εἰ* (more exactly *εἰ ἄρα*) by *sic.* Now it might be maintained that this was merely an anticipation of the following *sic:* but this is insufficient when we recall that there has been a suspicion in our own minds from the previously observed case, and in the minds of philologers in general, that the Latin *si* was derived from an original *sic.* And indeed we find the word in Plautus in the form *sice*[1], and hence (see Vaniçek, p. 971) we are entitled to regard the word as made up from a root *sa* + enclitic *ke;* and so to equate it directly with the Greek *εἴ κε.* Let us now turn back to John xxi. 22, where we find

ΚΕ ΟΥΤΟΣ ΔΕ ΤΙ • ΛΕΓΕΙ ΑΥΤΩ Ο ΙΗΣ
ΕΑΝ ΑΥΤΟΝ ΘΕΛΩ ΜΕΝΕΙΝ ΟΥΤΩΣ
DME HIC AVTEM QVID • DICIT ILLI IHS
SI EVM VOLO SIC MANERE.

Bearing in mind that our translator has been convicted twice of rendering *εἰ* and *ἐὰν* by *sic,* we see at once the cause of the eccentric reading in the MS. Evidently it once stood

SIC EVM VOLO MANERE,

and this has been corrected, probably on the margin, and the correction has found its way into the text without displacing the original reading. A study of other Western texts shews the same feature with slight variations, and it even passed into the Vulgate;

[1] Probably *sic erit* in Acts v. 38 was originally *sice sit.*

my collation of the Amiatinus (a copy which Tregelles made and lent to Tischendorf) has the following note in Tischendorf's hand on the margin against vv. 22 and 23;

> Ed. Fleckii bis *Sic*
> nec ego quicquam
> contra notavi.

So that we see the reading to belong to the regular tradition of the Vulgate; and to have been registered by Fleck, though apparently overlooked by Tregelles, in this Codex.

Further, we find the reading *sic eum volo* in *b c g* and in Ambrose: in *v.* 23, where *a* is extant, we also find it. A reference to the Codex Fuldensis shews the same reading in both places: in *v.* 22 the text stood *si sic eum volo manere,* but Victor of Capua erased the *si.* The Corbey MS. ff_2 seems to have the same conflate reading (*si sic*) in *v.* 22, though it omits the disputed word altogether in *v.* 23[1].

Now here we have a most interesting study of an undoubtedly Western reading. We need have no hesitation in saying that all early Western texts read originally *sic eum volo* in both verses. Moreover the reading is a perfectly correct one, as long as we take *sic* in its archaic meaning εἴ κε. But when this form became obsolete, the Latin texts became subject to correction and so to conflation; and after a time the Greek text was re-acted upon either from the primitive or from the conflated Latin, and the word οὕτως was inserted as we find it in Codex Bezae: so that we have a crucial case by which we shew that to some extent the Western Greek text has latinized, though how far that influence extended is a great problem. Moreover this reading shews that all these Latin texts have a common Latin root if we go back far enough: for it is very unlikely that separate translators should have agreed in writing in this passage the archaic form *sic* for *si.* The common root into which they recede is the first line-for-line translation of the Latin Gospels of which we have a somewhat late form exhibited in Codex Bezae.

[1] I do not wish to complicate the question by discussing at the same time the origin of Cod. *k*: and so will simply note that in Mark ix. 43 this MS. shews "et sic scandaliziauerit manus tua." The Lyons Pentateuch also in Lev. v. 1 renders ἐὰν μὴ ἀπαγγείλῃ λήψεται τὴν ἁμαρτίαν by *sic non rettulerit accipiet delictum.*

This will seem to be rather a summary method of dealing with the Old Latin texts, and I am afraid that it will seem especially suspicious to Dr Sanday who has done such excellent pioneer work in the classification of the early Latin copies. In *Old Latin Bible Texts* No. ii. p. 122 Dr Sanday expresses his belief that "it is only by the method here pursued, viz. by the systematic examination of whole groups of readings, that a satisfactory conclusion will ever be arrived at." The caution expressed is in the main a wise one. And yet Dr Sanday sometimes sees the necessity of building high upon what seems to be a narrow foundation; for on p. 116 he says, "In St Mark ix. 15, the Greek προστρέχοντες has been corrupted to προσχέροντες (for προσχαίροντες), which is represented by *gaudentes* in the Latin of *c d ff*$_2$ *i k*. It seems difficult to avoid the inference that these MSS. in spite of all their divergences have after all a common origin." No doubt it is difficult to avoid the conclusion, but was the origin a Greek MS. or a Latin? Is the unity one of derivation from a version or from a copy? The question is an important one, because, besides the authorities quoted by Dr Sanday, the same evidence is given by Cod. *b*, which reads *cadentes* for *gaudentes*, and *by the Tatian Harmony*. Perhaps the evidence accumulated by Dr Sanday is not quite decisive on the question, but we may at least affirm that we may build upon a single passage in the Gospels, provided we interpret it rightly. And the case which we have proposed above has the advantage over Dr Sanday's case in this that it is *certain* that the common error (if we indeed are right in calling it an error, for we have shewn that *sic* is a lawful form for *si*) is a translator's error, and the translator is the ancestor of Codex Bezae. From this translation all the others that we have named depend. And we may suspect that the Old Latin texts *a b c g*^{1} and the copy used by Ambrose, to say nothing of other copies, are framed upon a primitive bilingual text of which Codex Bezae is the great representative. We shall develop the proof of this position as the argument proceeds. Meanwhile it will be a good study to set these early translations, sentence by sentence, over against the text of Codex Bezae, and watch the way in which one copy or another evaded the harshness and removed the provincialisms from the parent text. In

not a few cases it will be found that peculiar readings of our Codex escape correction, and so appear in texts whose Latin is of a very correct type; while, on the opposite hand, there are no doubt cases where the comparison will throw back archaisms from the younger texts upon the parent text of the Beza manuscript.

Having said so much by way of suggestion, let us now return to the curious Latin reading *sic* for *si*, from the consideration of which we have digressed.

We may now go a step further: Scrivener[1] suggests that in the year 1546 the Codex Bezae was in Italy. His reasoning is as follows: "William à Prato, Bishop of the city of Clermont in the adjoining[2] province of Auvergne, produced to the Council of Trent in 1546 a very ancient Greek manuscript confirming the Latin reading *sic eum volo* in John xxi. 22, which Cod. D alone of all known authorities might appear to do: when his end was served, the Bishop would of course restore it to his neighbours the monks of St Irenaeus, from whom he had borrowed it."

Scrivener is quoting from Wetstein N. T. proll. p. 28, who says

Postquam diu latuisset codex noster, iterum in lucem productus est circa tempora Concilii Tridentini, quod conjicio ex Mariani Victorii notis in Hieronymum, in quibus citatur "antiquissimus Graecus Codex, quem Tridentum attulerat *Claromontanus Episcopus* A° 1546": is erat, ut ex Actis Synodicis constat, Gulielmus a Prato, qui, ad locum Ioann. xxi. 22, prout in Latinis exemplaribus legitur, confirmandum istius codicis Graeca protulit, *ἐὰν αὐτὸν θέλω μένειν οὕτως, ἕως ἔρχομαι, si eum volo sic manere, usque dum venio.* Haec enim lectio hactenus in solo Cantabrigiensi reperta est.

But have we the right to go so far as to say that the bishop of Clermont's Codex was the Codex Bezae? Wetstein's quotation is evidently from the Codex Bezae; but what of Marianus Victorius? Evidently he wished for some reason or other to confirm the reading *οὕτως*. But what was the reason, and whence did Marianus Victorius get his information? A reference to the notes on the first book of Jerome against Jovinianus will give the actual words of the editor:

Si eum sic volo esse, quid ad te? D. Hieronymus legit, sicut habet anti-

[1] Codex Bezae p. viii.

[2] i.e. to Lyons.

quissimus quidam Graecus Codex quem Tridentum attulit Claromontanensis Episcopus anno Domini 1549, ἐὰν αὐτὸν θέλω μένειν οὕτως ἕως ἔρχομαι. Cui consentit Latinus qui est in Basilica S. Pauli, a Carolo Magno illi Ecclesiae donatus, et vulgatus ubique Sacrarum Missarum Codex, et alii tres, duo qui sunt in monasterio Sublacensi, et tertius quem ego legi in monasterio S. Dionysii Parisiensis.

It appears, then, that Marianus Victorius was adducing the bishop of Clermont as confirming the reading not in its archaic form *sic eum volo*, but in a more evolved form, after conflation had taken place. But since he gives us the Greek text, there is little reason to doubt that the Codex Bezae is the MS. in question, the agreement on this point being exact.

The reason for referring to the passage at all in the Council of Trent is a little more difficult to detect. But we may make one or two points with some confidence.

It might at first be supposed that the verse was a test question as to the authority of the Vulgate against the Greek in a matter of divergent texts; and this would agree with the fact that the bishop of Clermont was present in the Council and took part in the debates on the question of the authority of the Scriptures. But I can find no allusion in the published accounts of the Tridentine Council to any such dispute over the verse in John xxi. And indeed the selection of such a passage as a test-case would imply a degree of scholarship altogether too refined. We may suspect then that the question at issue was something of a different kind, to which the verse in dispute was more applicable than the rest of the Scripture: and it is easy to see what this question was; for Jerome quotes the passage in order to base on it an argument for the perpetual virginity of St John; *sic manere* is the expression of the perpetual celibacy of the beloved disciple. Now this question comes up in the Council in connexion with the dispute as to which estate of life has the higher sanctity, the married or the single. It is true that it does not come up during the first part of the Council at which William à Prato was present, but many years later, when the Council had been re-assembled. But this need not prevent us from believing that the question was much discussed in private, in the earlier years of the Council.

The fact is that the verse in St John, as read in the Latin or in the Beza-text, formed a very appropriate pendant to the doctrine of 1 Cor. vii. 40 *μακαριωτέρα δέ ἐστιν ἐὰν οὕτως μείνῃ*: and the similarity of the language invited the interpretation which we find in Jerome. Consequently we find, when the Canon on Virginity is brought forward in the Council, after the twenty-third formal session, that it appears in the following forms: on July 20th, 1563, it is the IXth Canon:

IX. Si quis dixerit matrimonium anteponendum esse virginitati, vel coelibatui, et non esse melius et *beatius manere* in virginitate et coelibatu (=*οὕτως*) quam iungi in matrimonio, anathema sit.

On Oct. 26 it is the Xth Canon,

X. Si quis dixerit statum conjugalem anteponendum esse statui virginitatis vel coelibatui, et non esse melius ac *beatius manere* in virginitate aut coelibatu, quam iungi matrimonio, anathema sit.

And we suspect, as we have said, that the reason for the quotation from St John was that it was supposed to have a bearing on the question of virginity, as implied in *οὕτως μείνῃ* of 1 Cor. We need have no hesitation in accepting Marianus Victorius' evidence about the Greek MS. and its reading, for he is an almost contemporary Italian bishop and had therefore every reason, both as a cleric and a scholar, to know the facts of the case. His Jerome was published at Rome in 1566, and he himself died in 1572, not long after he had been elected bishop of Rieti.

We may correct the date 1549, which I find in the notes to Jerome; it must stand 1546, for the Council was hardly in active existence in 1549; nor is there any evidence that the bishop of Clermont was at any session later than the seventh, i.e. up to March 1547; though he made a powerful address before the assembled fathers on Jan. 9th, 1547 (a copy of which may be found in Le Plat, III. 481), and frequently took part in the earlier debates[1].

[1] His bishopric is Clermont-Ferrand in the Auvergne; he was elected to the see on Feb. 16, 1528 and died in the year 1561 (according to Gams 22 x. 1560, which seems to be the same date differently reckoned). He was the founder of the Jesuit College of Clermont at Paris and of several other institutions. He was buried in the Convent of the Friars Minims of Beauregard, which again seems to have been one of his own foundations.

We have seen then that there is reason to believe that the Codex Bezae was at the Council of Trent; and that it was referred to in order to support a Latin rendering, when, as a matter of fact, the Greek had already been corrected to the Latin, although there was not the least reason to have made a correction at all, if only the vulgar speech had been kept in mind!

The proof that the archaic Latin rendering of the New Testament employed the form *sic* for *si* may be confirmed by shewing how widely this form prevails in the popular Latin literature of the same period. If the reader will take the trouble to examine the Old Latin of Irenaeus, he will find that the MSS. and edited texts are full of misunderstandings arising out of the interpretation and correction of the ambiguous word. A few instances may be given.

It will be remembered that the text of Irenaeus is based upon three principal MSS.: the Clermont MS. (formerly in the Jesuit College at Paris), the Arundel MS. in the British Museum, and the Vossian Codex at Leyden. Other MSS. are occasionally alluded to by the first editors, but their whereabouts is in most cases unknown.

Irenaeus ed. Harvey, II. 318 = Mass. 293.

Si autem non salvetur haec videlicet, nec Dominus sanguine suo redemit nos, neque calix Eucharistiae communicatio sanguinis ejus est.

This reading, according to Harvey and Stieren, is found in the Clermont and Vossian MSS. while the Arundel MS. reads *sic autem* and is supported by an Ottobonian Codex. The latter form is, no doubt, to be restored.

II. 339 = Mass. 301.

Sic ergo pignus hoc habitans in nobis iam spirituales efficit, et absorbetur mortale ab immortalitate.

Here the Clermont and Vossian MSS. (with perhaps some collateral support known to the earlier editors of Irenaeus) read *sic* for *si*. The form should again be restored.

II. 356 = Mass. 308.

Sic enim proprie de carne hoc dictum dicent, et non de carnalibus operationibus, quemadmodum demonstrabimus, ipsum sibi contraria Apostolum dicentem contraria ostendentes.

Here, according to Harvey, the Clermont, Arundel and Vossian MSS. read *sic*, other authorities *si*. Stieren merely says "Ita

Clarom. Voss. et Mass.: melius quam reliqui *si enim*." The sense requires *si enim*, but the older form should be printed.

II. 384 = Mass. 319.

Sic igitur manifeste ostendente Domino quoniam Dominus verus et unus Deus qui a lege declaratus fuerat...iam non oportet quaerere alium Patrem.

Here the editors Harvey and Stieren read *sic* against the Vossian and Clermont MSS. which have *si*. The confusion between the two forms is again apparent. We follow the editors in restoring the form *sic*, and leave the interpretation of the word an open question.

II. 395 = Mass. 324.

Si ergo Deus magnus significavit per Danielem futura et per Filium confirmavit,...confutati resipiscant qui Demiurgum respuunt, etc.

Here Stieren notes: "Feuardentius e codice veteri, quocum Voss. consentit, scripsit *sic ergo*. Sed cum Grab. et Mass. nostram lectionem restitui propter meliorem connexionem verborum, quae sequuntur: *confutati resipiscant*."

Harvey adopts *si* which is clearly right, as far as the sense goes, without even a question or a note. But it is again a case of misunderstanding, and we should restore *sic* to the text.

II. 414 = Mass. 332.

Si ergo huic promisit Deus hereditatem terrae, non accepit autem in omni suo incolatu, oportet eum accipere, etc.

where Stieren notes on the reading *si*; "Ita cum Mass. scripsi. Reliqui e codd. habent *sic*, quod errore scribarum scriptum est."

The error is clearly one of interpretation, and the scribes are to be justified in preserving the old Vulgar Latin form.

Enough has been said to shew that the pages of Irenaeus are full of misunderstandings similar to the one which we detected in Cod. Bezae. The instances might be multiplied, but as the present discourse is not immediately concerned with the character of the Old Latin of Irenaeus, it is not necessary to deal with the subject exhaustively.

CHAPTER VI.

Is the Codex Bezae a Latinizing Codex?

It will be seen that we have run up against a notable and apparently incontrovertible instance of what is called Latinization in the Codex Bezae. And as we have thus reopened what was a burning question of the last century, it will be well to stop and ask ourselves whether it is really true that such a retranslation of Latin into Greek can be admitted, and whether there are any other such cases. Leaving then, for a while, the discussion of the Vulgar-latinisms of the MS., we proceed to shew that the instance in question is not an isolated case, but that the whole of the Greek text of Codex Bezae from the beginning of Matthew to the end of Acts is a re-adjustment of an earlier text to the Latin version.

This was the view of the earlier critics, such as Mill, Wetstein, Middleton, etc.: but it was supposed to have received a final quietus, by the discovery of the wide extent to which the so-called Western readings prevailed in manuscripts of all periods (and especially of early periods), and coming from all parts of the world.

Mill expressed himself, as follows, in his Greek Testament A.D. 1707[1].

Vidimus jam qualia fuerint Graeca, qualia item Latina hujusce codicis. De Graecis unum illud ultra quaeritur, an aliqua ex parte castigata fuerint ad Latinum exemplar? ea enim erat de libris hujus generis eruditorum quorundam nostrae et superioris aetatis diserta sententia. Nempe cum mirifice consenserint ista cum Latinis, contra quam reliqui Graeciae libri, iique optimi, facile ipsis persuasum est, ea vel non omnino fuisse Graecae originis, sed tota, quanta quanta, traducta de Latinis, vel saltem recensita et emendata fuisse variis sui partibus, ad Latinam Versionem. Sic de ipsis pronuntiant Erasmus, Lucas Brugensis, Estius, Grotius, alii; quorum sententiam nil mirum si in hac editione nostram fecerimus.

[1] *Proleg. in N. T.* p. cxxxiv.

De hac re jam ita videtur. Exscripta erant apud Latinos, ex librorum, ad quos confecta erat Itala versio, apographis, varia Graeca exemplaria, ex ignorantia scribarum, doctiorumque e Latinis quorundam *περιεργία* (qui mutuata e Graecorum libris scholia, et Apocrypha fragmenta in codices ex suis descriptos inserenda curabant) graviter laesa et interpolata. Istis mox adaptabatur a quibusdam Latina Versio. Ex hac autem consensione forte factum est, ut indocta manus paucula hinc inde in textu Graeco ad formam Latinorum et e Latina versione mutaverit. illud enim apparet in Graecis *Cant.* Ηρώδους, Ιωάννους, Σαμαριτάνων, aliaque id genus ad Latinorum formam confecta sunt. Matt. v. 24, cum latinum esset *offeres*, *πρόσφερε* mutavit librarius in *προσφερεῖς*. ea enim ipsi erat secunda persona futuri. *καταβαῖνον*, factum *καταβαίνοντα* ob lat. *descendentem*, iii. 16. Cap. xi. 22, 24 cum esset in lat. *quam vobis* et vero Graecum esset *ἢ ὑμῖν*, *quae vobis* (sic enim videbatur) mutavit in *ἣν ὑμῖν* ut latino responderet. Sic cap. ejusd. v. 28, factum est *πάντες οἱ κοπιῶντες καὶ πεφορτισμένοι ἐστὲ* ob lat. *omnes qui laboratis et onerati estis*. Cap. xv. 18, 20, ob *latina obsoleta* (sed genuina interpretis *Vulgati*) *communicat communicant* i.e. polluit, polluunt, pro *κοινοῖ*, *κοινοῦντα* reposuit absurde *κοινωνεῖ κοινωνοῦντα*. uti et Act. xxi. 28, *ἐκοινώνησε τὸν ἅγιον τόπον τοῦτον*, ob lat. *communicavit sanctum locum hunc*. Sic Matt. xviii. 22, *ἑβδομηκοντάκις ἑπτάκις* ob lat. *septies*. Act. v. 9, Συνεφώνησεν (pro *συνεφωνήθη*) *ὑμῖν* ob lat. *convenit vobis*. Mitto alia.

One would certainly have thought that such an array of instances, with the suggestion that there were others, would have provoked a very close examination of at least the syntax on the two sides of the MS. Perhaps the real fault was that people accepted the opinion as to the Latinization of the Western Greek Codices too readily. There were polemic feelings which, in some cases at least, were still provoked by the suggestions of Latin authority. Wetstein in his prolegomena takes up very decided ground with Mill as to the fact of Latinization: and inveighs fiercely against Morinus who had in his *Exercitationes Biblicae* defended the consentient testimony of Latin and Latinizing codices as being the criterion of the true text: and concludes Morinus on this ground, as well as on that of private scandals, to be wholly unacquainted with the Greek language[1].

The very strong case made out by Mill and Wetstein was met by a temperate reply made in 1787 by J. D. Michaelis. He admits that some of the examples brought forward are very extraordinary, but replies that the Greek text in Codex Bezae sometimes varies

[1] Wetstein, *Prolegg.*, Amstelodami (A.D. 1751), p. 32.

from the Latin, and he carries the war into the enemies' camp by suggesting that the Latin has in some cases been corrupted from the Greek. And he concludes by saying[1]

> The result of the preceding remarks is that the manuscript in question cannot possibly have been altered from the Latin, according to the charge which has been usually laid to it.... But till we are fully informed what readings are to be ascribed to the text itself and what to subsequent corrections, it is impossible to decide on this subject with any certainty; which we shall more easily obtain, if to the above mentioned information be added a diligent use of the Sahidic version.

And so he concludes to wait until Kipling's promised edition shall come out. The allusion to the Sahidic version was significant, for this version had been shewn to be full of Western readings.

Griesbach[2] threw the whole weight of his great authority against the theory of Latinization. In describing Codex L, which has such affinity in many readings with Cod. D, he refuses to admit that the consensus between readings of the Alexandrian and Western recensions is anything more than a consensus: very many Western readings had been introduced by mixture into Alexandrian texts. Such Greek readings were to be reckoned as derived from Greek MSS. unless it could be shewn that they could not have been derived from such a source, and that they could on the other hand have been derived from the Latin. The illustrations brought forward by the Latinizers shewed *consent* but not *corruption:* ("nil praeter illorum cum hac *consensum* ostendunt, neutiquam vero istos ex hac *corruptos* esse"). He will not be so wedded to his own opinion as to say that no glosses or readings ever crept from the Latin into the Greek: but most of these cases are of slight importance and there was no deliberate intent at latinizing the Greek. He instances λέπρωσος, and φλαγελλώσας. But actual readings of a latinizing kind are very rare. Griesbach intimates that a few such occur in the Acts in the Codex Alexandrinus. In any case, if one or two such readings occur, that is no reason for despising the rest of the MS.

It is evident that Griesbach's views must have been the chief cause in the change of opinion upon the question of Latinization.

[1] Marsh's *Michaelis*, II. 235.

[2] *Symbolae Criticae*, p. cxi.

And he was followed by Herbert Marsh, who in his notes on Michaelis' Introduction takes up the same ground[1]. Marsh points out that Semler, who at first, in 1764, when he had not emancipated himself from the influence of Wetstein, had expressed himself against the Western Graeco-Latin texts, put himself right in his *Spicilegium Observationum* in 1766 by saying "non licet mihi amplius eam tenere (sententiam) aut hunc codicem (sc. D) et graeco-latinos tam vehementer adspernari...Itaque istae accusationes omnes vanae sunt jam et temerariae." To which Marsh adds that the authors of the Latin versions must have found in the Greek manuscripts, from which they translated, the readings which are common to them and to the Codex Bezae: and this very agreement is a strong argument for the genuineness of the Western readings. No instance has been produced from the Codex Bezae of supposed latinizing which might not just as well be a genuine reading of the Greek.

Marsh's edition of Michaelis' Introduction and valuable supplementary notes on the same were published in 1793. And he remarks that Griesbach's system is at present received by every critic in Europe. It would seem, therefore, that by the end of last century Griesbach had converted almost the whole world to his opinions. Matthaei alone seems to have held to the ancient opinion, and Matthaei was not popular in the west.

In his New Testament published at Riga in 1786 Matthaei had expressed himself very strongly as to the origin of the corruptions in Cod. D. They were due to a Latin monk who knew a moderate amount of Greek, and had made a farrago of readings from other copies and from the fathers and from other parallel passages. It must be owned that this is not very clear. The indictment had too many counts.

In 1808, however, there appeared Middleton's *Doctrine of the Greek Article*, to which was attached a far more close examination of the subject than had yet been made[2]. Middleton had fallen foul of the Codex Bezae in his attempt to apply his theories of the Greek Article to the text of the New Testament: and he subjoins an Appendix, containing some remarks on this Codex.

[1] Vol. II. pt 2, pp. 676 sqq.

[2] I use the edition of 1841, published after Middleton's death by H. J. Rose.

This Appendix is really an excellent piece of work, for so small a compass. The writer begins by making a collection of some rare and unique readings in the Codex Bezae in the first twelve chapters of Mark. Then he analyses the variants under eight heads: (1) Synonyms. (2) Transpositions. (3) Compound for Simple and Simple for Compound verbs. (4) Wrong moods and tenses. (5) Alterations in the sense. (6) Questionable Greek. (7) Latinisms. (8) The uses of the Article. Under all these heads Middleton finds evidence of latinizing corruption, and he concludes that "the Cambridge MS. though a most venerable remain of antiquity, is not to be considered, in a critical view, of much importance. It is of use to the translator and to the dogmatic theologian, but not, as I think, generally speaking, to the editor of the N.T., whose object it is to give a text approaching as nearly as possible to the Autographs." But he adds very fairly "As to the goodness of its readings, considered with regard to the *sense*, I have already observed that for this fact we may in part account by the natural supposition of the great antiquity of the MS. which was the basis of the Codex Bezae."

In the present century the general opinion as to the excellence of the text underlying Codex D has become more and more decided. It is regarded as an exploded fiction to speak of latinizing, and as a rule the Latin text is only quoted where the Greek is lost, or where there is some peculiarity attaching to it which constitutes a fresh point in the evidence.

Accordingly Dr Hort says[1] "a large proportion of the Latin texts of these MSS. is indeed, beyond all reasonable doubt, unaltered Old Latin; but where they exactly correspond to the Greek, as they do habitually, it is impossible to tell how much of the accordance is original, and how much arbitrary; so that for the criticism of the Greek text the Latin reading has here no independent authority." And his account of the genesis of the bilingual texts is that "a genuine (independent) Old Latin text has been adopted as the basis, but altered throughout into verbal conformity with the Greek text by the side of which it was intended to stand." It will be seen from these quotations how completely the Greek text of Cod. Bezae has come to be regarded

[1] *Introduction* to *N. T.* pp. 82, 83.

as independent of the translation which accompanies it. Our question, then, is whether this belief in the independence of the Greek text is well-founded; and it is clear that, if the critics have come to a wrong conclusion on this point, it will not be easy to make progress in the study of the New Testament origins until the error is rectified. We proceed then to examine the question again in the light of the instances of Latinization quoted above, and such others as may be detected.

Now, when we say that there has been action and re-action between the Greek and Latin texts in Codex Bezae, we do not merely mean that a bilingual scribe makes bilingual mistakes. It is quite true and worthy of notice that there are errors by the writing of Greek letters in the Latin words, etc. Thus there are several cases where the letters of one language are used erroneously in the words of the other language. Perhaps the most curious is in Matt. v. 22, where the present text runs thus:

Ego autem dico uobis: quia omnes qui irascitur.

There is reason to believe that in the archetype of the Western texts there once stood *pascitur* instead of *irascitur;* the first letter of the last word being lost in the last letter of *qui;* and the *r* becoming *p* by the confusion prevalent in Graeco-Latin palaeography. Our reason for believing this error to be wide spread and original is the fact that it is found at this point in Codex *k*, which is said to be African Latin: and also in the Latin of Irenaeus, ii. 32, 1, in the Codex Claromontanus. There is no more curious error than this in the whole New Testament; one would have supposed it would hardly have escaped correction by a single copyist; and it seems safe to trace to a common origin MSS. which shew such a feature.

But such instances, while they constitute a striking feature of family likeness in the Codices where they occur, do not prove anything at all with regard to the character of the texts. There is always cross-play in a bilingual MS.

The same thing must be said of such cases as λεπρωσος, φλαγελλωσας, Σαμαριτανων and the like: these are things such as may belong to any bilingual Codex whatever. They are the natural accidents of the case. We must examine the matter much more closely before we can come to a conclusion.

CHAPTER VII.

Case of a Latin Hexameter Verse carried over into the Greek text of Codex Bezae.

But now let us turn to Luke xxiii. 53, and examine a notable addition which Codex Bezae here makes to the text. The whole verse reads

.....και καθελων
ενετυλιξεν το σωμα του ιηυ εν σινδονι
και εθηκεν αυτον εν μνημειω
λελατομημενω ου ουκ ην ουπω
ουδεις κειμενος και θεντος αυτου επεθηκε
τω μνημειω λειθον ον μογις εικοσι
εκυλιον

ET DEPONENS
INVOLVIT CORPVS IHV IN SINDONE
ET POSVIT EVM IN MONVMENTO
SCVLPTO VBI ADHVC
NEMO POSITVS ET POSITO EO IMPOSVIT
IN MONVMENTO LAPIDEM QVEM VIX VIGINTI
MOVEBANT.

Now concerning this added sentence (*και θεντος...εκυλιον*) Scrivener remarks acutely that it is "conceived somewhat in the Homeric spirit." Let us examine then whether either in the Greek or Latin the added words shew traces of having once been in metre. Fixing our attention on the added words in the Latin, we see that the words *posito eo* and *in monumento* are a repetition from the preceding words *posuit eum in monumento*. And if we erase them we have left what is certainly meant for a hexameter verse,

Imposuit lapidem quem uix uiginti mouebant.

It is clear, then, that the scribe of Codex Bezae, or, if we prefer it, an ancestor of his, *has deliberately incorporated into his text a verse of Latin poetry*, which he has then turned into Greek, following closely the order of the Latin verse. The only difficulty lies in the quantity of the last syllable of *viginti*, which would in Virgil be strictly long: but this objection may be over-ruled, for the poetry of our interpolator may be popular, and in any case we are in a position to point out the ultimate poetical origin from which his verse is derived. In fact, as Scrivener suggested, the origin of the gloss is Homeric, and the stone which covered the entrance to the Lord's tomb has been compared with the great stone which Polyphemus rolls to the mouth of his cave. Of this we are told that it was such a great stone that two and twenty waggons would not be able to stir it: (*Odyssey* IX. 240)

> Αὐτὰρ ἔπειτ' ἐπέθηκε θυρεὸν μέγαν ὑψόσ' ἀείρας,
> Ὄβριμον· οὐκ ἂν τόνγε δύω καὶ εἴκοσ' ἄμαξαι
> Ἐσθλαὶ τετράκυκλοι ἀπ' οὔδεος ὀχλίσσειαν,

with which we may compare IX. 304,

> Οὐ γάρ κεν δυνάμεσθα θυράων ὑψηλάων
> Χερσὶν ἀπώσασθαι λίθον ὄβριμον ὃν προσέθηκεν.

There are other similar comparisons in Homer, when great stones are thrown by Ajax and other warriors in battle; but this passage in the Odyssey is undoubtedly the one from which our writer has derived his gloss. The "twenty" insufficient stone-movers are the equivalent of the twenty-two waggons in Homer; and this of itself makes one suspect that the Codex Bezae has borrowed from a Latin version of the Odyssey, and that the next line to the one which he appropriated began with the word "Plaustra."

Moreover the passage is identified with the story of Polyphemus by the fact that the Evangelic allusion is to *a cave* closed by a stone, which finds a much more exact parallel in the passage from the Odyssey than any of the other Homeric references to the handling of huge stones.

We might compare by way of illustration the following lines from the Ilias Latina 458—462:

Postquam utrique diu steterant nec uulnera magnus
Qua daret infesto Tydides ense uidebat,
Saxum ingens, medio quod forte iacebat in agro,
Bis seni quod uix iuuenes tellure mouerent,
Sustulit et magno conamine misit in hostem;

but while this passage furnishes a very instructive parallel, it is not nearly so close to our text as what would be furnished by the incident in the Odyssey.

If further confirmation of the correctness of our theory as to the source of the Bezan gloss were needed, it might be found in the following considerations. The leading facts of the Gospel History were at a very early period (far earlier than most people suppose) transferred into poetry by using the language of Homer, and translating into this speech the record of the Miracles and Passion of our Lord. These curious patchworks of verses and half-verses of Homer were known by the name of Homeric Centones, Ὁμηροκέντρωνες or Ὁμηρόκεντρα. It is not generally known that these collections have exercised a very great influence over the primitive Christian literature. But such is the case, as I hope at some future time to demonstrate. As far as I know, no attention has been given to the subject, and I only refer to it here in order to point out that, when the Homeric Centonists went to work to write the story of our Lord's burial in Greek Hexameters, they made the very same connexion with Polyphemus as we find in the Codex Bezae. To prove this, we will transcribe a few lines of the Homeric Centones, as found in the Paris edition of the *Poetae Graeci Christiani* of A.D. 1609.

Περὶ τῆς ταφῆς.

Τορνώσαντο δὲ σῆμα, θεμείλιά τε προβάλοντο.
Ἀγκὰς δ' ἀλλήλων λαβέτην χερσὶ στιβαρῇσιν·
Οἱ δ' ὥσθ' ἡμίονοι κρατερὸν μένος ἀμφιβαλόντες,
Ἕλκουσ' ἐξ ὄρεος κατὰ παιπαλόεσσαν ἀταρπὸν
Ἢ δόκον, ἠὲ δόρυ μέγα νηΐιον, ἐν δέ τε θυμὸς
Τείρεθ' ὁμοῦ καμάτῳ τε καὶ ἱδρῷ σπευδόντεσσιν.
Ὡς οἵ γ' ἐμμεμαῶτε, νέκυν φέρον. αὐτὰρ ὕπερθεν,
Χερσὶ μέγαν λίθον ἀείραντές τε προσέθηκαν
Ὄμβριμον· οὐκ ἂν τόνδε δύω καὶ εἴκοσ' ἄμαξαι
Ἐσθλαὶ, τετράκυκλοι, ἀπ' οὔδεος ὀχλίσσειαν.

The striking coincidence in the treatment of the case by the Centonist with the gloss in the Bezan text renders it certain that

we have referred the latter to its true origin in the pages of Homer. The intermediate link was either some Latin form of the Odyssey, or it was a version of the Gospels made by a Latin Centonist.

Further light is thrown on the subject by the consideration that the same gloss which we have detected in Cod. Bezae is found in one other Latin copy and in one of the Egyptian versions.

The Latin MS. which is denoted by the sign *c* (Cod. Colbertinus), whose text will be found in Sabatier's *Bibliorum Sacrorum Latinae Versiones Antiquae*, gives the additional matter in the form

> et cum positus esset in monumento,
> posuerunt lapidem quem uix uiginti
> uoluebant.

Some changes have here been introduced into the original form; *posito eo* has been replaced by *cum positus esset; inposuit* becomes *posuerunt;* and *mouebant* has been corrected to *uoluebant.* Now clearly *mouebant* is the original word, for it is coupled, if our suggestion be correct, with *plaustra;* but since *mouebant* went back into Greek as ἐκύλιον, it seems that in Cod. *c* we have a re-translation from the Greek with greater exactness; and the same supposition explains *cum positus esset* as a new translation of καὶ θέντος αὐτοῦ, and *posuerunt* may be due to a reading ἐπέθηκαν in the Greek, or to a desire to avoid the difficulty of the rolling of such a stone by a single man. We suspect then that the text of *c* is a re-translation of the Western Greek. The other version to which we have alluded is the Sahidic or Thebaic, which gives a reading answering to

> cum uero posuissent eum posuit
> lapidem in porta sepulcri quem
> uiginti homines uoluere possent.

It is interesting again to observe the changes that have taken place, the explanatory gloss *in porta sepulcri,* the express introduction of *homines* after the numeral, the dropping of *uix,* and the change from *mouebant* to *uoluere possent.*

The reading, moreover, proves, and it is a fact of immense textual importance, that the Thebaic version ultimately leans, in

part, on a Latin base. It has always been a problem to account for the large Western element in the Thebaic version; we now see in what direction to look for the explanation. It is not, in the present case, a question of early Greek recensions; if the Thebaic version took the gloss in question from a Greek copy, it was from a Greek MS. which was the *umbra* of a Latin text, and it is even possible that it may have borrowed from the Latin directly.

Further, we may say that the text from which the verse in question was originally taken, whether it be a metrical Gospel or a collection of Latin Centones, or a Latin Odyssey, must have been an early work; for it has every appearance of being older than the common origin of the group of authorities

D + *c* + theb.

It is commonly held that the Bezan text is a fourth century product; I believe it to be in the main, including the glosses, two hundred years earlier than this; the Thebaic version is usually referred to the third century at least, against which date we know no reason; and it seems, therefore, that the metrical gloss must be very ancient, and this consideration will help us in finding the date, not only of the special corruption which we are studying, but of associated and similarly attested errors.

For example, the reasoning in the preceding paragraph would exclude the possibility of the gloss in question being taken, say, from the Evangelical History of Juvencus.

It is true that Juvencus in his account of the entombment draws upon the Polyphemus passage, as the following extract will shew:

> Concessit praeses, et corpus fulgida lino
> Texta tegunt, saxique nouo componitur antro:
> Limen concludunt immensa uolumina petrae.
>
> Lib. IV. 724—726.

Here Juvencus has borrowed 'immensa uolumina' from Virgil, but he seems to have Homer also in his mind, for his verses have a ring very like *Odyssey* IX. 235, and 243.

> Ἔντοσθεν δ' ἄντροιο βαλὼν ὀρυμαγδὸν ἔθηκεν
> .....
> Τόσσην ἠλίβατον πέτρην ἐπέθηκε θύρῃσιν.

Juvencus then shews the same tendency to use the language of the Polyphemus story, but he makes no use of the line descriptive of the size of the stone, and, as we have shewn above, this line must belong to an earlier writer.

The question now is, whether we can refer the original gloss to any definite time or person?

My friend Dr McCabe[1], who first pointed out that my Beza hexameter was substantially a verse of the Odyssey, suggested that it might possibly be a fragment from Livius Andronicus. The Odyssey was translated into Latin verse at a very early date indeed, and the translation is, in fact, one of the first efforts at Latin poetry. Livius Andronicus, nearly 250 years before the Christian era, transferred the Odyssey into Saturnian verse: and the translated poem was still used as a school-book in Horace's day. Moreover, when we say that the metre was Saturnian, this is not meant to exclude an occasional hexameter; for these early poets used a good deal of freedom: and, in fact, the fragments of Livius Andronicus which are preserved shew some decided cases of hexameter writing.

Unfortunately, we are not able to test the conjecture in question by means of a direct reference, for by far the major part of the Latin Odyssey is wanting.

Moreover, we shall see bye and bye, that this case of demonstrated Homerization is only one out of a number of such cases occurring in Codex Bezae and other Christian writings that seem to be connected with it. We shall, therefore, leave it for the present an open question who was responsible for the Latin verse injected into the account of the Entombment; if we were forced to make a suggestion, we should say it was due to an early Christian Centonist, probably of the second century.

[1] Of the Seminary of S. Carlo Borromeo, Pennsylvania.

CHAPTER VIII.

Traces of an Attempt at Numerical Verbal Equality between the Greek and the Latin on the part of the Scribes of the Ancestry of Codex Bezae.

It is interesting to notice that this reflex action of the Latin on the Greek had been observed by Bentley, who had the MS. for so many years in his personal keeping at Trinity College. If we turn to Luke xv. 28,

Ο ΔΕ ΠΑΤΗΡ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΕΞΕΛΘΩΝ ΗΡΞΑΤΟ ΑΥΤΟΝ
PATER AVTEM EIVS EXIENS ROGABAT EVM,

we shall see that the word *παρακαλεῖν* has dropped from the end of the Greek line, apparently because there was nothing to balance it in the Latin, which had however rightly translated *ἤρξατο παρακαλεῖν*, or perhaps a primitive *παρεκάλει*, by *rogabat*[1]. And Bentley, who noticed this, remarked[2], "Exciderat *τὸ 'παρακαλεῖν'* in Graeco; quod in Latino rependit eodem (ut solet) verborum ordine."

No doubt Bentley was right in his explanation, and there are too many such instances for us to regard the omissions as accidental. For example, two pages further on in the MS., Luke xvi. 16, we have

ΚΑΙ ΠΑC ΕΙC ΑΥΤΗΝ ΒΙΑΖΕΤΑΙ
ET OMNES IN EAM CONATVR,

where it is possible that the translator wrote *conatur introire:* in this case then the Latin text has been shorn of a word. It is much to be wished that Bentley had followed his clue a little

[1] *Rogabat* is also found in Cod. *e*.
[2] Ellis, *Bentleii Critica Sacra*, p. 15.

farther into the mysteries of the Beza text: unfortunately, though he was quite alive to the question, he was misled in a passage in the Acts and came to conclude that the Greek had not been corrected to the Latin, and so did not give himself full scope in the perplexing problems offered in his text. We shall find, for instance, that he studied the discrepant Greek and Latin of Acts vi. 14,

ΚΑΤΑΛΥCΕΙ ΤΟΝ ΤΟΠΟΝ ΤΟΥΤΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΑΛΛΑΞΕΙ ΤΑ ΕΘΗ
DESTRVET LOCVM ISTVM MVTAVIT ITERVM,

where *mutauit* stands for *mutabit.*

Here Bentley says: "ἔθη accepit pro eo quod est ἔτι. N.B. non correxisse Graeca ad Latina."

We should take a different view from Bentley: for it seems to us that the translator rendered ἀλλάξει by *mutauit iterum*, and τὰ ἔθη, probably, by *consuetudines*; but having thus allowed the Latin text to gain on the Greek, a word was subtracted, viz. the final one in the sentence. If this explanation be the correct one, it will be seen that Bentley missed a case which exactly confirmed his theory in Luke.

We must certainly examine for other cases of the same kind, and see to what conclusions they lead us with regard to the manner of building and rebuilding of the two texts involved.

Here is another curious specimen of the kind referred to by Bentley:

In Matt. xx. 11,

ΚΑΤΑ ΤΟΥ ΟΙΚΟΔΕCΠΟΤΟΥ ΛΕΓΟΝΤΕC
ADVERSVS FAMILIAM DICENTES,

because *patrem familias* gave a word in excess.

But it is time to take the matter up more in detail.

Let us examine, then, how far the attempt to make the Greek words and the Latin words numerically and in other respects to agree has operated to affect either the Greek or the Latin tradition of the MS.

We may be sure that, if such a tendency existed, it would be found in cases where the usage of one language is more elliptical than the other. For example, it may be remembered that Daillé based one of his objections to the genuineness of the Epistle of

Polycarp on the use of the expression "qui cum eo sunt," which seemed to imply that Ignatius was alive after his martyrdom, whereas the expression was in reality only a rather unfortunate translation of *τοῖς μετ' αὐτοῦ*. Now, if a bilingual text of the Epistle of Polycarp had been current, written in the style of the Codex Bezae, and some stupid scribe had attempted to make a numerical equality between the translation and the text, he would have been obliged either to erase the *sunt* or to introduce a verb, probably *οὖσι* or *ὑπάρχουσι*, on the Greek side. Now this imaginary case is one which can be readily paralleled from the Codex Bezae: we may begin almost anywhere.

John iv. 9 should read

πως cy ιογδαιος ων παρ εμογ
πειν αιτεις γναικος camapeitidoc ογснс.

But the Latin had rendered it

TV CVM SIS IVDAEVS • QVOMODO A ME
BIBERE PETIS • MVLIERE SAMARITANAE,

and the word *οὔσης*, being now unbalanced, was erased; further, since *quomodo* has shifted to a part of the sentence remote from *πῶς*, the scribe corrects the order of the Greek, and finally we have

cy ιογδαιος ων πως παρ εμογ
πειν αιτεις γναικος camapitidoc.

For a second instance take Acts xiii. 29,

ωc δε ετελογν
πανται τα περι αγτογ γεγραμμενα εισιν.

Here the word *εἰσιν* was added, because the Latin had rendered the sentence

ET CONSVMMAVERVNT
OMNIA QVAE DE ILLO SCRIPTA SVNT.

In Matthew v. 12 we should have

ογτως γαρ ελιωžαν
τογс προφητας • τογс προ γμων,

which was rendered

ITA ENIM PERSECVTI SVNT
PROPHETAS • QVI ANTE VOS FVERVNT,

and to balance the added *fuerunt* the scribe has inserted in the Greek the word *ὑπάρχοντας*.

In Matthew xi. 28 (a case to which Mill drew attention),

ΔΕΥΤΕ ΠΡΟC ΜΕ ΠΑΝΤΕC ΟΙ ΚΟΠΙΩΝΤΕC
ΚΑΙ ΠΕΦΟΡΤΙCΜΕΝΟΙ ΕCΤΑΙ

where the last word *ἐστέ* seems to have been derived from the Latin

VENITE AD ME OMNES QVI LAVORATIS
ET ONERATI ESTIS.

In Mark v. 40 the Greek

ΠΑΡΑΛΑΜΒΑΝΕΙ ΤΟΝ ΠΑΤΕΡΑ
ΤΟΥ ΠΑΙΔΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΜΗΤΕΡΑ
ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥC ΜΕΤ ΑΥΤΟΥ

has been rendered

ADSVMPTO PATRE
ET MATRE PVELLAE
ET QVI CVM ILLO ERANT,

and the revising hand has added the equivalent of the word *erant* to the Greek, and harmonized the order of the words, giving us

ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΜΗΤΕΡΑ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΙΔΙΟΥ
ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥC ΜΕΤ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΟΝΤΑC.

So in Mark ii. 25,

ΑΥΤΟC ΚΑΙ ΟΙ ΜΕΤ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΟΝΤΕC

because of the Latin

IPSE ET QVI CVM ILLO ERANT.

In Luke xv. 24,

ΝΕΚΡΟC ΗΝ ΚΑΙ ΑΝΕΖΗCΕΝ ΑΠΟΛΩΛΩC
ΚΑΙ ΑΡΤΙ ΕΥΡΕΘΗ

the Latin is

MORTVVS ERAT ET REVIXIT PERIERAT
ET MODO INVENTVS EST,

where one word is used to translate *ἀπολωλὼς ἦν*, is the reason for the omission of *ἦν* in the Greek of our Codex.

In Luke xxiii. 38,

Ο ΒΑCΙΛΕΥC ΤΩΝ ΙΟΥΔΑΙΩΝ ΟΥΤΟC ΕCΤΙΝ
REX IVDAEORVM HIC EST,

where again *ἐστιν* has been added.

In Mark ii. 4 the original text

ΚΑΙ ΧΑΛΩCΙ ΤΟΝ ΚΡΑΒΑΤΤΟΝ ΟΠΟΥ
Ο ΠΑΡΑΛΥΤΙΚΟC ΚΑΤΕΚΕΙΤΟ

was translated

ET DIMISERVNT GRABATTVM IN QVO ERAT
PARALYTICVS IACENS ;

and this rendering of the imperfect tense by means of the auxiliary and the participle is the reason why in our text we find the passage written

ΚΑΙ ΧΑΛΩCΙ ΤΟΝ ΚΡΑΒΑΤΤΟΝ ΟΠΟΥ ΗΝ
Ο ΠΑΡΑΛΥΤΙΚΟC ΚΑΤΑΚΕΙΜΕΝΟC,

and this *ὅπου ἦν* made it further necessary to add in the previous line the words *ὁ ἰησοῦς*, viz. *ἀπεστέγασαν τὴν στέγην ὅπου ἦν ὁ ἰησοῦς*.

In Mark iv. 31,

ΜΕΙΚΡΟΤΕΡΟΝ ΕCΤΙΝ
ΠΑΝΤΩΝ ΤΩΝ CΠΕΡΜΑΤΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΕΠΙ ΤΗC ΓΗC

was rendered

MINOR EST
OMNIBVS SEMINIBVS • QVAE SVNT IN TERRA,

and in consequence of this, *τῶν* is replaced in the Codex Bezae by *ἅ εἰσιν*.

In Mark v. 9,

ΤΙ CΟΙ ΟΝΟΜΑ ΚΑΙ ΑΠΕΚΡΙΘΗ
ΟΝΟΜΑ ΜΟΙ ΛΕΓΕΩΝ

is a sufficient equivalent to the Latin

QVOD TIBI NOMEN EST • ET RESPONDIT
EST MIHI NOMEN LEGIO.

But to make the parallelism more exact, we have the Greek altered to

ΤΙ CΟΙ ΟΝΟΜΑ ΕCΤΙΝ ΚΑΙ ΑΠΕΚΡΙΘΗ
ΕCΤΙΝ ΜΟΙ ΟΝΟΜΑ ΛΕΓΙΩΝ.

In Mark vi. 3 the original text

ΚΑΙ ΟΥΚ ΕΙCΙΝ ΑΙ ΑΔΕΛΦΑΙ ΑΥΤΟΥ
ΩΔΕ ΠΡΟC ΗΜΑC

would naturally be rendered

NONNE ET SORORES EIVS
HIC NOBISCVM SVNT.

Hence the word *εἰσιν* was erased in the first line of the Greek and carried into the second ; and further *nonne et* was replaced by the more exactly equivalent *οὐχὶ καί*.

In Mark vi. 20,

ΕΙΔΩϹ ΑΥΤΟΝ ΑΝΔΡΑ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΝ
ΚΑΙ ΑΓΙΟΝ

was rendered

SCIENS EVM VIRVM IVSTVM
ET SANCTVM ESSE.

Accordingly *εἶναι* has been added after *ἅγιον* in the Greek.

The auxiliary verb would seem to have been also carried into the Greek in Mark viii. 2 : it probably stood at first

ΟΤΙ ΗΜΕΡΑΙϹ ΤΡΙϹΙΝ ΠΡΟϹΜΕΝΟΥϹΙ ΜΟΙ.

The Latin translator rendered the first words

QVONIAM IAM TRIDVVM EST ;

and paraphrased the last word or words, by saying

EX QVO HIC SVNT;

and then the attempt was made to turn *triduum est* literally into Greek, giving us *ἡμέραι τρεῖς εἰσίν* ; and further *ex quo hic sunt* has been restored verbatim to the Greek, with the final and fearful result

ΟΤΙ ΗΔΗ ΗΜΕΡΑΙ ΤΡΙϹ ΕΙϹΙΝ ' ΑΠΟ ΠΟΤΕ ΩΔΕ ΕΙϹΙΝ.

Very similar treatment will be found in Matt. xv. 32.

In Mark ix. 34 the Greek had

ΠΡΟϹ ΑΛΛΗΛΟΥϹ ΓΑΡ ΔΙΕΛΕΧΘΗϹΑΝ
ΤΙϹ ΜΙΖΩΝ.

The idiomatic *τίς μείζων* had to be paraphrased, and the Latin shews

QVIS ESSE[T] ILLORVM MAIOR.

Consequently the Greek of Codex Bezae has added two words and reads

ΤΙϹ ΜΙΖΩΝ ΓΕΝΗΤΑΙ ΑΥΤΩΝ.

In Mark x. 27,

ΠΑΡΑ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΙϹ ΤΟΥΤΟ ΑΔΥΝΑΤΟΝ

becomes in Latin

APVT HOMINES HOC • IMPOSSIBILE EST,

and so *ἐστιν* is inserted at the end of the Greek, and the natural ellipticity of the Greek speech gives way before the law of numerical verbal equivalence.

In Mark xiv. 21,

καθως γεγραπται περι αυτου

was properly rendered

SICVT SCRIPTVM EST DE ILLO,

but since *scriptum est* is two words, a correction is made to the Greek, and we have

καθως εστιν γεγραμμενον περι αυτου.

In Acts iv. 34 the texts run

ουδε γαρ ενδεης τις υπηρχεν εν αυτοις
οσοι γαρ κτητορες ησαν χωριων
η οικειων υπηρχον·

NEC ENIM INOSP QVISQVAM ERAT IN EIS
QVODQVOD POSSESSORES ERANT PRAEDIORVM
AVT DOMVM.

Here we see that *ὑπῆρχον* in the third line has been translated by *erant* in the second Latin line: therefore the scribe has added the word *ἦσαν* to the second line of the Greek for the sake of correspondence.

In Acts v. 38 the Latin translator had to deal with

και τα νυν αδελφοι λεγω υμειν,

so he translated *τὰ νῦν* by *quae nunc sunt* and the necessary *εἰσιν* was then carried back into the Greek. Curiously enough, probably because *nunc* and *sunt* have a similar appearance, the word *sunt* slipped from the Latin which actually stands

ET QVAE NVNC FRATRES DICO VOBIS;

but its equivalent stays in the Greek

και τα νυν εισιν.....

In Matthew x. 10 we find

αξιος γαρ εστιν ο εργατης της τροφης αυτου,

where *ἐστιν* has been introduced because the Latin, with very pardonable freedom, has given us

DIGNVS EST ENIM OPERARIVS ESCA SVA.

In Acts xvii. 6,

ΟΤΙ ΟΙ ΤΗΝ ΟΙΚΟΥΜΕΝΗΝ ΑΝΑΣΤΑΤΩΣΑΝΤΕΣ
ΟΥΤΟΙ ΕΙΣΙΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΝΘΑΔΕ ΠΑΡΕΙΣΙΝ,

the translator took *καὶ* as a connective of two sentences, and accordingly translated

QVIA QVI ORBEM TERRAE INQVITAVERVNT
HI SVNT ET HOC VENERVNT.

Hence *sunt* has given rise to the word *εἰσιν* which we see to be added in the Greek text.

In Acts xxi. 21 we find

ΟΤΙ ΑΠΟΣΤΑΣΙΑΝ ΔΙΔΑΣΚΕΙΣ ΑΠΟ ΜΩΣΕΩΣ
ΤΟΥΣ ΚΑΤΑ ΕΘΝΗ ΕΙΣΙΝ ΙΟΥΔΑΙΟΥΣ.

QVIA ABSCENSIONEM DOCENS A MOYSEN
QVI IN GENTIBVS SVNT IVDAEOS.

This is a very ragged piece of work; *docens* is for *doces;* there is no immediate antecedent to *qui,* but, if we may judge from other texts there probably once stood in the Greek in the second line *πάντας*, and in that case *omnes* would have been at the beginning of the corresponding Latin. Now since, according to his method, the translator rendered *τοὺς κατὰ τὰ ἔθνη* by *qui in gentibus sunt,* we are not surprised to see *εἰσιν* thrust into the Greek text; and at the same time the superfluous *τὰ* disappeared.

In Matt. xvii. 2 the auxiliary has been dropped from the Latin, leaving

ET TRANSFIGVRATVS IHS CORAM ILLIS.

Hence the Greek

ΚΑΙ ΜΕΤΑΜΟΡΦΩΘΕΙΣ Ο $\overline{\text{ΙΗΣ}}$ ΕΝΠΡΟΣΘΕΝ ΑΥΤΩΝ.

In Matt. xxv. 25,

ΕΙΔΟΥ ΕΧΕΙΣ ΤΟ CON
ECCE HABES QVOD TVVM,

we see that *est* has been removed from the Latin, in the interests of equality.

In Matt. xxv. 41,

ΤΟΤΕ ΕΡΙ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΙC ΕΞ ΕΥΩΝΥΜΩΝ
TVNC AIT ET HIS QVI A SINISTRIS,

where *sunt* has dropped from the Latin.

Cf. xxv. 34, where the same thing occurs

HIS QVI A DEXTRIS EIVS.

Note also in the same verse the dropping of *quod* before *praeparatum est.*

In Mark xiv. 36,

ΔΥΝΑΤΑ ΠΑΝΤΑ
COI EICIN,

εἰσιν has been added because of the Latin

POSSIBILIA OMNIA
TIBI SVNT.

We should at least have expected ἐστιν.

Luke viii. 25,

ΠΟΥ ΕCΤΙΝ Η ΠΙCΤΙC ΥΜΩΝ
VBI EST FIDES VESTRA,

where ἐστιν is intrusive from the Latin.

We have shewn then, conclusively, that the auxiliary verb shews the same phenomena of intrusion and extrusion that we should have expected on the hypothesis of Latinization. Let us then examine some other cases where reflex action between Greek and Latin texts is likely to have occurred.

CHAPTER IX.

General View of the Interaction of the Greek and Latin Texts.

1. Confusions due to betacism.

A very cursory glance at our MS. will shew the prevalence of this feature of late Latin phonetics; the confusion between *b* and *v* is everywhere: and we have to see whether this has in any degree reacted upon the interpretation of the Latin text and so upon the Greek text from which it is made.

Turn to Luke i. 78,

ΕΝ ΟΙC ΕΠΕCΚΕΨΑΤΟ ΗΜΑC
ΑΝΑΤΟΛΗ ΕΞ ΥΨΟΥC

IN QVIBVS VISITAVIT NOS
ORIENS EX ALTO.

Here the confusion between *uisitauit* and *uisitabit* is so natural, that if we adopt the Greek Text of Westcott and Hort and read *ἐπισκέψεται*, we must say that our Codex has Latinized: and if we do not adopt this reading, we must say that Codices ℵBL have Latinized: the dilemma is a pretty one, because D is here supported by almost all other non-Latin authorities, the Latin authorities themselves not being counted one way or the other, on account of the prevalence of betacism in the early copies.

In Luke xv. 15, we should have

ET ADHESIT VNI CIVIVM,

but the scribe gives us

ET ADHESIT IBI VNI CIVIVM.

Possibly he wrote an anomalous *adhesibit* = *adhesiuit;* and the *ibi* of the Latin text has been taken from the verb, the confusion being very easy in the Latin capitals.

A pretty betacistic confusion will be found in Luke xiv. 5, where the Latin is

CVIVS EX VOBIS OVIS AVT BOBIS,

where *bovis* is a Vulgar Latin nominative: here it is clear that *ouis* is wrong, being either a repetition of *uobis* or a correction of *bovis:* if it is a dittograph we may replace some other word: some persons will imagine a confusion with *υἱός* which has the same letters; others will read the equivalent of *ὄνος*. Finally *ouis* has been taken over into the Greek and has produced the well-known reading

ΤΙΝΟϹ ЄΞ ΥΜΩΝ ΠΡΟΒΑΤΟΝ Η ΒΟΥϹ.

2. Cases where the corrector has troubled himself over the rendering of *δὲ* at the beginning of a sentence, and with the desire to keep the sequence of the words the same in Greek and Latin has carried back *δὲ* into the Greek under the form of *καί*.

Acts xiii. 49,

ΔΙЄΦЄΡЄΤΟ ΔЄ=ET PROVVLGABATVR,

and the Greek becomes

ΚΑΙ ΔΙЄΦЄΡЄΤΟ.

Matt. xvii. 24,

ΚΑΙ ЄΛΘΟΝΤΩΝ ΑΥΤΩΝ
ET VENIENTIBVS EIS:

where the original was

ЄΛΘΟΝΤΩΝ ΔЄ ΑΥΤΩΝ.

Mark iv. 36,

ΚΑΙ ΑΛΛΑ ΠΛΟΙΑ

was rendered

ALIAE AVTEM NAVES,

and then the two texts were adjusted,

ΚΑΙ ΑΛΛΑ ΔЄ ΠΛΟΙΑ
ET ALIAE AVTEM NAVES,

other corruptions creeping in afterwards, as a reference to the Codex will shew.

In Mark iv. 29,

ΟΤΑΝ ΔΕ ΠΑΡΑΔΟΙ

was rendered

ET CVM PRODVXERIT,

and the Greek changed to

ΚΑΙ ΟΤΑΝ ΠΑΡΑΔΟΙ.

In Mark vi. 21 the corrector's hand is seen in

ΚΑΙ ΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΗC ΔΕ ΗΜΕΡΑC
ET CVM DIES.....

where we should erase *και*.

In Mark viii. 29 we should read

ΚΑΙ ΑΥΤΟC ΕΠΗΡΩΤΑ ΑΥΤΟΥC,

but Codex Bezae has

ΑΥΤΟC ΔΕ.....

on account of the Latin

IPSE AVTEM INTERROGAVIT EOS.

In Luke xix. 39,

ΤΙΝΕC ΔΕ ΤΩΝ ΦΑΡΙCΑΙΩΝ
QVIDEM AVTEM DE PHARISAEIS,

the original text seems to have been

ΚΑΙ ΤΙΝΕC.....

These are a few instances of a widespread confusion.

3. Cases where the artificial rendering of the article by *ille*, *iste* and *hic* has produced an addition of demonstrative pronouns in the Greek text.

In Matt. xv. 24,

ΕΙ ΜΗ ΕΙC ΤΑ ΠΡΟΒΑΤΑ

seems to have been rendered

NISI AD HAS OVES,

and then we get the harmonized bilingual text

ΕΙ ΜΗ ΕΙC ΤΑ ΠΡΟΒΑΤΑ ΤΑΥΤΑ
NISI AD OVES HAS.

Matt. xv. 32,

ΕΙΠΕΝ ΣΠΛΑΝΧΝΙΖΟΜΑΙ ΕΠΙ ΤΟΝ ΟΧΛΟΝ ΤΟΥΤΟΝ
DIXIT MISEREOR • SVPER TVRBAM HANC,

is another case of the same kind.

There are many other cases of similar textual amplification: and great confusion introduced into the texts thereby: we will give one striking specimen in order to shew how early this mode of rendering is in the history of the Latin text.

In the Gospel of John we frequently find *hic mundus* used as a translation of *ὁ κόσμος*.

Suppose then that we find in John xvii. 11

ΚΑΙ ΟΥΚΕΤΙ ΕΙΜΙ ΕΝ ΤΟΥΤΩ ΤΩ ΚΟΣΜΩ
ET IAM NON SVM IN HOC MVNDO,

we reasonably conclude that the *τούτῳ* came in to balance *hoc*. Let us then examine the whole passage:

ΚΑΙ ΟΥΚΕΤΙ ΕΙΜΙ ΕΝ ΤΟΥΤΩ ΤΩ ΚΟΣΜΩ
ΚΑΙ ΟΥΤΟΙ ΕΝ ΤΩ ΚΟΣΜΩ ΕΙΣΙΝ
ΚΑΓΩ ΠΡΟΣ ΣΕ ΕΡΧΟΜΑΙ ΟΥΚΕΤΙ ΕΙΜΙ ΕΝ ΤΩ
ΚΟΣΜΩ • ΚΑΙ ΕΝ ΤΩ ΚΟΣΜΩ ΕΙΜΙ,

for which the Latin is

ET IAM NON SVM IN HOC MVNDO
ET IPSI IN HOC MVNDO SVNT
ET EGO AD TE VENIO IAM NON SVM IN
MVNDO ET IN MVNDO SVM.

It is clear that we have here a conflate text of a similar character to that which we find in Codex Vercellensis (= *a*), which reads

et hi in hoc mundo sunt,
et ego ad te uenio
et iam non sum in hoc mundo
et in hoc mundo sunt.

Moreover this Codex tells us that the Beza scribe has confounded *sunt* with *sum* at the end of the verse: and we see that the Greek text has not merely preserved the transferred demonstratives, but has followed the Latin in giving *εἰμί* at the end of the verse for *εἰσίν*. It is easy now to separate the two parts of the

conflated text and to reject the part which depends upon the false translation of the article. The two parts may be placed side by side:

et iam non sum in hoc mundo = iam non sum in mundo
et ipsi in hoc mundo sunt = et in mundo sunt
et ego ad te uenio.

This example is very convincing: it tells us moreover that there is a close relation between the Latin texts Cod. *a* and Cod. *d*: this point must be noted for future use.

Other cases of *hic mundus* will be found in viii. 26,

HAEC LOQVOR IN HOC MVNDO.

xiv. 22,

OSTENDERE TE IPSVM ET NON HVIC MVNDO.

xiv. 30,

LOQVAR VOBISCVM VENIT ENIM HVIVS
MVNDI PRINCEPS,

where the Greek is

ΛΑΛΗCΩ ΜΕΘ ΥΜΩΝ ΕΡΧΕΤΑΙ ΓΑΡ Ο ΤΟΥ
ΚΟCΜΟΥ ΑΡΧΩΝ.

xvi. 21,

HOMO IN HVNC MVNDVM,

but in none of these cases has the strong translation of the article affected the Greek. In all of them, however, the Latin agrees with Cod. *a*.

In John xvii. 14, 15, we have, however, a good case of confusion and reflex action.

ΚΑΙ Ο ΚΟCΜΟC ΜΕΙCΕΙ ΑΥΤΟΥC ΟΤΙ ΟΥΚ ΕΙCΙΝ
ΕΚ ΤΟΥΤΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΚΟCΜΟΥ ΟΥΚ ΕΡΩΤΩ ΙΝΑ ΑΡΗC
ΑΥΤΟΥC ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΚΟCΜΟΥ ΑΛΛ ΙΝΑ ΤΗΡΗCΗC
ΑΥΤΟΥC ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΠΟΝΗΡΟΥ ΕΚ ΤΟΥΤΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΚΟCΜΟΥ
ΟΥΚ ΕΙCΙΝ ΚΑΘΩC ΚΑΓΩ ΟΥΚ ΕΙΜΙ ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΚΟCΜΟΥ

the Latin being

ET MVNDVS ODIT EOS QVONIAM NON SVM
DE HOC MVNDO NON ROGO VT TOLLAS
EOS DE MVNDO SED VT SERVES
EOS DE INIQVO DE HOC MVNDO
NON SVNT SICVT ET EGO NON SVM DE MVNDO.

Here we notice first that the translator having used the form *odit* (instead of *odio habuit*) which has a present meaning, *μισεῖ* has replaced *ἐμίσησεν* in the Greek text. Next we see that the Latin scribe has again given *sum* as an equivalent for *sunt:* and this repeated error may indicate a dialectical equality of the two forms (cf. the Italian *sono* which is the equivalent of both *sum* and *sunt*). In this case, however, the Greek has not been harmonized with the Latin as it was in John xvii. 11. Third, we see that *hoc* [*mundo*] has crept back into the Greek at two separate points; and in both cases there is Latin support for *d*.

For further reflex actions see xvii. 18, where there are two in a single verse. But perhaps the thing reaches the height of absurdity in xvii. 25, where *ὁ κόσμος* has been translated as *mundus hic*, and the Greek text appears as

ο κοcμοc τογτοc.

It appears probable then that the primitive Latin translation of John had *hic mundus* everywhere, and Cod. *a* agrees very well with this idea.

Many other cases of the same confusion, arising from the translation of the article, may be found scattered through the Western text; as Mark viii. 2,

cπλαχνιzομαι επι τογ οχλογ τογτογ
MISEREOR SUPER ISTAM TVRBAM,

where *istam*=*τοῦ*, but has been turned back into Greek as *τούτου*.

Acts vi. 5,

και ηρεcεν ο λογοc ογτοc ενωπιον παντοc
ET PLACVIT SERMO HIC IN CONSPECTU OMNI,

where *οὗτος* comes from the translation of *ὁ λόγος* by *hic sermo*.

We must not be surprised at this peculiar feature of the primitive Latin translation, for it can be paralleled in the English renderings of the New Testament, being found freely in the Genevan edition of 1576 (Tomson's New Testament). Of this Westcott says[1], "One peculiarity is characteristic of Tomson alone.

[1] *Hist. Eng. Bible*, p. 232 note.

In his anxiety to express the emphatic force of the Greek Article he constantly renders it by 'that' or 'this,' and in many cases the effect is almost grotesque. One example will suffice 'He that hath *that* Son hath *that* life; and he that hath not *that* Son of God hath not *that* life' (1 John v. 12)." If Tomson had only lived in the second century, what a splendid chance he would have had for propagating a New Testament with extra-canonical readings!

4. Ambiguities arising from the doubtful gender of such words as *eius illius*, etc.

In Matt. ix. 26, the original Western Greek was probably

ΚΑΙ ΕΞΗΛΘΕΝ Η ΦΗΜΗ ΑΥΤΗC,

and the Latin of Codex Bezae is

ET EXIIT FAMA EIVS.

But the revising scribe not unnaturally takes *eius* as masculine and therefore he corrects *αὐτῆς* to *αὐτοῦ*, as we have it in the Greek of our text.

I am inclined to believe that it is to the same cause that we must refer the confusion in Matt. xiv. 6. We start from a primitive text

ωρχηcατο η θγγατηρ της ηρωδιαδος,

which was rendered

SALTAVIT FILIA EIVS HERODIADIS,

where *eius* is meant for a feminine and is the equivalent of the article.

Then we get the Greek altered to *αὐτοῦ* which necessitates a further correction, and finally we reach the impossible

ωρχηcατο η θγγατηρ αγτογ ηρωδιαc.

In Luke ii. 22, we have

ΚΑΙ ΟΤΕ ΕΠΛΗCΘΗCΑΝ ΑΙ ΗΜΕΡΑΙ
ΤΟΥ ΚΑΘΑΡΙCΜΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΟΝ ΝΟΜΟΝ

ET CVM CONSVMMATI SVNT DIES
PVRGATIONIS EIVS SECVNDVM LEGEM.

Does not *eius* here stand for *αὐτῆς* (the Blessed Virgin), and has it not been understood of our Lord: unless indeed it should turn out

that both readings *αὐτοῦ* and *αὐτῆς* are derived from a primitive *αὐτῶν*?

5. Curious case of confusion between *οὐ* and *οὖ*.

In Matt. xviii. 20 the translator began to render

ΟΥ ΓΑΡ ΕΙCΙ • ΔΥΟ Η ΤΡΕΙC CΥΝΗΓΜΕΝΟΙ
NON ENIM SVNT DVO AVT TRES • COLLECTI,

and having rendered *ου* by the negative he was obliged to alter the line

ΕΚΕΙ ΕΙΜΙ ΕΝ ΜΕCΩ ΑΥΤΩΝ

so that it read

APVT QVOS NON ERO IN MEDIO EORVM.

Hence the Greek

ΟΥΚ ΕΙCΙΝ ΓΑΡ ΔΥΟ Η ΤΡΕΙC CΥΝΗΓΜΕΝΟΙ
ΕΙC ΤΟ ΕΜΟΝ ΟΝΟΜΑ
ΠΑΡ ΟΙC ΟΥΚ ΕΙΜΕΙ ΕΝ ΜΕCΩ ΑΥΤΩΝ.

6. Confusion owing to the difference of genders in Greek and Latin.

Matt. iii. 16 we have the Latin

ET VIDIT SPIRITVM DEI
DESCENDENTEM DE CAELO.

All of the Greek that is preserved is the words

ΚΑΤΑΒΑΙΝΟΝΤΑ ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΟΥΡΑΝΟΥ,

and it would seem that the change from *καταβαῖνον*, which should accompany *πνεῦμα*, was due to the Latin *descendentem*. This suggestion was made by Mill.

In Mark iv. 36 we have

ΚΑΙ ΑΛΛΑΙ ΔΕ
ΠΛΟΙΑΙ ΠΟΛΛΑΙ • ΗCΑΝ ΜΕΤ ΑΥΤΟΥ

ET ALIAE AVTEM
NAVES MVLTAE • ERANT CVM ILLO,

where we should read *ἄλλα πλοῖα ἦν*.

In Mark ix. 36,

ΚΑΙ ΛΑΒΩΝ ΤΟ ΠΑΙΔΙΟΝ
ΕCΤΗCΕΝ ΑΥΤΟΝ ΕΝ ΜΕCΩ ΑΥΤΩΝ

ET ACCIPIENS PVERVM
STATVIT ILLVM IN MEDIO EORVM.

Here *illum* has affected the Greek, and given us *αὐτόν* for *αὐτό*.

In Acts v. 32 we have a case like the one quoted above from Matt. iii. 16,

ΚΑΙ ΤΟ ΠΝΑ ΤΟ ΑΓΙΟΝ ΟΝ ΕΔΩΚΕΝ Ο ΘC

ET SPM SANCTVM QVEM DEDIT DS.

7. Instances where the corresponding verbs or prepositions govern different cases in Latin and Greek:

In Acts xi. 7,

ΚΑΙ ΗΚΟΥCΑ ΦΩΝΗΝ ΛΕΓΟΥCΑΝ ΜΟΙ

ET AVDIVI VOCEM DICENTEM MIHI.

The Latin accusative has been carried over and has replaced the Greek genetive.

Matt. v. 42,

ΚΑΙ ΤΩ ΘΕΛΟΝΤΙ ΔΑΝΙCΑCΘΑΙ ΜΗ ΑΠΟCΤΡΑΦΗC

ET VOLENTI MVTVARI NE AVERTARIS.

The Greek has altered *τὸν θέλοντα* in order to agree more closely with *volenti*.

Matt. ix. 24,

ΚΑΙ ΚΑΤΕΓΕΛΩΝ ΑΥΤΟΝ

ET DERIDEBANT EVM,

where we should have *αὐτοῦ* in the Greek.

Matt. ix. 25,

ΕΚΡΑΤΗCΕΝ

ΤΗΝ ΧΕΙΡΑ ΑΥΤΗC

TENVIT

MANVM EIVS,

where we ought to read *τῆς χειρός*.

Matt. ix. 38 we have a similar case

ΔΕΗΘΗΤΕ ΟΥΝ ΤΟΝ ΚΝ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΡΙCΜΟΥ

ORATE ERGO DNM MESSIS.

John x. 27,

ΤΑ ΠΡΟΒΑΤΑ ΤΑ ΕΜΑ

ΤΗC ΦΩΝΗC ΜΟΥ ΑΚΟΥΕΙ

OVES QVAE SVNT MEAE

VOCIS MEAE AVDIVNT.

Here the Latin has been made to agree with the Greek.

John xii. 47 is a similar case,

ET SI QVIS AVDIERIT MEORVM BERBORVM.

Mark v. 41,

και κρατησας την χειρα του παιδιου
ET TENENS MANVM PVELLAE,

Mark viii. 23,

και λαβομενος την χειρα του τυφλου
ET ADPRAEHENDI[T] MANVM CAECI,

where we should read *τῆς χειρός*.

Mark x. 21,

εν σοι ὑστερει

instead of

εν σε ὑστερει

because the Latin is

VNVM TIBI DEEST.

Luke xx. 26,

ουκ ισχυσαν δε αυτου ρημα
επιλαβεσθαι
NON POTVERVNT AVTEM EIVS VERBVM
ADPRAEHENDERE,

where we should expect *ῥήματος*.

Acts iii. 25 also belongs to this class:

και της διαθηκης ην ο $\overline{\theta\varsigma}$ διεθετο
ET EIVS DISPOSITIONIS QVAM $\overline{\text{DS}}$ DISPVTAVIT,

where *ἣν* is for *ἧς* under the influence of the Latin.

Acts v. 3 may perhaps be mentioned here: it should stand

ειπεν δε πετρος ανανια

But *ἀνανια* has been taken as a dative and rendered

AD ANANIAN.

Then the Greek is reformed to

ειπεν δε πετρος προς ανανιαν.

Acts vi. 2,

ΟΥΚ ΑΡΕCΤΟΝ ΕCΤΙΝ ΗΜΕΙΝ
ΚΑΤΑΛΕΙΨΑΝΤΑC ΤΟΝ ΛΟΓΟΝ ΤΟΥ $\overline{\text{ΘΥ}}$

NON ENIM PLACET NOBIS
DERELICTO VERBO $\overline{\text{DI}}$,

where *ἡμῖν* stands for *ἡμᾶς*.

8. Cases of confusion between the degrees of comparison of the adjectives; as, for example, where the scribe has, from a correct Semitic feeling, as it would seem, in harmony with Vulgar Latin usage, translated a positive adjective by a comparative or superlative.

Matt. x. 42,

ΚΑΙ ΟC ΑΝ ΠΟΤΕΙCΗ • ΕΝΑ ΤΩΝ ΕΛΑΧΙCΤΩΝ ΤΟΥΤΩΝ
ET QVICVMQVE POTAVERIT • VNVM DE MINIMIS HIS.

The Latin is a translation of *μικρῶν*, and would be a very good translation if the equivalent of *οἱ μικροί* had been given in Hebrew or Aramaic, but, in any case, is not a bad rendering. When the translation was thus made, I take it that the reviser wrote *ἐλαχίστων* in the Greek.

Probably the same reaction explains why in Matt. xiii. 48, the line

CΥΝΕΛΕΞΑΝ ΤΑ ΚΑΛΑ ΕΙC ΤΑ ΑΓΓΙΑ

has been turned into

CΥΝΕΛΕΞΑΝ ΤΑ ΚΑΛΛΙCΤΑ...

There is good ground for believing that the Vulgar Latin superlative was often found, as in the Semitic languages, in the form of a repeated positive, so that we suspect that *τὰ κάλλιστα* of our text is the equivalent of a primitive Latin *bona bona*, which in Cod. Bezae's Latin has been replaced by *meliora*, but in Codd. *a b e k* appears as *optima*[1]. Whether then *καλὰ* or *κάλλιστα* is the original reading, the change from one to the other is made through the mediation of the Latin.

[1] Cf. Sanday in *Old Latin Biblical Texts*, II. p. lxvi.

9. Translation of the Greek aorist by the Latin perfect or imperfect; and examination of the effect of such translations of one tense by another in the original Greek.

In Matt. xvii. 5 we find,

ΙΔΟΥ ΝΕΦΕΛΗ ΦΩΤΕΙΝΗ
ΕΠΕΣΚΙΑΖΕΝ ΑΥΤΟΥΣ

the Latin being

ECCE NVBS LVCIDA
OBVMBRABAT EOS,

for a primitive Greek *ἐπεσκίασεν*, the aorist having been rendered by the Latin imperfect.

Matt. xix. 27,

ΚΑΙ ΗΚΟΛΟΥΘΗΚΑΜΕΝ ΣΟΙ
ET SECVTI SVMVS TE,

for a primitive *ἠκολουθήσαμεν* which was translated rightly by a Latin perfect.

In Mark i. 38,

ΕΙΣ ΤΟΥΤΟ ΓΑΡ ΕΞΕΛΗΛΥΘΑ

(where we should perhaps restore ΕΞΗΛΘΟΝ) because the Latin had rendered the aorist by

AD HOC ENIM VENI.

Mark v. 24,

ΚΑΙ ΑΠΗΛΘΕΝ ΜΕΤ ΑΥΤΟΥ

becomes

ΚΑΙ ΥΠΗΓΕΝ ΜΕΤ ΑΥΤΟΥ

because the Latin was

ET IBAT CVM ILLO.

Mark xv. 14,

ΟΙ ΔΕ ΕΚΠΕΡΙΣΣΩΣ ΕΚΡΑΖΑΝ

becomes *ἔκραζον* under the influence of

AD ILLI MAGIS CLAMABANT.

Luke viii. 27,

ΟΣ ΕΙΜΑΤΙΟΝ ΟΥΚ ΕΝΕΔΥΔΙΣΚΕΤΟ
QVI TVNICAM NON INDVEBATVR,

where we should expect *ἐνεδύσατο*, if the most ancient texts are to be followed, and certainly the translation would be made by an imperfect tense.

Acts vii. 34,

ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥ ϹΤΕΝΑΓΜΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΑΚΗΚΟΑ
ET GEMITVS EIVS AVDIVI,

where we should have *ἤκουσα*.

Mark x. 13 seems to have originally been read,

ΟΙ ΔΕ ΜΑΘΗΤΑΙ ΑΥΤΟΥ
ΕΠΕΤΙΜΗϹΑΝ
DISCIPVLI AVTEM EIVS
COMMINABANTVR,

and then *ἐπετίμησαν* had to be corrected to *ἐπετίμων*.

10. Translation of the Greek aorist by a pluperfect; and other mutations of tenses.

Matt. xi. 21,

ΟΤΙ ΕΙ ΕΝ ΤΥΡΩ ΚΑΙ ϹΙΔΩΝΕΙ • ΕΓΕΓΟΝΕΙϹΑΝ
ΑΙ ΔΥΝΑΜΕΙϹ
QVIA SI IN TYRO ET SIDONA • FACTAE ESSENT
VIRTVTES.

Here *factae essent* stands for *ἐγένοντο*, rightly enough; and hence the correction of the Greek text.

Matt. xvi. 26, the translator rendered

ΤΙ ΓΑΡ ΩΦΕΛΗϹΕΤΑΙ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟϹ

by

QVID AVTEM PRODEST HOMINI,

and hence we get the Greek corrected to *ὠφελεῖται*.

John xvii. 14,

ΚΑΙ Ο ΚΟϹΜΟϹ ΜΕΙϹΕΙ ΑΥΤΟΥϹ,

because the Latin rendered the verb *ἐμίσησεν* by

ET MVNDVS ODIT EOS.

Mark vi. 39,

ΑΝΑΚΛΙΘΗΝΑΙ ΠΑΝΤΑϹ

has been rendered

VT DISCVMBERENT OMNES,

and the passive verb in the Greek has been corrected to

ΑΝΑΚΛΕΙΝΑΙ ΠΑΝΤΑϹ.

In Matt. iv. 8,

ΠΑΛΙΝ ΠΑΡΑΛΑΜΒΑΝΕΙ ΑΥΤΟΝ Ο ΔΙΑΒΟΛΟΣ
ΕΙΣ ΟΡΟΣ ΥΨΗΛΟΝ ΛΕΙΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΔΕΙΞΕΝ ΑΥΤΩ.

In the last line the Latin renders

IN MONTEM ALTVM NIMIS ET OSTENDIT EI:

ostendit is both a present and a perfect; but it looks as if some corrector of a Western MS. had taken it, in this case wrongly, for a perfect and had given us *ἔδειξεν* in place of the ordinary reading *δείκνυσιν*. This explanation was suggested by Middleton in his work on the Greek Article.

11. Rendering of the participle (especially the aorist participle) followed by the verb as two verbs with a conjunction; and consideration of the effect of the same.

Matt. iv. 3 should read

ΚΑΙ ΠΡΟΣΕΛΘΩΝ [ΑΥΤΩ] Ο ΠΕΙΡΑΖΩΝ ΕΙΠΕΝ ΑΥΤΩ.

To render this into Latin we should say

ET ACCESSIT AD EVM TEMPTATOR ET DIXIT EI.

The translator, in fact, gives us this, only he renders *ὁ πειράζων* by *qui temptabat*.

Is it any wonder that the Greek in Codex Bezae should run

ΚΑΙ ΠΡΟΣΗΛΘΕΝ ΑΥΤΩ Ο ΠΕΙΡΑΖΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΙΠΕΝ ΑΥΤΩ?

Matt. ix. 28, we should expect a Greek text

ΕΛΘΟΝΤΙ ΔΕ ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΟΙΚΙΑΝ
ΠΡΟΣΗΛΘΟΝ ΑΥΤΩ,

which would become in Latin, as in Cod. D,

ET VENIT IN DOMVM
ET ACCESSERVNT AD EVM,

which rendering reacts and produces

ΚΑΙ ΕΡΧΕΤΑΙ ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΟΙΚΙΑΝ
ΚΑΙ ΠΡΟΣΗΛΘΟΝ ΑΥΤΩ.....

Matt. xiii. 4,

ΚΑΙ ΕΛΘΟΝΤΑ ΤΑ ΠΕΤΕΙΝΑ ΚΑΤΕΦΑΓΕΝ ΑΥΤΑ

has been made into

ΚΑΙ ΗΛΘΟΝ ΤΑ ΠΕΤΕΙΝΑ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΤΕΦΑΓΕΝ ΑΥΤΑ

under the influence of

ET VENERVNT VOLVCRES ET COMEDERVNT EA.

Matt. xvii. 7,

και ηψατο αγτων και ειπεν
ET TETIGIT EOS ET DIXIT,

where we should have read

και αψαμενος αγτων ειπεν.

Matt. xx. 30,

ηκογσαν οτι ιηc παραγει
και εκραξαν λεγοντες
AVDIERVNT QVOD IHS TRANSIT
ET CLAMAVERVNT DICENTES,

where the primitive Greek would seem to have been *ἀκούσαντες*... (− *καὶ*).

Matt. xxi. 6,

εποιησαν.....και ηγαγον

for

ποιησαντες.....ηγαγον

because of the Latin

FECERVNT.....ET ADDVXERVNT.

Matt. xxvi. 51,

και επαταξεν τον δογλον
τογ αρχιερεως
και αφειλεν.....

because of the Latin

ET PERCVSSIT SERVVM
PRINCIPES SACERDOTIS
ET ABSTVLIT.....

John vi. 11,

και εγχαριστησεν και εδωκεν

for

εγχαριστησας διεδωκεν.

Sometimes a reviser has taken pains to restore the participial construction in the Latin : e.g. in

John xii. 3,

ERGO MARIA ACCIPIENS LIBRAM PISTICI VNGVENTI
PRETIOSI ET VNXIT PEDES.

Here it is clear that he had at first *accipit* or *accepit* to correspond to the Greek λαβοῦσα; first, because he has left the *et* in the second line: and next, because λαβοῦσα has been changed to λαμβάνει in the Greek.

John xii. 36,

και απελθων εκρυβη απ αυτων

becomes

και απηλθεν και εκρυβη απ αυτων

under the influence of the Latin

ET ABIIT ET ABSCONDIT SE AB EIS.

Acts xiv. 6,

CYNIΔONTEC KAI KATEΦYГON
INTELLEXERVNT ET FVGERVNT,

where *καὶ* is from the Latin.

Luke v. 14,

απελθε δε
και δειξον ceαυτον
VADE AVTEM
ET OSTENDE TEIPSVM.

Here the Greek should be *ἀλλὰ ἀπελθὼν δεῖξον.*

Luke xv. 23,

και φαγωμεν
και ευφρανθωμεν
ET MANDVCEMVS
ET AEPVLEMVR,

where we should have *φαγόντες εὐφρανθῶμεν.*

In Mark iv. 36 for

και αφεντες τον οχλον παραλαμβανουcin αυτον

the translator has

ET DIMITTVNT TVRBAM • ET ACCEPERVNT EVM,

whence the Greek becomes

και αφιουcin τον οχλον • και παραλαμβανουcin αυτον.

In Mark vii. 25,

ελθουca και προcεπεcεν

stands against

INTRAVIT ET PROCEDIT.

Obviously the *καὶ* is an intrusion from the Latin.

In Mark x. 16,

ετιθει τας χειρας επ αυτα
και ευλογει αυτα

for *κατευλόγει τιθείς*, because the Latin was

IMPONEBAT MANVS SVPER ILLOS
ET BENEDICEBAT EOS.

In Mark x. 22,

ο δε εστυγνασεν
επι τουτω τω λογω και απηλθεν

AD ILLE CONTRISTATVS
IN HOC VERBO • ET ABIIT.

The Greek should be *στυγνάσας ἀπῆλθεν*: observe that *est* has been removed from the Latin after *contristatus* in the interests of equality.

In Mark xi. 2 again the change of the Greek is only partial; *καὶ* has been introduced, but the participle left:

λυσαντες αυτον και αγαγετε
SOLVITE ILLVM ET ADDVCITE.

So in Mark xiv. 63,

διαρρηξας τους χειτωνας αυτου • και λεγει
SCIDIT VESTIMENTA SVA ET AIT,

and Mark xvi. 14,

πορευθεντες εις τον κοσμον
και κηρυξατε το ευαγγελιον.

12. Cases where the Latin has used two verbs to render a single Greek verb, and a corrector has either erased one of the Latin verbs, or has carried over an extra verb into the Greek.

In Mark v. 18

παρεκαλει αυτον
ο δαιμονισθεις

is translated line by line,

COEPIT DEPRAECARI ILLVM
QVI DEMONIO VEXABATVR,

the imperfect being given as an inchoative. The Greek has then been brought into harmony with it: and so we have in Cod. Bezae

ηρξατο παρακαλειν αυτον.

Exactly the same corruption occurs in Mark viii. 25, where

ΚΑΙ ΔΙΕΒΛΕΨΕΝ

has been made into

ΚΑΙ ΗΡΞΑΤΟ ΑΝΑΒΛΕΨΑΙ

because the Latin translation was

ET COEPIT VIDERE.

Probably the same thing occurs in Mark xiv. 72,

ΚΑΙ ΕΠΙΒΑΛΩΝ ΕΚΛΑΙΕΝ.

Whatever *ἐπιβαλὼν* may mean, the Latin is

ET COEPIT FLERE,

which translates *ἔκλαιεν*. Was *ἐπιβαλὼν* then displaced by *ἤρξατο*? For we find in Cod. Bezae

ΚΑΙ ΗΡΞΑΤΟ ΚΛΑΙΕΙΝ.

In the Acts of the Apostles there are a number of cases where the simple *λέγει* and *λέγων* of Greek narration has been expanded in this way: or where *λέγει* has been added to a similar word.

Acts xvii. 6,

ΒΟΩΝΤΕϹ ΚΑΙ ΛΕΓΟΝΤΕϹ
CLAMANTES ET DICENTES,

where the proper Greek text is merely *βοῶντες*.

Acts xvii. 19,

ΗΓΑΓΟΝ ΑΥΤΟΝ ΕΠΙ ΑΡΙΟΝ ΠΑΓΟΝ
ΠΥΝΘΑΝΟΜΕΝΟΙ ΚΑΙ ΛΕΓΟΝΤΕϹ
ADDVXERVNT AD ARIVM PAGVM
COGITANTES ET DICENTES.

In the last line *cogitantes* is an error for *rogitantes;* and this free double rendering of the Greek *λέγοντες* has led to the insertion of the words *πυνθανόμενοι καὶ* in the Greek.

In Acts xxi. 39

ΔΑΙΟΜΕ ΔΕ ϹΟΥ ϹΥΝΧΩΡΗϹΑΙ ΜΟΙ

is rendered

ROGO OBSEGRO AVTEM MIHI.

Here *δαιομε* is by itacism for *δεομαι*, and *δεομαι δε σου* is rendered freely enough, but not unfairly, by *rogo obsecro*. The

reviser of the text, finding these two verbs instead of one, struck out by mistake the word which the translator had used to render *συνχωρῆσαι*.

What we have said of the double translation of verbs applies also to those cases where two words were necessary to render a noun.

Here is a striking instance: in Luke xxii. 12, the translator had to render the word *ἀνώγαιον*; he employed a word, which was understood in the Vulgar Latin of the provinces, and especially, it would seem, in Africa, viz. *maenianum*, a word which means an overhanging balcony. The word does not, however, occur in its true form in any of the great Latin Codices, but in the Codex Vercellensis (*a*) it appears in the form *medianum* both in Mark xiv. 15, and in Luke xxii. 12. This *medianum*, of course, caused trouble, and in the passage from Luke we find Cod. Veronensis (*b*) gives us *pede plano* (on the ground floor), which is a blundering correction of *medianum* as we have it in *a*. This necessitated the addition of an explanatory word to shew what it was that was to be found on the ground floor, and hence many Latin texts add *locum*, and then afterwards the scribes go back and correct the 'ground floor' to *in superioribus* = 'upstairs.'

Now let us turn to Codex Bezae, where we find a bold correction; *medianum* is replaced by *superiorem domum*. We have now two Latin words for one Greek word, so the scribe quietly inserts *οἶκον* after *ἀνώγαιον*.

We have given this instance at length, on account of the peculiarly interesting ramification of the Latin texts over a hard word. The special case of the change in the Greek in Cod. D is very simple and easily betrays itself[1]. We shall have many similar cases as we proceed.

13. Cases where the aorist participle or aorist imperative has been rendered by the Latin present participle or present imperative; and subsequent reflex action on the Greek.

[1] For *maenianum* cf. Linke, *Studien zur Itala*, Breslau, 1889, p. 28. The parallel passage Mark xiv. 15 is instructive in its various forms in the Old Latin. In particular Codex Bezae has here *αναγαιον οικον εστρωμενον μεγαν ετοιμον* although both *medianum* and *superiorem locum* have disappeared from the Latin.

Acts xiv. 21,

ευαγγελιζομενοι δε τους εν τη πολει

has been made out of

ευαγγελισαμενοι.....

because the Latin translator had, of necessity, unless he had resorted to the use of the finite verb, rendered by

EVANGELIZANTES AVTEM IN ILLA CIVITATE.

In Acts xvi. 29 I believe a similar error once occurred in Western copies:

φωτα δε ετησας εισεπηδησεν,

the translator gives

LVMEN VERO PETENS ACCVCVRRIT.

If this *petens* had changed *αἰτήσας* of the Greek into *αἰτῶν*, it would easily have been read *ἅπτων*, which underlies the Syriac rendering; and in some respects seems to be a superior reading.

Matt. x. 27,

κηρυσσεται επι των δωματων
PRAEDICATE IN TECTIS,

where we ought to have, not *κηρύσσετε* but *κηρύξατε*.

Matt. xiii. 22,

ο δε εις τας ακανθας σπειρομενος
QVI AVTEM IN SPINIS SEMINATVR,

the word *σπαρείς* in the first line having been replaced by one more exactly correspondent to the Latin.

In the same way in Matt. xiii. 24, *σπείραντι*, which was translated *seminanti*, has given way before the Latin, and we have

ανθρωπω σπειροντι · καλον σπερμα
HOMINI SEMINANTI BONVM SEMEN.

Luke ii. 16,

σπευδοντες και ευρον την μαριαν
FESTINANTES ET INVENERVNT MARIAM.

Here *festinantes* stands for *σπεύσαντες* and the Greek has been assimilated to the translation.

Luke ii. 45,

ΚΑΙ ΜΗ ΕΥΡΙCΚΟΝΤΕC ΥΠΕCΤΡΕΨΑΝ
ET NON INVENIENTES REVERSI SVNT.

Here εὑρίσκοντες stands for εὑρόντες, which of necessity was represented by the present participle in the Latin.

In Luke xix. 27 we find a similar difficulty with the infinitive:

ΤΟΥC ΜΗ ΘΕΛΟΝΤΑC ΜΕ
ΒΑCΙΛΕΥΕΙΝ
QVI NOLVERVNT ME
REGNARE.

Here we should have expected βασιλεῦσαι: but the reason for the change is not far to seek.

So again in Luke xx. 6, the Latin having given

SCIT ENIM
IOHANNEN PROPHETAM FVISSE,

where the Greek had εἶναι, the corrector has given us γεγονέναι as a more exact answer to *fuisse*.

Luke xxii. 9,

ΕΙCΕΡΧΟΜΕΝΩΝ
ΥΜΩΝ ΕΙC ΤΗΝ ΠΟΛΙΝ

for εἰσελθόντων
because the Latin is

INTROEVNTIBVS
VOBIS IN CIVITATEM.

14. Confusion caused by the attempt to translate the articular infinitive in Greek.

We may take as an instance Mark xiv. 55,

ΕΙC ΤΟ ΘΑΝΑΤΩCΑΙ ΑΥΤΟΝ,

which was rightly rendered

VT MORTI TRADERENT EVM,

after which it goes back into Greek as

ΪΝΑ ΘΑΝΑΤΩCΟΥCΙΝ ΑΥΤΟΝ.

In Acts iii. 12 we have the following confusion

ΩC ΗΜΩΝ ΤΗ ΙΔΙΑ ΔΥΝΑΜΙ Η ΕΥCΕΒΙΑ
ΤΟΥΤΟ ΠΕΠΟΙΗΚΟΤΩΝ ΤΟΥ ΤΟ ΠΕΡΙΠΑΤΕΙΝ ΑΥΤΟ̄
QVASI NOS NOSTRA PROPRIA VIRTVTE AVT PIETATE
HOC FECERIMVS VT AMBVLET HIC.

In order to resolve the confusion, observe that in iii. 19 the articular infinitive is rendered by the equation εἰς τό = *ad hoc ut.* Hence in the present case we have τοῦ περιπατεῖν rendered by *hoc ut ambulet.*

Then the words are displaced, and the Greek is corrected until we get the Bezan sentence.

Acts iii. 26,

ΕΝ Τ ΑΠΟC
ΤΡΕΦΕΙΝ ΕΚΑCΤΟC ΕΚ ΤΩΝ ΠΟΝΗΡΙΩΝ ΥΜΩΝ
IN EO CVM ABERTATVR VNVSQVISQVE A NEQVITIIS SVIS,

the Greek ἕκαστον has been changed so as to match the Latin *unusquisque.*

With this error take the similar one, Acts xviii. 2,

ΔΙΑ ΤΟ ΤΕΤΑΧΕΝΑΙ ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟC
EO QVOD PRAECEPISSET CLAVDIVS.

15. Translation of the subjunctive after οὐ μή.

This very strong form of denial is rendered in the Latin by a future indicative: hence we shall find the subjunctive in Greek replaced by an indicative: e.g.

Mark x. 15,

ΟΥ ΜΗ ΕΙC ΑΥΤΗΝ ΕΙCΕΛΕΥCΕΤΑΙ
NON INTRAVIT IN ILLVM.

16. Translation of a Greek infinitive by *ut* with the subjunctive: and converse case of a Latin infinitive for ὅτι with the indicative.

Mark v. 17,

ΚΑΙ ΠΑΡΕΚΑΛΟΥΝ ΑΥΤΟΝ
ΙΝΑ ΑΠΕΛΘΗ
ET ROGABANT EVM
VT DISCEDERET,

where we should read ἀπελθεῖν, if it were not for the Latin.

Mark vi. 49 the original text seems to be

ΕΔΟΞΑΝ ΟΤΙ ΦΑΝΤΑCΜΑ ΕCΤΙΝ,

and the Bezan Latin is

PVTAVERVNT FANTASMA ESSE.

Hence the Bezan Greek

ΕΔΟΞΑΝ ΦΑΝΤΑCΜΑ ΕΙΝΑΙ.

17. Changes of compound verbs to simple, and conversely, with a view to greater harmony between Greek and Latin.

Matt. ix. 25,

ελθων εκρατηcεν
VENIENS TENVIT.

There is reason to believe the true reading to be *εἰσελθών*, but the translator rendered it by *veniens*, and a reviser erased the Greek prefix.

Matt. x. 25,

βελzεβογλ καλογcιν
BELZEBVL VOCANT,

where we ought to read *ἐπεκάλεσαν*.

Matt. xvi. 23,

ο δε επιcτραφειc ειπεν τω πετρω,

where we should have *στραφείς*, the Latin being

QVI AVTEM CONVERSVS AIT PETRO.

John iv. 45,

εzεδεzαντο αγτον οι γαλιλαιοι
EXCEPERVNT EVM GALILAEI,

the simple form *ἐδέξαντο* being not close enough in appearance to its Latin rendering.

18. Confusion of the Vulgar Latin present with the future in the third person singular.

In John xii. 25 we should read

ο φιλων την ψγχην απολλγει αγτην

for which the Latin is

QVI AMAT ANIMAM SVAM PERDET EAM.

Here *perdet* is a late form of the present tense; but it has the form of the Latin future: so we get *ἀπολέσει* written in the Greek.

This confusion between the *e* and *i* vowels is very common both in the verb-endings and in the plurals of nouns, and has given rise to many variants in the Latin and by reflection from the Latin text to the Greek. For instance in John vi. 56

Ο ΤΡΩΓΩΝ ΜΟΥ ΤΗΝ CΑΡΚΑ • ΚΑΙ ΠΕΙΝΩΝ ΜΟΥ
ΤΟ ΑΙΜΑ • ΕΝ ΕΜΟΙ ΜΕΝΕΙ
QVI EDET MEAM CARNEM ET VIBET MEVM
SANGVEM IN ME MANET

we have an apparent future in the Latin twice, and in Mark xiv. 21

Ο ΜΕΝ ΥΙΟC ΤΟΥ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΥ ΠΑΡΑΔΙΔΟΤΕ
FILIVS QVIDEM HOMINIS TRADETUR.

But here there has been no reaction upon the Greek.

19. Confusion between the two meanings of *quam*.

The reviser of the MS. had a prejudice in favour of regarding *quam* as a feminine form. Hence we find, Matt. xi. 22,

ΑΝΕΚΤΟΤΕΡΟΝ ΕCΤΕ • ΕΝ ΗΜΕΡΑ ΚΡΕΙCΕωC ΗΝ ΥΜΕΙ
TOLERABILIVS ERIT • IN DIE IVDICII QVAM VOBIS,

where ἢ has been changed to ἣν in the Greek.

The same form occurs again in *v.* 24.

20. Confusion between *qui* and *quia*.

The scribe is constantly in peril of a confusion between these forms, especially when the word that follows begins with an *a*.

Acts ii. 6,

QVIAVDIEBANT VNVSQVISQVE.

Here it should be *quia:* but the Latin was misunderstood, and then the Greek, instead of

ΟΤΙ ΗΚΟΥCΕΝ ΕΙC ΕΚΑCΤΟC,

becomes

ΚΑΙ ΗΚΟΥΟΝ ΕΙC ΕΚΑCΤΟC.

Notice at the same time the harmonization of the Greek and Latin verbs.

Acts vii. 39,

ΟΤΙ ΟΥΚ ΗΘΕΛΗCΑΝ ΥΠΗΚΟΟΙ ΓΕΝΕCΘΕ
CVI NOLVERVNT OBOEDIENTES ESSE,

where *cui* has been read as *quia*, and the correct reading ᾧ turned to ὅτι.

Sometimes the scribe himself is aware of the danger his text is in, and he places a distinguishing point in the text: e.g.

Acts xiv. 27,

ΚΑΙ ΟΤΙ ΗΝΥΖΕ
ET QVIA • APERVIT.

The object of this point is, not to divide the sentence but to secure the reader or transcriber from reading it as *qui aperuit*. If the point had not been placed there we should probably have had a Greek variant

ΚΑΙ ΟC ΗΝΥΖΕ.

21. Cases where a false translation has been carried back from the Latin into the Greek.

Matt. xv. 11,

ΑΚΟΥΕΤΑΙ ΚΑΙ CΥΝΪΕΤΕ • ΟΥ ΠΑΝ ΤΟ ΕΙCΕΡΧΟΜΕΝΟ̄
ΕΙC ΤΟ CΤΟΜΑ • ΚΟΙΝΩΝΙ ΤΟΝ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΝ

is the equivalent of

AVDITE ET INTELLIGITE • NON OMNE QVOD INTRAT
IN OS COMMVNICAT HOMINEM.

Here two Greek words have evidently been confused, namely, *κοινόω* and *κοινωνέω*; no doubt the true text is *κοινοῖ*, but whether because *coinquinat* (= *coincuinat*) has been read as *communicat*, or because *communicat* actually had acquired the supplementary meaning of pollution, the Greek text has been reformed so as to give the normal equivalent of *communicat*.

The same mistake will be found in *v.* 20.

In a similar manner when we find in Acts xxi. 28

ΚΑΙ ΕΚΟΙΝΩΝΗCΕΝ ΤΟΝ ΑΓΙΟΝ ΤΟΠΟΝ ΤΟΥΤΟΝ

and

ET COMMVNICAVIT SANCTVM LOCVM HVNC,

we must substitute *κεκοίνωκεν*, or at all events the aorist *ἐκοίνωσεν*, for the text as given in the Beza Codex. The instance which we have been discussing was pointed out by Mill.

22. Cases where the corrector has substituted in the Greek a more exact equivalent of the Latin, although the Latin translator had really done his best to render the word.

Acts xix. 8,

ΕΙCΕΛΘΩΝ ΔΕ Ο ΠΑΥΛΟC ΕΙC ΤΗΝ CΥΝΑΓΩΓΗΝ
ΕΝ ΔΥΝΑΜΕΙ ΜΕΓΑΛΗ ΕΠΑΡΡΗCΙΑΖΕΤΟ.

Here the Latin text is conflate;

CVM INTROISSET AVTEM PAVLVS IN SYNAGOGA̅
CVM FIDVCIA MAGNA PALAM LOQVEBATVR.

A reference to Mark viii. 32 will shew that *palam loqui* is an attempt to render *παρρησιάζεσθαι*: but *cum fiducia magna loqui* is another attempt at the same thing, and apparently the first translation: it has given rise to *ἐν δυνάμει μεγάλῃ* in the Greek.

Another case where the conflation of two possible Latin renderings has produced a corresponding conflation in the Greek is Acts xx. 18.

It should run

ωc δε παρεγενοντο προc αγτον
ειπεν προc αγτογc,

the first line of which was rendered in two ways:

AD VBI VENERVNT AD EVM

and

SIMVLQVE CVM ESSET (=ESSENT),

and the Greek accordingly adds at the beginning of the second line

ομωc εοντων αγτων.

In Acts xxii. 23 the translator has had before him

και κονιορτον βαλλοντων εις τον αερα·

he rendered the last word *in caelum* as it was perfectly right to do, *caelum* being the regular equivalent; and the corrector carried back the word into the Greek in a more exact form, and substituted *οὐρανόν*. True, the Latin text is lost here, but the Greek tells its own tale.

The converse correction will be found in Matt. xvi. 3,

πγρραzει γαρ cτγγναzων ο ανηρ.

In Matt. xvii. 15, the words

και κακωc εχει

would seem to be rightly translated by

ET MALE PATITVR.

Must it not then be by reflex action that we find in Cod. D

και κακως πασχει?

In Luke ii. 6 the text may be taken

επλησθησαν αι ημεραι,

which the scribe rendered

CONSVMMATI SVNT DIES;

but *consummati sunt* would be more nearly the equivalent of *ἐτελέσθησαν*, which is placed in the Bezan text. A still stronger correction is made in verse 21, where we have *συνετελέσθησαν*.

In Luke iv. 5 the translator rendered

πασας τας βασιλειας
της οικουμενης

by

OMNIA REGNA
MVNDI,

and then because *κόσμος*, forsooth, is the proper word for *mundus*, we have the Greek

του κοσμου.

In Acts xvi. 34 the translator was obliged to use a periphrasis for *πανοικεί* and so he gave, properly enough,

ET EXVLTABAT CVM TOTA DOMV SVA,

and the Greek takes this up, and we have, instead of the original *πανοικεί*,

και ηγαλλιατο συν τω οικω αυτου.

In Mark iii. 5 the scribe had done his best to render *πώρωσις* by means of the verb *emorior*, which means not merely to die, but to become void of feeling (cf. Celsus v. 28. 14: *clavus...saepe emoritur*); but the reviser put the more exact equivalent *νέκρωσις* into the text: hence

επι τη νεκρωσει της καρδιας αυτων
SVPER EMORTVA CORDIS EORVM.

In the very next verse he rendered *συμβούλιον ἐδίδουν* by *consilium faciebant*, and again the Greek was corrected,

συνβουλιον ποιουντες κατ αυτου
CONSILIVM FACIEBANT ADVERSVS EVM.

If in Mark iv. 21 the accepted reading is

ΜΗΤΙ ΕΡΧΕΤΑΙ Ο ΛΥΧΝΟC,

then we must say that, by some confusion between *accedo* and *accendo*, the text of Cod. D has become:

ΜΗΤΙ ΑΠΤΕΤΑΙ Ο ΛΥΧΝΟC
NVM QVID ACCENDITVR LVCERNA,

where, however, we can hardly help feeling that the Beza text ought to be right. In any case the variants find their motive in the Latin.

In Mark viii. 2

ΠΡΟCΜΕΝΟΥCΙΝ ΜΟΙ

has been freely paraphrased by

EX QVO HIC SVNT;

and word for word it goes back into the Greek

ΑΠΟ ΠΟΤΕ ΩΔΕ ΕΙCΙΝ.

In the very next verse, the translator gave

DE LONGE VENERVNT,

as translation of

ΑΠΟ ΜΑΚΡΟΘΕΝ ΕΙCΙΝ,

and then *εἰσίν* is displaced by *ἥκασιν*.

In Mark viii. 13 *ἐμβάς* is expanded for Latin readers to

ASCENDIT IN NAVEM,

and hence

ΕΝΒΑC ΕΙC ΤΟ ΠΛΟΙΟΝ.

In Mark vi. 36, we find

ΙΝΑ ΑΠΕΛΘΟΝΤΕC ΕΙC ΤΟΥC ΕΓΓΙCΤΑ ΑΓΡΟΥC
VT EVNTES • IN PROXIMAS VILLAS.

The translator rendered *τοὺς κύκλῳ ἀγρούς* by *in proximas uillas:* but *proximas* did not seem a near enough equivalent to the Greek, so the reviser has given us *ἔγγιστα*.

In Mark vi. 39 the idiomatic *συμπόσια, συμπόσια* was translated *secundum contubernia;* and we have in the Bezan Greek

ΚΑΤΑ ΤΗΝ CΥΝΠΟCΙΑΝ.

Mark vi. 47 gives us

IN MEDIO MARE

as the translation of a primitive

ΕΝ ΜΕCΩ ΤΗC ΘΑΛΑCCΗC.

Harmony is restored by reading, as in Cod. Bezae,

ΕΝ ΜΕCΗ ΤΗ ΘΑΛΑCCΗ.

Mark vii. 4 reads

ΚΑΙ ΑΠ ΑΓΟΡΑC ΟΤΑΝ ΕΛΘΩCΙΝ
ET CVM VENERINT A FORO.

It would seem that the Latin is the free rendering of *ἀπ' ἀγορᾶς*, and that the two last words in Greek are an addition for the sake of equivalence. But perhaps the added words are a gloss of some later hand, and not of the translator; in the Arabic Tatian Harmony we have a different explanation, viz. *quod emptum est;* i.e. they wash what they buy from the market. It is clear that the abrupt *ἀπ' ἀγορᾶς* puzzled the translators.

In Mark xi. 32 the scribe translated

ΟΤΙ ΟΝΤΩC ΠΡΟΦΗΤΗC ΗΝ

by

QVIA VERE PROFETA ERAT,

but a more exact equivalent of *uere* was *ἀληθῶς*, which accordingly is put in the Greek.

Acts iv. 21, the passage to be translated was

ΜΗ ΕΥΡΙCΚΟΝΤΕC ΤΟ ΠΩC ΚΟΛΑCΩΝΤΑΙ ΑΥΤΟΥC,

and the writer gave

NIHIL INVENIENTES CAVSAM QVA PVNIRENT EOS,

inserting *causam* just as the Coptic and Syriac versions do, in order to express the meaning more closely. Then *αἰτίαν* creeps into the Greek after *εὑρίσκοντες*.

23. Omission of such words as *ἡμέρα* in the Greek descriptions of time.

Acts xvi. 11,

ΚΑΙ ΤΗ ΕΠΙΟΥCΗ ΕΙC ΝΕΑΠΟΛΙΝ,

the proper Latin of which is

ET SEQVENTI DIE NEAPOLIM;

and now ἡμέρᾳ must be restored to the Greek, so that we have

ΚΑΙ ΤΗ ΕΠΙΟΥCΗ ΗΜΕΡΑ ΕΙC ΝΕΑΠΟΛΙΝ.

Acts iv. 5,

ΕΓΕΝΕΤΟ ΔΕ ΕΠΙ ΤΗΝ ΑΥΡΙΟΝ ΗΜΕΡΑΝ,

where the word ἡμέραν has been brought in from the Latin

CONTIGIT AVTEM IN CRASTINVM DIEM.

Another way of removing the apparent inequality is to strike out *diem* in the Latin: we find in Acts iv. 3,

ΚΑΙ ΕΘΕΝΤΟ ΕΙC ΤΗΡΗCΙΝ ΕΙC ΤΗΝ ΕΠΑΥΡΙΟΝ

ET POSVERVNT IN ADSERTIONEM IN CRASTINV̄.

Matt. xxviii. 15

ΕΩC ΤΗC CΗΜΕΡΟΝ ΗΜΕΡΑC

for

IN HOERNVM DIEM,

where ἡμέρας is borrowed from the Latin.

With these cases we may notice Mark vi. 2, where

ΚΑΙ ΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΟΥ CΑΒΒΑΤΟΥ

has been rendered

ET DIE SABBATORVM,

and hence the Greek becomes

ΚΑΙ ΗΜΕΡΑ CΑΒΒΑΤΩΝ.

With the foregoing we may take the cases of translation of τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ and similar expressions. We shall find that the Latin translator renders such a term as τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ by *post tres dies*, or *post tertium diem*. When, therefore, the reviser with his little Latin and less Greek goes over the text, he finds an apparent discord between the languages; although the translator meant by *post tertium diem* the third day after. And so he corrects the Greek.

Hence in Matt. xvi. 21 we have

ΚΑΙ ΜΕΤΑ ΤΡΕΙC ΗΜΕΡΑC ΑΝΑCΤΗΝΑΙ

ET POST TRES DIES RESVRGERE.

Matt. xvii. 23,

ΚΑΙ ΜΕΤΑ ΤΡΕΙC ΗΜΕΡΑC ΕΓΕΡΘΗCΕΤΑΙ

ET POST TRES DIES RESVRGET.

Acts x. 40,

ΤΟΥΤΟΝ Ο $\overline{\text{ΘC}}$ ΗΓΕΙΡΕΝ ΜΕΤΑ ΤΗΝ ΤΡΙΤΗΝ ΗΜΕΡΑΝ
HVNC $\overline{\text{DS}}$ SVSCITAVIT POST TERTIVM DIEVM.

In all these cases the correct reading would seem to be established as *τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ*.

The argument is, however, complicated by the fact that in Mark viii. 31 we find

ΜΕΤΑ ΤΡΕΙC ΗΜΕΡΑC ΑΝΑCΤΗΝΑΙ
ET TERTIA DIE RESVRGERE.

Here codices *a k*, which may be suspected to contain our most archaic Latin text, read *post tertium diem:* so there has been, in all probability, a correction made on the Latin side. But the matter will require a closer enquiry, both in the Greek and Latin.

24. Further cases of elliptical expression in the Greek, where the Latin text has proved a reactionary influence.

In Acts xiii. 22 the text should run

ΕΥΡΟΝ ΔΑΥΕΙΔ ΤΟΝ ΙΕCCΑΙ,

which is rendered

INVENI DAVID FILIVM IESSAE,

the Latin language not favouring the omission of *filius*. Hence we have *υἱόν* carried over into the Greek

ΕΥΡΟΝ ΔΑΥΕΙΔ ΤΟΝ ΥΙΟΝ ΙΕCCΑΙ.

In John xxi. 2,

ΚΑΙ ΟΙ ΤΟΥ ΖΕΒΕΔΑΙΟΥ

becomes

ET FILI ZEBEDAEI,

and so the Greek replaces *τοῦ* by *υἱοί*.

25. Confusion between *ἄλλα* and *ἀλλά*.

If we turn to Matt. xx. 23 we shall see that the translator or reviser does not always feel sure about his Greek, where *ἀλλὰ* and *ἄλλα* could be confounded one with the other; for he renders

ΟΥΚ ΕCΤΙΝ ΕΜΟΝ ΤΟΥΤΟ ΔΟΥΝΑΙ
ΑΛΛΟΙC ΗΤΟΙΜΑCΤΑΙ

by

NON EST MEVM DARE
ALIIS PRAEPARATVM EST,

and we may very well ask whether there is any case of reflection upon the Greek text from such misunderstandings in the Latin. Let us look at John vi. 23; probably the original was

αλλα ηλθεν πλοιαρια,

but here ἀλλὰ was read as ἄλλα and rendered

ALIAE NAVICVLAE VENERVNT;

and then, to prevent any further mistake or misunderstanding in the Greek, the text is changed to

αλλων πλοιαρειων ελθοντων.

26. Translator's use of *tunc* for *καί*.

The translator has often avoided the monotony of the sentences connected by *καὶ*, by using *tunc* as a substitute, with the ultimate effect either of displacing *καὶ* by *τότε*, or, at all events, of pushing *τότε* into the Greek text:

e.g. Mark i. 36,

και κατελιωξαν αυτον
τοτε σιμων και οι μετ αυτου
ET CONSECVTI SVNT EVM
TVNC SIMON ET QVI CVM EO ERANT.

Here *tunc* has got into the Greek in the second line, and hence we have both readings in Greek and Latin.

Mark ix. 35,

τοτε καθισας εφωνησεν τους • $\overline{\text{ιβ}}$ •
TVNC CONSEDIT ET VOCAVIT • XII •,

where *τότε* stands for a primitive *καί*.

Mark xiv. 27 is a similar case,

τοτε λεγει αυτοις ο $\overline{\text{ιης}}$,

and the same thing occurs in Mark xiv. 34.

We shall now pass on to give a series of similar Latinizations which do not so readily admit of being grouped together.

CHAPTER X.

Further Cases of Latinization.

The previous chapter contains a spicilegium of the cases of Latinization which occur in the Codex Bezae. A few further instances are to be given which do not so readily admit of classification.

In Matt. v. 24 the Bezan reading is

και τοτε ελθων
προσφερεις το δωρον σου,

where *προσφέρεις* for *πρόσφερε* is due to the spelling of the Latin:

ET TVNC VENIENS
OFFERES MVNVS TVVM.

This case was pointed out by Wetstein.

Matt. v. 40,

και ο θελων σοι κριθηναι
και τον χειτωνα σου λαβειν

QVI VOLVERIT IVDICIO CONGREDI
ET TVNICAM TVAM ACCIPERE:

upon which Middleton remarks (p. 481) "This has strongly the appearance of being a rendering from *qui uoluerit* (i.e. *ὁ θέλων* for *τῷ θέλοντι*) by some one who did not look forward to the end of the sentence."

In Matt. v. 46,

τινα μεισθον εξεται
QVAM MERCEDEM HABEBETIS.

Here *habebetis* is apparently a dittograph for *habetis*, but it has been read as a future; and the Greek altered to correspond. Of the change in the Greek there seems no doubt; there is, however,

some reason for believing that the Latin error is not palaeographical, but belongs to the dialect of the translator, who used a reduplicative form of the verb *habeo*. We shall return to this point later on.

A curious case which seems to be traceable to Latinization is Matt. ix. 20,

και ιδου γυνη αιμορροουσα δωδεκα ετη
ET ECCE MVLIER FLVXVM SANGVINIS HABENS XII ANNIS.

Here *fluxum sanguinis habens* is the equivalent of *αἱμορροοῦσα*. Knowing what we do of the mode of structure and reformation of the Greek text, we feel sure that *habens* would in time be carried over as *ἔχουσα*. But if it were, it would certainly be attached to *δώδεκα ἔτη*, and then we should not be surprised at the reading which we find in Codex L,

δώδεκα ἔτη ἔχουσα ἐν τῇ ἀσθενείᾳ.

This reading is not in our MS, though Stephen refers it to *β*: he often confounds Codices D and L. But it seems to be an error of the same kind as those which we are studying.

Matt. x. 30,

υμων δε και αι τριχες της κεφαλης,
SED ET CAPILLI CAPITIS VESTRI,

has been corrected by carrying *ὑμῶν* to the end of the sentence and translating *sed et* by *ἀλλὰ καί*.

Hence

αλλα και αι τριχες της κεφαλης υμων.

In Matt. xiii. 29 the correct text would seem to be

εκριζωσητε αμα αυτοις τον σιτον,

which is very well rendered

ERADICETIS SIMVL ET TRITICVM CVM EIS.

This goes back to the Greek as

εκριζωσητε αμα και τον σειτον συν αυτοις.

In the same chapter the translator has twice to find a proper translation for *ὅσα*.

In Matt. xiii. 44 he renders *ὅσα ἔχει* very well by *omnia quae habet;* and the Greek takes up the added word and appears as

παντα οσα εχει.

In *v.* 46 he rendered *ὅσα εἶχεν* by

QVAE HABEBAT,

and this time the Greek is corrected to

ΑΠΕΛΘΩΝ ΕΠΩΛΗCΕΝ Α ΕΙΧΕΝ.

In Matt. xiii. 48

ΗΝ ΟΤΕ ΕΠΛΗΡΩΘΗ • ΑΝΕΒΙΒΑCΑΝΤΕC

has been rendered

CVM AVTEM INPLETA FVERIT • EDVCENT EAM,

and then the Greek changes to the Beza reading

ΟΤΕ ΔΕ ΕΠΛΗΡΩΘΗ • ΑΝΕΒΙΒΑCΑΝ ΑΥΤΗΝ.

In Matt. xviii. 9 the translator, with pardonable freedom, has prefaced a new clause by the word *similiter*,

SIMILITER • ET SI OCVLVS TVVS • SCANDALIZAT TE,

and an attempt has been made to render the added word by the prefixing of *τὸ αὐτὸ* to the Greek

ΤΟ ΑΥΤΟ ΕΙ ΚΑΙ Ο ΟΦΘΑΛΜΟC COΥ CΚΑΝΔΑΛΙΖΕΙ CΕ.

In Matt. xviii. 22,

ΟΥ ΛΕΓΩ COΙ ΕΩC ΕΠΤΑΚΙC
ΑΛΛ ΕΩC ΕΒΔΟΜΗΚΟΝΤΑΚΙC ΕΠΤΑΚΙC

NON DICO TIBI SEPTIES
SED SEPTVAGIES SEPTIES.

Here the African Latin usage is perfectly correct; as we may see from Capella, VII. § 737, "sexies septuagesies dipondius facit quadringentos trigies dipondius." But the Greek text had *ἑπτὰ* for *ἑπτάκις* in the second line, the Latin usage being to say "seventy times seven times," and the Greek "seventy times seven." The reviser, then, seeing that *septies* in one line stood for *ἑπτάκις* and in the next for *ἑπτά*, has corrected the Greek text to the form in which we have given it above.

In Matt. xix. 28

ΚΑΘΙCΕCΘΕ ΚΑΙ ΑΥΤΟΙ

has been made into

ΚΑΘΙCΕCΘΕ ΚΑΙ ΥΜΕΙC

because the Latin, properly enough, had given

SEDEBITIS ET VOS.

In Matt. xx. 17 I suspect the true text to be

μελλων δε αναβαινειν ο $\overline{\text{ιηc}}$.

To translate this exactly would have required a participial periphrasis; hence the Latin

ET ASCENDENS $\overline{\text{IHS}}$ HIEROSOLYMA,

from which the Greek

και αναβαινων ο $\overline{\text{ιηc}}$.

In Matt. ii. 9 it seems as if in rendering

επανω ογ ην το παιδιον

by

SVPRA PVERVM,

which it must be allowed is not a very close translation, the way had been made for the Greek corrector to write

επανω τογ παιδιογ

which is the Bezan reading.

A few verses on there is another instance where the scribe had to render the words *τὸ παιδίον* several times; he gave *puer* as the equivalent, but in these cases, Matt. ii. 13, 14, 20, the corrector substituted in the Greek the more exact equivalent *τὸν παῖδα*.

In Matt. xv. 9,

πορρω απεχει απ εμογ

was rendered

LONGE EST A ME,

with the result that *ἐστίν* displaces *ἀπέχει* in the Greek.

In Matt. xv. 27,

και γαρ τα κυναρια
εσθιογσιν απο των ψειχων,

where the Latin is

ET CANIS ENIM
EDENT DE MICIS,

the plural verb in Greek has been produced by the parallel Latin verb in the corresponding line.

In Matt. x. 42 we have a case where the Latin translator

has translated ψυχρὸν by *aqua frigida*, with the effect of forcing back *aqua* on the Greek text[1].

ΠΟΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΥΔΑΤΟC ΨΥΧΡΟΥ • ΕΙC ΟΝΟΜΑ ΜΑΘΗΤΟΥ
CALICEM AQVAE FRIGIDAE IN NOMINE DISCIPVLI.

In Luke xiii. 35 the translator seems to have used a little freedom in rendering ἕως εἴπητε, by

DONEC VENIAT VT DICATIS,

and the Greek becomes

ΕΩC ΗΞΕΙ
ΟΤΕ ΕΙΠΗΤΕ.

In Luke xii. 51 he rendered δοῦναι εἰρήνην by *pacem facere*: and the Bezan Greek shews

ΔΟΚΕΙΤΕ ΟΤΙ ΕΙΡΗΝΗΝ ΠΑΡΕΓΕΝΟΜΗΝ
ΠΟΙΗCΑΙ.

In Acts xii. 15 we have the passage

ΟΙ ΔΕ ΕΛΕΓΟΝ ΠΡΟC ΑΥΤΗΝ
Ο ΑΓΓΕΛΟC ΑΥΤΟΥ ΕCΤΙΝ

prettily translated by

QVI AVTEM DIXERVNT AD EAM
FORSITAM ANGELVS EIVS EST.

And *forsitan* goes back into the Greek as τυχόν.

Bearing in mind the equivalence between these two words in the translator's or reviser's mind, we can explain Luke xx. 13

ΤΥΧΟΝ ΤΟΥΤΟΝ
ΕΝΤΡΑΠΗCΟΝΤΑΙ

FORSITAM HVNC
REVEREBVNTVR.

The Greek should read ἴσως, but the other was the reviser's word.

In Acts iii. 22,

ΕΚ ΤΩΝ ΑΔΕΛΦΩΝ ΗΜΩΝ
ΩC ΕΜΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΑΚΟΥCΕCΘΑΙ

DE FRATRIBVS VESTRIS
TAMQVAM ME IPSVM AVDIETIS.

[1] Wetstein, *Proleg.* p. 32.

Here the Latin is perfectly correct, if we place a point between *me* and *ipsum:* but the reviser has run the two words together, and corrected the Greek from ὡς ἐμέ αὐτοῦ to ὡς ἐμοῦ αὐτοῦ; i.e. "you shall hear him as if it were myself."

It is instructive to notice that in c. vii. 37, where the same quotation occurs, the text has been fortified against misunderstanding by a point as well as by the line-division, and we have

DE FRATRIBVS VESTRIS TAMQVAM ME·
IPSVM AVDIETIS,

and no error in the Greek.

In Matt. xxv. 10, where the Greek

ΑΠΕΡΧΟΜΕΝΩΝ ΔΕ ΑΥΤΩΝ ΑΓΟΡΑCΑΙ

has been translated by

CVM VADVNT EMERE,

a corrector has concluded that a more exact equivalent of the Latin would be

ΕΩC ΥΠΑΓΟΥCIN ΑΓΟΡΑCΑΙ.

In Matt. xxvii. 65 and 66,

ΦΥΛΑΚΑC and ΜΕΤΑ ΤΩΝ ΦΥΛΑΚΩΝ

stand for

ΚΟΥCΤΩΔΙΑΝ and ΜΕΤΑ ΤΗC ΚΟΥCΤΩΔΙΑC

because the Latin is

CVSTODES and CVM CVSTODIBVS.

In Luke viii. 30 the text probably stood

ΠΟΛΛΑ ΓΑΡ ΕΙCΗΛΘΕΝ ΕΙC ΑΥΤΟΝ ΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΑ,

which, no doubt, was rendered

MVLTA ENIM INIERANT DAEMONIA.

But *enim inierant* easily became *enim erant*, and then the Greek was corrected to

ΠΟΛΛΑ ΓΑΡ ΗCΑΝ ΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΑ.

In Luke xxiv. 44 the translator had nothing in Latin to answer to the Greek ὢν, and of course he paraphrased

ΕΤΙ ΩΝ CΥΝ ΥΜΙΝ

into

CVM ESSEM VOBISCVM,

The Bezan Greek now stands

ΕΝ Ω ΗΜΗΝ CΥΝ ΥΜΕΙΝ.

In Matt. xxviii. 19,

ΜΑΘΗΤΕΥCΑΤΕ ΠΑΝΤΑ ΤΑ ΕΘΝΗ
ΒΑΠΤΙCΑΝΤΕC ΑΥΤΟΥC

DOCETE OMNES GENTES
BAPTIZANTES EOS,

we might maintain that *βαπτίσαντες* was rightly translated by *baptizantes:* but it may be suggested on the other hand, in view of the occurrence of *βαπτίζοντες* in all other copies except the Vatican Codex, that the Greek reading (for the Latin is certainly right) is due to assonance.

In Mark i. 10 the scribe had to render

ΕΙΔΕΝ CΧΙΖΟΜΕΝΟΥC ΤΟΥC ΟΥΡΑΝΟΥC,

for which he gave

VIDIT APERTOS CAELOS.

Hence the Greek *ἠνυγμένους*.

In Mark i. 16,

ΑΜΦΙΒΑΛΛΟΝΤΑC ΕΝ ΤΗ ΘΑΛΑCCΗ

would naturally be rendered

MITTENTES RETE IN MARE.

The elliptical Greek is brought to order by inserting *τὰ δίκτυα* over against the Vulgar Latin *retias*. (Note that the Vulgar Latin turned the neuter plurals into feminine singulars; thus in the present case the word for 'a net' is not *rete* but *retia*. A good deal of confusion arises from this peculiarity.) This is not a case of assimilation to Matthew *βάλλοντας ἀμφίβληστρον*, but, even if it were, the Latinization remains, for *ἀμφίβληστρον* has been replaced by *τὰ δίκτυα*, which must be under the influence of the form *retia*.

In Mark v. 15 the translator rendered *τὸν δαιμονιζόμενον* by *illum qui a daemonio uexabatur*, and thence *αὐτὸν* has crept into the Greek:

ΚΑΙ ΘΕΩΡΟΥCΙΝ ΑΥΤΟ
ΤΟΝ ΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΖΟΜΕΝΟΝ

ET VIDENT ILLVM
QVI A DAEMONIO VEXABATVR.

The same mistake occurs in the next verse

ΑΥΤΩ ΤΩ ΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΖΟΜΕΝΩ
EI QVI DAEMONIO VEXAVATVR.

In Mark vii. 5 *ἐπερωτῶσιν αὐτὸν* was rendered by *interrogant eum...dicentes.* It is no wonder, then, that we find *λέγοντες* thrust into the Greek.

In Mark vii. 25, we find

ΑΚΟΥCΑCΑ ΠΕΡΙ ΑΥΤΟΥ
VT AVDIIT DE EO,

and so we have *ὡς* prefixed to the Greek as an equivalent for *ut.*

In Mark viii. 36,

ΤΙ ΓΑΡ ΩΦΕΛΗCΕΙ ΤΟΝ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΝ
ΕΑΝ ΚΕΡΔΗCΗ ΤΟΝ ΚΟCΜΟΝ ΟΛΟΝ
QVID ENIM PRODERIT HOMINI
SI LVCRETVR VNIVERSVM ORBEM.

Here *κερδῆσαι* has been replaced by *ἐὰν κερδήσῃ* on account of the rendering *si lucretur.*

Mark ix. 34,

ΔΙΕΛΕΧΘΗCΑΝ
ΤΙC ΜΙΖΩΝ ΓΕΝΗΤΑΙ ΑΥΤΩΝ
DISQVIREBANT
QVIS ESSE ILLORVM MAIOR,

where *esse* stands for *esset.* Then the words *γένηται αὐτῶν* are added to the Greek text.

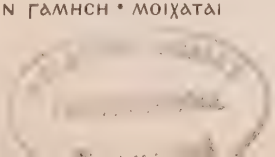
Mark x. 10,

ΟΙ ΜΑΘΗΤΑΙ ΑΥΤΟΥ
ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΛΟΓΟΥ
ΕΠΗΡΩΤΗCΑΝ ΑΥΤΟΝ
DISCIPVLI EIVS
DE EODEM SERMONEM
INTERROGAVERVNT EVM.

Here *de eodem sermone* is a free translation of *περὶ τούτου,* and the Greek text has been corrected.

Mark x. 12. The scribe paraphrased the participial construction

ΚΑΙ ΕΑΝ ΑΥΤΗ ΑΠΟΛΥCΑCΑ ΤΟΝ ΑΝΔΡΑ ΑΥΤΗC
ΑΛΛΟΝ ΓΑΜΗCΗ • ΜΟΙΧΑΤΑΙ



and translated

ET SI MVLIER EXIET A VIRO
ET ALIVM DVXERIT • MOECHATVR.

This is intelligible enough in Latin; can the same be said of the reformed Greek?

και εαν γυνη εξελθη απο του ανδρος
και αλλον γαμηση • μοιχαται.

Mark x. 16,

και εναγκαλισαμενος αυτα

has been misunderstood: the scribe was not quite at home with the word; in Mark ix. 36 he had given it as *ἀνακλισάμενος*: here he boldly assumes it to be a compound of *καλέω*, and renders it

ET CONVOCANS EOS:

then the Greek becomes

και προσκαλεσαμενος αυτα.

Mark xiv. 1, the scribe found

ην δε το πασχα και τα αζυμα.

The two words *πάσχα* and *ἄζυμα* were equivalent to him: if *ἄζυμα* had stood alone we can guess what he would have done by a reference to Luke xxii. 7, where he found

ηλθεν δε η ημερα των αζυμων,

and rendered it

VENIT AVTEM DIES PASCHAE,

and the reviser went back and corrected the Greek text to

ηλθεν δε η ημερα του πασχα.

In Mark, then, he had no need to translate *τὰ ἄζυμα*, and discarded it; and it is erased accordingly from the Greek.

Mark xiv. 36,

ουχ ο εγω θελω
αλλ ο συ θελεις,

θέλεις has come from the Latin

NON SICVT EGO VOLO
SED SICVT TV BIS.

Mark xiv. 56,

ΠΟΛΛΟΙ ΓΑΡ ΕΨΕΥΔΟΜΑΡΤΥΡΟΥΝ
ΕΛΕΓΟΝ ΚΑΤ ΑΥΤΟΥ

MVLTI ENIM FALSVM TESTIMONIVM
DICEBANT ADVERSVS EVM.

Here ἔλεγον has merely come in to balance *dicebant* in the same line.

Traces of a similar error may be found in the following verse.

In Mark xvi. 11,

ΚΑΙ ΟΥΚ ΕΠΙCΤΕΥCΑΝ ΑΥΤΩ,

the Latin is missing: but it must have been

ET NON CREDIDERVNT EI,

where *ei* by the way is feminine, so that the Greek has been corrected: and there is no doubt the whole Latin sentence simply stands for the single Greek word

ΗΠΙCΤΗCΑΝ.

The prefixed καὶ shews that ἀκούσαντες in the previous clause was rendered by *audierunt et.*

In Luke v. 8,

Ο ΔΕ CΙΜΩΝ ΠΡΟCΕΠΕCΕΝ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΤΟΙC ΠΟCΙΝ
SIMON AVTEM PROCIDIT AD PEDES EIVS.

Here the Greek should have γόνασιν for ποσίν, which is fairly translated by the Latin *ad pedes.* We see the Greek has been corrected.

Sometimes, as in Acts ii. 17, the reviser's correction can be seen to underlie an error of the text: we have

ΚΑΙ ΟΙ ΠΡΕCΒΥΤΕΡΟΙ ΕΝΥΠΝΙΑCΘΗCΟΝΤΑΙ
ET SENIORES SOMNIA SOMNIABVNT.

Here the Greek had originally ἐνυπνίοις ἐνυπνιασθήσονται, which was rendered by *somnia somniabunt;* but the reviser corrected the dative case of the Greek into the accusative of the Latin; and the ἐνύπνια dropped out as a dittograph of ἐνυπνιασθήσονται.

In Acts ii. 47,

ΚΑΙ ΕΧΟΝΤΕC ΧΑΡΙΝ ΠΡΟC ΟΛΟΝ ΤΟΝ ΛΑΟΝ,

the translator gave

ET HABENTES GRATIAM APVT TOTVM MVNDV̄,

much in the same way as a Frenchman would say *tout le monde;* and the revising hand has replaced λαόν by *κόσμον.*

In Acts iii. 24,

και των κατεξης ο ελαλησεν

is due to

ET EORVM QVI ORDINE FVERVNT QVODQVOD LOCVTI SVNT,

quotquot having been misspelt as is common throughout our text (*t* = *d*), and then read as *quod;* accordingly ὅσοι disappears, giving place to ὅ.

Acts v. 9,

ο δε πετρος [προς] αυτην τι οτι
συνεφωνηθη υμειν

PETRVS VERO AD EAM QVID VTIQVE
CONVENIT VOBIS,

and *συνεφώνησεν* is substituted as a more exact equivalent of *conuenit.* This case was noticed by Mill.

Acts vii. 1,

ει ταυτα ουτως εχει

was rendered

SIC HAEC SIC HABENT.

We have explained in a previous place the Vulgar Latin use of *sic: ἔχει* seemed to demand a singular, so we have

ει αρα τουτο ουτως εχει.

Acts vii. 52,

και απεκτειναν αυτους
τους προκαταγγελλοντας

ET OCCIDERVNT EOS
QVI PRAENVNTIAVERVNT,

where αυτους has been put in to balance *eos.*

Acts viii. 13,

και βαπτισθεις ην
και προσκαρτερων

ET BAPTIZATVS EST
ET ADHEREBAT PHILIPPO,

where *ἦν* has been taken with *βαπτισθείς* and so *καὶ* became necessary in the second line.

Acts xiv. 4,

ΗΝ ΔΕ ΕϹΧΙϹΜΕΝΟΝ ΤΟ ΠΛΗΘΟϹ
DIVISA AVTEM ERAT MVLTITVDO

for *ἐσχίσθη* for the sake of parallelism.

Note in the same verse the effect of rendering *οἱ μὲν, οἱ δὲ* by *alii*.

ΚΑΙ ΟΙ ΜΕΝ ΗϹΑΝ ϹΥΝ ΤΟΙϹ ΙΟΥΔΑΙΟΙϹ
ΑΛΛΟΙ ΔΕ ϹΥΝ ΤΟΙϹ ΑΠΟϹΤΟΛΟΙϹ
ET ALII QVIDEM ERANT CVM IVDAEIS
ALII VERO CVM APOSTOLIS.

Acts xv. 26,

ΒΑΡΝΑΒΑ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΥΛΩ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΙϹ
ΠΑΡΑΔΕΔΩΚΑϹΙΝ ΤΗΝ ΨΥΧΗΝ ΑΥΤΩΝ
BARNABA ET PAVLO HOMINIBVS
QVI TRADIDERVNT ANIM SVAM.

The Latin shews the original to have been *παραδεδωκόσιν* which the reviser took to be the exact equivalent of *tradiderunt*, and made the necessary vocalic change.

Acts xvii. 23,

ΕΝ Ω Η ΓΕΓΡΑΜΜΕΝΟΝ

for

ΕΝ Ω ΕΠΕΓΕΓΡΑΠΤΟ,

the Latin being

IN QVA SCRIPTVM ERAT.

Acts xix. 19,

ϹΥΝΕΝΕΓΚΑΝΤΕϹ ΤΑϹ ΒΙΒΛΟΥϹ

was rightly translated so as to bring out the force of *σὺν* by

ADTVLERVNT ET LIBROS,

and *καὶ* is inserted against *et* in the Greek text.

Acts xix. 30,

ΟΥΚ ΕΙΩΝ ΑΥΤΟΝ ΟΙ ΜΑΘΗΤΑΙ

was changed to

ΟΙ ΜΑΘΗΤΑΙ ΕΚΩΛΥΟΝ,

the Latin being, however,

DISCIPVLI NON SINEBANT.

The scribe had already translated the same verb in a different way: for in Acts xiv. 16 he had given *sanauit omnes gentes* as a rendering for *εἴασεν πάντα τὰ ἔθνη*, as if the word came from *ἰάομαι*. Now he avoids the difficulty by changing the words.

Acts xx. 12,

ΗΓΑΓΕΝ ΤΟΝ ΝΕΑΝΙCΚΟΝ ΖΩΝΤΑ

for

ΗΓΑΓΕΝ ΤΟΝ ΠΑΙΔΑ ΖΩΝΤΑ

because the word *παῖδα* had been rendered in the Latin, properly enough, as

ADDVXERVNT IVBENEM VIVENTEM.

Acts xx. 23,

ΚΑΤΑ ΠΟΛΙΝ

having been rendered by

PER SINGVLAS CIVITATES,

an additional word seemed necessary in Greek: hence we have

ΚΑΤΑ ΠΑCΑΝ ΠΟΛΙΝ.

A very complicated, but at the same time convincing case of reaction will be found in Acts xix. 29,

ΚΑΙ CΥΝΕΧΥΘΗ ΟΛΗ Η ΠΟΛΙC ΑΙCΧΥΝΗC
ET REPLETA EST TOTA CIVITAS CONFVSIONEM.

The Greek is impossible, and must be due to correction badly administered; and the question is, how did the impossible reading *αἰσχύνης* arise? Evidently it has been put in to balance *confusionem*. Now that the words in question do correspond, from the point of view of our translation, may be seen from Luke xvi. 4, where *αἰσχύνομαι* is rendered *confundor*. Further, in Matt. xx. 28, in the long interpolated section we have *καὶ καταισχυνθήσῃ* as the equivalent of *et confondaris*. Moreover, in Luke xiv. 9, we have *μετ' αἰσχύνης* rendered by *cum confusione*, and in Luke ix. 26, *ὃς γὰρ ἂν αἰπεσχύνθῃ* (for *ἐπαισχυνθῇ*) *με* = *qui enim confusus fuerit me*. There is therefore no doubt about the origin of *αἰσχύνης*, and the Latinization of the passage is demonstrated.

The next question is whether *αἰσχύνης* is a pure addition to the text, or whether it has displaced some other word? In favour of the latter hypothesis it may be urged that *αἰσχύνης* is in the

genetive; this looks as if it had displaced some word in the same case. This could very well happen if the word *συγχύσεως* had stood in the text, its genetive case being dependent on a preceding *ἐπλήσθη*. The present Greek text may then be regarded as a mixture of two readings

και συνεχυθη ολη η πολις

and

και επλησθη ολη η πολις συγχυσεως.

We should then have to decide in some way between the two readings in the matter of priority.

If, on the other hand, we hold *αἰσχύνης* to be a mere addition from the Latin, we must say that the genetive is due to the fact that *ἐπλήσθη* was also carried back, but subsequently displaced by the original reading *συνεχύθη*. The problem is a pretty one, especially in view of the early attestation of both the suggested primitive forms. Of one thing we may be certain, and that is that the Latin is all right as it stands, and needs no correction except the erasure of the final *m*. Moreover, we are certain of the Latin influence on the Greek as it now stands in the Bezan text. Concerning the other points at issue we prefer to reserve our opinion for the present.

We have now verified completely the hypothesis to which our investigations of the Beza text led us, viz. that the Greek text has been thoroughly and persistently Latinized. We do not think it will be doubted, in view of the many Latin readings which we detect in the Greek, that the case is completely proved. It will not any longer suffice, to say that we prove consent but not corruption. When the equivalents of obsolete Latin forms turn up in the Greek, there is corruption; when Latin verses appear in a Greek dress, there has been Latin interpolation: and so we have a clear and convincing demonstration of conspiracy as against the old-fashioned hypothesis of concurrence. Griesbach's hasty dismissal of the question must now be considered an unhappy blunder: and we must revise our critical methods accordingly. We have arrived at these results, without complicating the question by asking whether any important codices or any of our great editors were in the conspiracy: we need to be on our guard against the popular prejudices in favour of great names.

It is by this time clear that Dr Hort's opinion, that the Latin of Cod. Bezae has been forced into agreement with the Greek, must be rejected: the force is in the majority of cases exactly in the opposite direction. Starting from the demonstration of Latinism in the Beza Greek, we must now enquire what MSS. have absorbed similar errors, and see how far their corrupted texts can be restored. And this is no slight task, and for the criticism of the New Testament it is of infinite moment. For the present we will simply say that the new light we have obtained will often shine into very dark corners.

We shall presently return and study a little more closely the Vulgar Latin forms, from which we diverged in order to discuss the question of Latinization which those forms forced upon us.

CHAPTER XI.

Genealogical Relations deducible from the previously demonstrated Latinizing Errors.

We will now take a glance over the results already arrived at, to see how far they affect other New Testament texts. We do not, of course, assume that our judgment is final in regard to the development of error in each one of the passages quoted, but we simply say that our results have been tabulated as far as possible without prejudice, and with only an occasional reference to authorities other than D, whose character might be compromised by the investigation. But, if there be any truth in our demonstration of the process of Latinization which has gone on in the Codex Bezae, we cannot stop at this point; we want to know whether any errors that we have noted affect the whole Latin tradition, and whether they have spread beyond that tradition. Now, in the nature of the case many of the errors referred to are short-lived; they only remain for a few generations, and some of them may have only the lifetime of a single copy. At the same time there are others which shew a remarkable persistence. For instance, to recur to a case previously referred to from Matthew v. 22, where we find *qui pascitur* for *qui irascitur;* we are almost sure that this error arose in a bilingual Codex, for it is the error of a bilingual scribe and is caused by the equivalence of a Latin *p* and a Greek *ρ*. Now we have pointed out that this error is in the Codex Claromontanus of Irenaeus, so that it may be said with confidence that it belongs to the translator of Irenaeus; but no translator would have invented such an extraordinary reading; it must therefore have had its equivalent in the Greek text of Irenaeus or have been current in the Latin Gospels of his translator.

It should be remembered that Codex *k*, which is generally taken to be an African version, shews the same reading. The bilingual error must, therefore, have been widely diffused. And do not let us assume that this error was absent from the textual ancestry of D.

Next consider the reading which we previously discussed from John xxi. 22, 23. The concurrence in error here brings together the texts D *d a b c ff*^{2} *g* and the Vulgate with Ambrose and Jerome: the smaller group formed by D *d ff*^{2} and the Vulgate being perhaps a little nearer together than the rest.

In Mark ix. 15, we have noted the concurrence of D *d b c ff*^{2} *i k* with Tatian in the misreading and corresponding mistranslation of προστρέχοντες by προσχέροντες.

In Luke xxiii. 53, we find D *d c theb* appropriating a Latin hexameter verse.

In Mark v. 9[1], all the Latins seem to support the first ἐστίν, the second is added by the company

D *d* B 69. 124. 238. 346 *b c f g*^{1} *g*^{2} *i l q vg.*

In Mark vi. 3, εἰσίν is represented in

D *d a b c f ff*^{2} *g*^{1} *g*^{2} *i l q vg.*

In Mark viii. 2[2], note the substantial concurrence of D *d a b c i* in the expression *ex quo hic sunt.*

In Mark ix. 34, the Latin *esset* has been carried back into the Greek of D and 2^{pe}: and in a different form by 13, 69, 346.

In Mark x. 27, the added ἐστίν is found in

D al. pauc. *a b c f ff*^{2} *k q vg.*

In Mark xiv. 36[3], the addition of ἐστίν has Greek support in 13, 124, 346.

In Luke viii. 25, the addition of ἐστίν seems to be in all codices except BℵALX. 1, al.^{12}. Is it the genuine reading?

In Luke i. 78[4], either ℵBL have fallen under the influence of a Latin *uisitabit*, or D and most of the other texts have made the converse error by retranslating *uisitauit*. The Latin forms are to be regarded as equivalent and interchangeable.

[1] Cf. sup. p. 57. [2] p. 58. [3] p. 61. [4] p. 62.

In Matt. xv. 32[1], the intrusive *hanc* is found in a number of Greek MSS.; also in the following authorities

[*b*] *c f* [*ff*^{1}] *g*^{2} *me* Hilary and Ambrose.

In John xvii. 11, the eccentric conflation has influenced the copies D *d a c e*.

In John viii. 26[2], the intrusive article is found in

D *d a b f ff*^{2} *l q*.

In John xiv. 30, the article appears in

d a b c e f ff^2 *g l q vg* and 1. 346. 2^{pe} and others.

In John xvii. 14, notice the agreement between D *a c f q* in the insertion of the article.

In Mark viii. 2[3], the addition of τούτου to the Greek finds a corresponding Latin in

a b c f ff^2 *g*^{1} *i q*

and the Greek is followed by L. The same addition may be seen in the Memphitic and Peshito Syriac.

Matt. ix. 26[4], the curious error of D is followed by

71. 435. *g*^{scr} al.^{2} and *theb*

while the error itself assumes an underlying Greek text, which is found in

ℵC 1. 33. 118. and *me*.

Matt. xviii. 20[5] brings together for an astonishing reading

D *d g*^{1}.

Acts v. 32, D is followed by E[6].

John xii. 47, *d* and *e* agree in reading *meorum berborum*[7].

Acts v. 3, D has the support of the Vulgate.

Matt. x. 42[8], the Latin tradition is all for *minimis*. But note that Cod. 157 conflates the Greek τῶν μικρῶν with the translation from the Latin τῶν ἐλαχίστων.

Matt. xiii. 48, the same thing seems to be true for κάλλιστα.

These two instances are of peculiar importance, in that they intimate the occurrence in the Latin either of an irregular trans-

[1] Cf. p. 65. [2] p. 66. [3] p. 67. [4] p. 68. [5] p. 69. [6] p. 70. [7] p. 71. [8] p. 72.

lation of an adjective in the positive degree, or of the duplicated positive.

The reader may confirm his faith in the existence of this duplicated form by comparing Matt. v. 39 in Cod. *k*, *non resistere adversus nequam nequam;* where *nequam nequam* represents *nequissimum;* and is conclusive in favour of the masculine interpretation of *malo.*

In Mark i. 38[1], we have again a difficulty in the fact that ἐξῆλθον is only supported by ℵBCL 33. But our method would shew it to be right: for the other reading is explained.

Mark xv. 14, ἔκραζον is supported by

ADGKMPΠ 1. 69. 346 and 25 others.

Assimilation to the text of Matthew may have contributed to this?

In Luke viii. 27, we are again confronted with a dilemma between ℵBLΞ 1. 33. 151. 157 *me* reading ἐνεδύσατο and the other uncials and cursives supporting D and the Latin tradition. Again D would seem to be wrong.

Matt. xvi. 26[2], the choice lies between

ℵBL 1. 13. 22. 33. 61. 157. 346. y^{scr} *e f q me theb*

against the general Latin tradition and all the rest of the uncials &c.

Mark x. 13. The right reading ἐπετίμησαν must be sought in ℵBCLΔ.

John xvii. 14, the reading of D (μισεῖ) is followed by *a e q* and a group of cursives.

Mark vi. 39, the reading ἀνακλιθῆναι is supported by ℵBG 1. 13. 28. 69. 2^{pe}. al.^{10}: the rest of the company being with D.

Matt. ix. 28[3], D is supported in καὶ ἔρχεται by *a b c g*^{1} *h k.*

Matt. xiii. 4, Cod. B alone of the uncial texts with 13. 124 seems to have the original reading.

Matt. xvii. 7[4], we find the uncorrupted texts to be ℵB 13. 124. 346.

Matt. xx. 30, we have again the consensus in error of D and the Latins.

[1] p. 73. [2] p. 74. [3] p. 75. [4] p. 76.

Matt. xxi. 6, D and the Latins have some support from the Sahidic and Syriac; but was not this to be expected in such a construction as participle and verb?

Matt. xxvi. 51. Here again most of the Latins agree with D, and, as might have been expected, the Syriac versions.

John vi. 11[1], D is supported in its error by ℵ *a b e q* and the Syriac versions, which last ought perhaps not to be counted.

John xii. 36[2], D and the Latins are again together in the resolution of the participle and verb into two verbs.

Luke v. 14, shews agreement again between D *a e*, other old Latins and the Vulgate.

Luke xv. 23, D finds no support outside the Latin company and some versions.

Mark iv. 36, the aberrant company is

D 13. 28. 69. 346. 2^{pe} *b c e ff*^{2} *i q*.

Mark vii. 25, the inserted *καὶ* is given by DΔ, from the Latins.

Mark x. 16[3], D is accompanied by *b c ff*^{2} *k q*.

Mark x. 22, we have D in error with *b c ff*^{2} *q*.

Acts xiv. 21[4], the Latinization has affected AEHP as well as D.

Matt. xiii. 22, for *σπειρόμενος* D has the company of *a c g*^{1} *ff*^{2} *k*.

Matt. xiii. 24, *σπείραντι* is the reading of ℵBMXΔΠ 13. 33. 346 al^{20}. It is surely right; and D, with the later uncials, has Latinized.

Luke ii. 16, D is only supported, outside the Latins, by Cod. 61.

And so we might continue our examination, but the results are sufficiently patent: we may say that the hypothesis of Latinization is shewn conclusively to be the right one for the explanation of the text, since so many readings of D are unsupported in Greek, while almost all are followed by the Latin. Next we see that occasionally whole battalions of later uncials take up the Latinized reading, while a small company remains faithful, usually including B.

Amongst the codices which have occasionally Latinized will be found ℵLΔ, &c.; whether B has been entrapped in any cases into error is a question which must not be prejudged, and it almost requires a special and extended investigation; but it looks as if B had escaped.

[1] p. 76. [2] p. 77. [3] p. 78. [4] p. 81.

The majority of the Latin texts (perhaps all of them) are derivable from a common source, their concurrence in singular errors being inexplicable on any other hypothesis, but whether this source be European or African, Gallican or Roman, remains as yet uncertain. And this being the case, and the authority of D having, for the greater part, been reduced to that of *d*, the practical problem is, to restore the lost Western text in its primitive Vulgar Latin form, and to reason from the single form thus reached, as being the equivalent of a very early Greek MS.[1]

So extensively has the Greek text of Codex Bezae been modified by the process of Latinization that we can no longer regard D as a distinct authority apart from *d*. In the first instance it may have been such; or, on the other hand, it may have been the original from which the first Latin translation was made. But it is probably safest to regard D + *d* as representing a single bilingual tradition. The process of Latinization is not a late one consequent on the *rapprochement* in a bilingual codex of two texts, an old Western Greek and an old Western Latin respectively; for this bilingual tradition goes back to the earliest times. It can be traced in Irenaeus, in the ancestry of ℵCL, and in the parentage of the Egyptian versions. Any residual divergences between D and *d* are due to unequal criticism of correcting hands.

[1] In Luke xvi. 26, *d* reads

chaus magnum confirmatus est,

where *chaus* came in through the loss of the repeated syllable in *chasma magnum*.

In this error it is supported by *b c f ff*^{2} *i l vulg*. Ambrose, Hilary and Augustine.

If this means anything, does it not mean a common Latin original for the Gospel of Luke in the authorities referred to?

CHAPTER XII.

Some Phonetic and Grammatical Peculiarities of the Bezan Scribe.

1. *On the local pronunciation of the initial letters* JU.

An examination of the Codex Bezae will shew the scribe's pronunciation of these letters. We may expect, if he is a French scribe, to find a transitional pronunciation of the same kind as that by which the French language derived such a word as *jusque* from *de usque :* i.e. we may expect that there was a predominance of the *d* sound over that of *g*.

Turn to Acts xx. 19, where

ΕΝ ΤΑΙC ΕΠΙΒΟΥΛΑΙC ΤΩΝ ΙΟΥΔΑΙΩΝ

is rendered by

EX INSIDIIS AD IVDAEIS.

Here *ad iudaeis* clearly stands for, and should be printed *a diudaeis.*

The scribe writes *diu* for what we represent by *ju*, so that there was a consonantal sound to the initial letter, something like what we should render by *dy*.

Next turn to Mark x. 21,

ΕΚ ΝΕΟΤΗΤΟC ΜΟΥ

AD IVVENTVTE MEA.

Here again we should print

A DIVVENTVTE MEA[1].

[1] Notice how the Vulgar Latin has again conserved something in its pronunciation from the primitive form, if we may assume with Curtius, *Gr. Etym.* 230, that the root is the Sanskrit *dévâ*.

A similar case occurs in the Lyons Pentateuch where the scribe had to write the word *Jebusaeorum;* he actually wrote *Zebusaeorum*, and those who have noted the interchange in the Old Latin texts of the forms *zabulus* and *diabulus, baptizo* and *baptidio, exorcizo* and *exorcidio* in MSS. will see what the archaic pronunciation of the word in question was. It could not have been = *Yebusaeorum.*

We see the same thing in the Lyons Pentateuch in Lev. x. 7, where *ἀπὸ τῆς θύρας τῆς σκηνῆς* is translated

ad ianua tabernaculi.

Certainly the words should be divided so as to read *a dianua.*

Under the same heading probably belongs the Bezan reading of *zosum* for *deorsum* (sometimes written *diosum*) in Acts xx. 9, and Cod. *k* (Matt. i. 12) *dechonias* for *iechonias.*

2. *On the pronunciation of the adjacent letters* SR.

We find $\left.\begin{matrix}\text{SDR}\\ \text{STR}\end{matrix}\right\}$ for SR in proper names. For this change, which is what we should expect in a Latin MS., seeing that the Latins render *Ezra* by *Esdras,* and give *Hasdrubal* as the equivalent of Azrubaal (עזר בעל), our text furnishes a frequent illustration in the spelling of *Israel.*

E.g. Matt. ix. 34, *εν ϊσραηλ* = in istrahel, but in x. 6, *οικου εισραηλ* = domus israhel. So in x. 23 (israhel).

John xii. 14, *του ϊστραηλ* = istrahel.

In Luke xxiv. 21, we again find the spelling *israhel,* otherwise generally the spelling is *istrahel*[1], and in not a few cases the Greek imitates the Latin spelling.

The case is important (1) as indicating a real phonetic difficulty amongst certain Latin-speaking peoples; (2) because the influence of the Latin text on the Greek appears not only in the Codex Bezae, but also in the famous Codex Vaticanus, and the spelling carries with it an intimation of the probable existence of Western readings in that text.

[1] On p. xlviii Scrivener says: "*ϊστραηλ* John xii. 13; Luke ii. 32, iv. 25; Mark xii. 29. *ϊστραηλιται* Acts xiii. 16, xxi. 28 (but in the Latin *istrahel* in 26 other places, *istrahelitae* in 3 others." Compare p. xliii: "*istrahel* etc. always except in Luke xxiv. 21." There is some confusion here.

It is interesting to observe that this difficulty of pronouncing *sr*, and the insertion of *t* between the discordant sounds, can often be traced in the Romance languages: e.g. the French ancêtre is from *antecessor*, through *an[te]cessre*; connaître, from *cognoscere* through *conoistre*; être from *essere* by *estre*. It does not however seem that the modern Italians feel the difficulty so keenly as the ancient Latins and the French, for they give us a few such forms as *sradicare sregolamento*.

3. *On the so-called impure* S, *and the prefixed vowel that often attaches to it.*

The initial *s* in Italian when followed by a consonant is usually called '*s* impure.' It is so congenial a sound to the Italian language, that it has been extended by analogy to many words where it does not etymologically belong; but on the other hand I think we ought to recognize that, the further back we go in our study of the Italian language, the more likely are we to find that the forms with *s* impure are genuine forms derived from the archaic speech.

For example, let us see what Scrivener says of the Codex Bezae[1]:

> Such forms as *sconspectu* Acts vii. 46, and yet more *scoriscatio* Matt. xxiv. 27, *scoruscus* Luke xvii. 24, *scorusco*, xvii. 24 *bis*, xxiv. 4[2] (ἀστραπή and ἀστράπτω, but *fulgur* Matt. xxviii. 3, Luke x. 18) savour more of the initial impure *s* of the Italian, which plainly sprung from the Latin *ex*, e.g. *sbarcare*, *scarnare*.

Now, leaving upon one side the question as to whether any cases of the Italian impure *s* can be conceivably traced to the Latin prefixes, let us ask whether it is not possible that after all the form *scoruscus*, which our MS. so decidedly affects, may not be archaic, and as good as the more usual *coruscus*. According to the authorities in philology, the word comes from an ancient reduplicated Sanskrit root, *skar*, which means to *oscillate rapidly backward and forward*, and hence to *gleam*, to *dazzle*: *skar-skar*, the reduplicated root, being easily worn to *scorsco* and *scorusco*, the middle *s* being thus a testimony to the ancient initial *s* which it duplicated[3].

It appears then that the scribe who wrote the first copy of the Latin of Codex Bezae (for the peculiarity is evidently primitive,

[1] p. xlv. [2] Query: add ix. 29.

[3] Vaniçek, *Etym. Wörterbuch*, p. 1246 (from Brugmann).

and similar forms have probably been weeded out in many places) was brought up in the use of Latin which, whether provincial or not, was marked by archaisms of speech. It would clearly be unfair to call these forms early French or early Italian. We may perhaps class them as Vulgar Latin without depreciating their antiquity. But, having noted this peculiarity once, let us point out a similar feature in the Greek of the great Vatican Codex (Cod. B). Twice in the last chapter of Matthew we find the scribe of B writing the word *κουστωδία* in the form *σκουστωδία*. The peculiarity is not noted by Tischendorf, but this is probably due to the fact that he did not pay attention to what he took to be a mere scribe's blunder, if indeed he observed it at all. What shall we say of this word? it is clearly a Latin loan-word in the Greek text; its prefixed sibilant is certainly not a savour of an Italian impure *s:* it is at least doubtful whether the form is a reminiscence of a Latin Bible with which the scribe may have been familiar, although I can very well believe such a form would be hailed as a proof of the Western origin of Codex B. Obviously the real explanation is that *σκουστωδία* is an archaic form. It has been the fashion to refer *custos* and *custodia* to a root *kudh* = *κεύθ-ω*, but it may be conjectured that the root had a prefixed spirant and is rather to be referred to *sku, to cover, to hide,* especially since we find the form preserved in the Latin *scutum* for the long shield which covers the body.

Accordingly we have noted a second instance where the vulgar speech of the New Testament writers and their translators would seem to be archaic. I propose, therefore, to regard these spellings *scoruscus* and *scustodia* as belonging to the earliest current forms of the New Testament writers[1].

The other case quoted *sconspectu* is more difficult; we can scarcely assume that any such form as *scon* could have been current after Indo-germanic times: it must then be a vulgar form of speech; and not, I think, the form of the scribe of Codex Bezae, but of some earlier scribe; for we shall see presently

[1] It is important to register all such peculiarities; suppose, for example, there should be reason to suspect that a Latin document underlay the closing verses of St Matthew's Gospel, we should then read in xxvii. 65 not *habetis custodiam* but *habete scustodiam.*

that the Bezan scribe himself does not shew any fondness for the impure *s*.

The question of course is, as to whether the existence of such forms connotes a peculiar locality: a problem which is not by any means confined to our Manuscript, but turns up constantly in the Vulgate and Italic texts.

For example, in the very interesting discussion which occurred not long since in the pages of the *Academy* as to the origin of the Codex Amiatinus, it was stated by Dr Hamann that the scribe must either have been an Italian, or at any rate the text must have been taken from an Italian exemplar. For, said he, we are directed to Italy and to no other country by such forms as *senes* for *senex, senia* for *xenia, optimantum, gigans, ancxius, uncxit, sussaltastis, ammirata, quemmammodum, cluserunt, hostia, tophadius, agusto, ascultabant, clodum, adtractaverit, redemet, histriatarum, expendebat, scandescet, Spaniae, totum belli impetu, in tantum arrogantiae tumore, incidemus in manu Dei et non in manus hominum* etc.[1]

Hamann's assertion was met by Professor Sanday, who in an Appendix to the second volume of the Oxford *Studia Biblica*[2] discussed the instances in detail, and pointed out how ill-supported were Hamann's rapid generalisations. Dr Sanday further appealed for some fresh light on the subject of the Codex Bezae. "The form *scandescet*...in Sap. v. 23 has many analogies in that remarkable MS. *Cod. Bezae*....It were much to be wished that we knew where *Cod. Bezae* itself was written. The common view, as we have seen, assigns it to the South of France."

We have done our best in the earlier part of this book to prove that the Codex Bezae belongs to some place not far from the Rhône Valley, and we hope that we have either settled the question or have made it easy for some one else to settle it. For our part, we take that for a fixed point of departure. And it is clear that with this for our starting point we have only to discriminate the forms which actually belong to the Bezan scribe from those forms which may have been imported into his text by genealogical transmission from earlier copies.

[1] I quote from *Studia Biblica*, II. p. 286.

[2] pp. 309 sqq.

Now, bearing in mind that the natural tendency of the French language is to get rid of the impure *s* by prefixing a vowel (e.g. *Étienne, étable, espérer, école* etc.), we must expect to find in our text cases of such a prefixed vowel; and we should be very much surprised if they were wholly absent from a writer who follows the pronunciation so closely in his writing.

In Luke xviii. 32, we have

iniuriabitur et espuent in eum.

In Acts xvi. 19,

quoniam ispes et reditus eorum.

It appears from these instances that the scribe was averse to the initial combination of *sp*. How weak it was in French may be seen from the fact that in many cases the *s* wore away after the vowel had been prefixed, as, for instance, in *épée* from *spada*[1].

How then are we to explain the fact that a scribe who was averse to the combination of the letters *sp* was so tolerant of *sc?*

We have suggested that one way out of the difficulty would be to defend the genuineness of the form *scoruscus* which we find in our text. It is a curious thing, however, that the modern Italian, with its extravagant fondness for words beginning with *sc*, does not use this stem except in the form *coruscazione*. Yet it must have been a popular form, at least, if not a genuine one: and if so, why does it not turn up in Italian?

But even if it be a genuine form we have still to explain the other word *sconspectu*. So that if such a form be thought impossible in Southern France, we have another reason for believing that the Latin archetype of Cod. D was brought from the other side of the Alps.

Rönsch[2] draws attention to the fact that the Codex Vercellensis has a parallel instance in Luke xxii. 31, 'postulavit vos ut

[1] The prefixed *i* or *e* before *s* is not assumed to be confined to France. Rönsch, *Itala u. Vulgata*, p. 467, gives instances of it from the Codex Fuldensis, which is supposed to be by the hand of Victor of Capua; from the Veronese Psalter, from Isidore and the Codex Toletanus etc., and one instance from Tertullian. We note also in Cod. Vercellensis, Mark ix. 20 *ispumans*.

[2] *Itala u. Vulg.* p. 468.

scribraret tamquam triticum.' Here D reads *cerneret*, and the Cod. Veronensis is illegible for the doubtful word, but it looks as if it were *uentilet*. Possibly *scribraret* is here the original translation. Is it conceivable that the impure *s* which we are discussing is an Africanism?

Upon the whole, we cannot say that we have as yet come to a clear understanding upon this question: but it may be more intelligible as our investigation proceeds. The fact is we want to know something more definite about the relations of Codex Bezae and the Old-Latin codices.

We may compare with what has been said above as to the obscuring of the *s impurum* in French, what Le Blant says on the subject from the stand-point of epigraphy[1].

> Des vocables *iscala*, *ispiritus*, *Istephanus*, *ispes*, *ischola*, *istetit*, *ismaragdus*, *iscripsit*, *istudium*, nous avons fait: *escalier*, *esprit*, *Étienne*, *espoir*, *école*, *été*, *émeraude*, *étude*.

Our results confirm his as to the form *ispes*, at any rate, which cannot be regarded as a copyist's blunder. Le Blant adds in a note to the following effect:

> D'après les rapprochements que l'on vient de voir, les mots *étable*, *étang*, *estrade*, *espèce*, *épine*, *époux*, *escabeau*, *escient*, *espace*, *épi*, *estomac*, *état*, *étrangler* etc. me semblent montrer qu'en latin le vulgaire a dû dire *istabulum*, *istagnum*, *ispecies*, *ispina*, *isponsus*, *iscabellum*, *iscire*, *ispatium*, *ispica*, *istomachus*, *istatum*, *istrangulare*.

4. *On the interchange of final* M *and* NT *in the Codex Bezae.*

We frequently find an equivalence between forms ending in *m* and those ending in *nt*: and though, at first sight, it seems as if we had to do with a merely palaeographic error (which certainly is likely enough in MSS. like Codex Bezae and the Lyons Pentateuch, which write final *nt* in a single letter, by crossing the last stroke of the *n*), yet a closer examination convinces us that the error is phonetic, and that the final nasal sounds are subject to confusion.

First let us look at some of the cases: then at the causes.

We have Acts xi. 22, *Barnabant* for *Barnabam*. Acts xii. 16, *eunt* for *eum*.

[1] *Inscriptions chrétiennes de la Gaule*, p. cxviii.

Perhaps a similar case occurs in Acts xiii. 47,

ut sint in salutem usquae ad ultimum terrae,

where we propose to correct *sint* into *sim.*

Now turn to John xvii. 14, where we have

et mundus odit eos quoniam non sum,

where it is clear from the Greek that *sum* stands for *sunt.* We have already pointed out how this error has given rise to a remarkable conflation in John xvii. 11, where the Bezan text is supported wholly or in part by Codd. *a c e.*

Now this singular Latin error is explained at once by the dialectical forms of the Vulgar Latin, from which sprang the Italian *sono,* which is both first person singular and third person plural. Let us interrogate the Latin inscriptions and see where this tendency to equivalence shews itself. According to Sittl[1],

Auslautendes NT wird nur in Italien durch nasales M ersetzt: *fecerum* I. N. 2037 (Nola), 2775, 2824, 7197. Gruter, 686, 3 (Rom) Perret catac. de R. 5, 29, 68, Orelli-H. 7360 (Rom): *convenerum* Marini Atti t. 40, a 21 (J. 218); *comparaverum* Fabretti 5, 11; *emerum* Bold. 53 b 6; *posuerum* ib. 381, 1; *dedicarum* Orelli 3740 (bei Lanuvium); *comparabirum* und *commendaberum* Lupi p. 24 (Tibur J. 613).

From these instances collected by Sittl we see the direction in which to look for the origin of the peculiarities which we noted in our text. They are certainly more Italian than French; and if this be so, then we again suspect that the text of Codex Bezae came to Lyons from the other side of the Alps[2].

I have not found any instance of this error in the Lyons Pentateuch.

5. *On the inflexional forms in the Codex Bezae.*

Let us now see how it stands with the noun-inflexions in our Codex: how do they answer to the Vulgar Latin?

We know that in the Vulgar Latin the neuters disappear,

[1] *Die lokalen Verschiedenheiten,* p. 70.

[2] There are two cases of the kind in Cod. *k,* viz.

Matt. xiii. 54 stuperem *for* stuperent.
xiv. 5 habebam *for* habebant.

It is conceivable, in view of the many transcriptural blunders in *k*, that these are scribe's errors; but on the other hand, they may merely be intimations that we are dealing with a real dialect, which was not French.

taking on masculine or feminine forms as the case may be: the neuter plurals in particular appearing as feminines of the first declension[1]. We are not then surprised to find that our text writes regularly the form *retia:* e.g. John xxi. 6, *retiam: v.* 8, *retiam piscium: v.* 11, *non est scissa retia,* and so in many other places. After a while this singular form will develop its own plural as a feminine noun; though not necessarily the classical plural; for the study of the Romance languages shews us that the formation of a plural by the addition of *s* becomes soon a rule, as it must have been in the earliest times of Latin speech; what constitutes the motive for this apparent reversion to type is more difficult to see; it may be the influence of the oblique case; it is however certain that in the Provençal the plural of such a word as *corona* is *coronas,* while the Old French gives *corone corones:* thus we find an *s* established at a very early period indeed in French[2].

We shall expect then to find traces of neuter plurals which give rise to feminine plurals, and of feminine plurals which are made by the addition of *s.*

For instance, in John iii. 20, we have

ut non arguantur operas eius de luce.

Here we have *opera* turned to a feminine, and the new plural formed in Vulgar Latin fashion.

Again, in Acts ii. 17, we have

et prophetabunt fili eorum
et filias eorum.

This *s* does not appear in modern Italian, but it is in the Spanish and the French. Probably we may say in our case that the form is South-Gallic. But it might just as well be Spanish; and indeed we need to know a great deal more about the variations of the Vulgar Latin before we speak with decision on such a point.

[1] Thus in the Lyons Pent. we have *castrae* (dat.) and *castra* (abl.); and for *crus* we find *crura.*

[2] Schwan, *Altfranzösische Gramm.* p. 90, refers this final *s* to the influence of analogy, "nach Analogie der Feminine der lat. iii. Decl. haben auch die Fem. der lat. i. Decl. in Nom. Plur. ein *s* erhalten."

Having shewn, then, that our MS. sometimes gives us the Vulgar Latin form of the feminine plural of nouns ending in *a*; let us ask whether there is any similar phenomenon with regard to masc. nouns with *o* stems. Here the early Latin form seems to have been for the plural to end in *oe* and *e*, which was probably a survival from *oes* and *es*: but all the words which occur in literature make the plural in *i*. Nor does it seem that in the Old French a plural form in *s* is developed; thus *livre* and not *livres* is the Old French for the Latin *libri*.

There is one case in our MS. which seems to involve such an *s* plural. In Acts xi. 21,

πολγc τε αριθμοc πιcτεγcαc
επεcτρεψεν επι τον κν̄
MVLTISQVE NVMERIS CVM CREDIDISSENT
REVERSI SVNT AD DN̄M.

Here the verbs shew that the singular number of the Greek has been replaced by a plural: we must then either say that *multis numeris* is a nominative plural, or that it is an unfortunate attempt to render the construction known as the ablative absolute, which was never completed on account of the difficulty with the verb; the latter would seem to be the correct explanation.

Now let us turn to the oblique cases; we find in the Vulgar Latin that the *accusative* and *ablative* very early exchange forms and functions; because, for example, as soon as the final *m* of an accusative singular ceases to be sounded, the forms of the two cases are usually phonetically equivalent.

Hence, for example, the form *dono dedit* is really only the phonetic weakening of *donum dedit*. May we say then that in our MS. in Acts xiii. 22 the rendering

ω και ειπεν μαρτγρηcαc
CVI ETIAM DIXIT TESTIMONIO,

conveys an accusative form under an ablative dress? If any one doubts the phonetic equivalence in our scribe's dialect of two such cases as *testimonium* and *testimonio*, let him look at Luke x. 4 where he will actually find *sacellum* written *sacellu*; Matt. xxvii. 51 *a susu usque deorsum*; and at Luke xvii. 24 where we have *sub caelu* for *sub caelum*; and let him notice the innumerable cases

where the accusative and ablative are interchanged, such as Acts xvi. 25,

circa mediam uero nocte,

Acts v. 15,

ab omnem ualetudinem,

Acts v. 26,

cum uim,

etc. etc.[1]

The Lyons Pentateuch shews the same weakness in the final letter: we have *dece dextru eu lignu noue qua regnu sempiternu signu suu.*

One consequence of this practical equivalence of the cases would seem to have been the free use of an accusative absolute, which some people consider to be an Africanism. The combination of the two cases makes the oblique case of the Old French, the genetive and dative being replaced gradually by the use of prepositions.

Before leaving the consideration of the accusative case, it may be proper to point out that the MS. occasionally shews traces of an accusative plural formed simply by the addition of an *s* to the singular, just as it must have been in the earliest period of the Latin language, when, for instance, the plural of *navem* was *navem* + *s* = *naves.*

I have noticed in Codex *k* in Matt. xii. 4 the curious case *panems propositionis:* and there are one or two things in the Codex Bezae that point to a similar recurrence of the ancient usage. For instance, in Acts xiv. 17,

benefaciens de caelo uobis
imbrens dans et tempora fructifera
implens ciuo et iucunditate.

Here *imbrens* stands for an accusative plural. It may, however, be said that this is only a palaeographic assimilation to neighbouring words in the adjacent lines.

[1] The weakness of the final *m* may be seen by studying such a form as *decem* which shews no final consonant in Greek, nor in Vulgar Latin: e.g. John vi. 70 nonne ego uos duodeci elegi; Matt. xviii. 21 dece milium denariorum; Luke xiv. 31 in dece milibus; Luke xix. 16 dece mnas. In these last instances, however, the final letter was represented in the beginning of the next word. In Matt. xvi. 10 we have *septe panes* where *m* is lost in the closely related letter which follows.

But this explanation will not do for the following cases in the Bezan text.

John vii. 45,

nemo misit in illum *manums.*

Mark iii. 15,

et dedit illis potestatem
curandi *ualetudinems.*

Leaving then the oblique case, let us come to the genetive case which is replaced in Vulgar Latin by the preposition *de.* We find a number of instances of this usage, and of the similar usage of *ex,* in our MS. of which the following are perhaps the most remarkable.

In Luke xi. 1,

ειπεν τις των μαθητων αυτου
DIXIT QVIDAM DE DISCIPVLIS EIVS.

Luke xiii. 10,

εν μια των συναγωγων
IN VNA DE SYNAGOGIS.

Acts x. 25,

εις των δουλων
VNVS EX SERVIS.

Acts xxi. 39,

εν ταρσω δε της κιλικιας
N
TARSESIS EX CILICIAE,

and perhaps Acts ii. 30,

εκ καρπου της καρδιας αυτου
DE FRVCTVM DE PRAECORDIA EIVS.

It is important that all these forms should be registered and classified, as they furnish new and valuable material for Romance philology, and add to the knowledge which has been derived from the study of inscriptions. I do not see anything in our results, however, that is in conflict with epigraphic conclusions. A reference to Le Blant, *Inscriptions chrétiennes de la Gaule* (p. cxvi) will shew the following summary:

Dès le VIe siècle, le français peut se pressentir. Le trouble qu'apporte la confusion du cas fait apparaître, à cette époque, la préposition, l'article de notre langue sans flexions. Au lieu de *minister templi* on dit déjà *minester de templo;* pour *membra duorum fratrum* un marbre porte *membra ad duos*

fratres, forme qui subsiste dans notre parler vulgaire, pour indiquer le rapport de possession. Notre pronom *qui*, invariable aux deux genres, se montre, dès 431, sur l'épitaphe d'une religieuse.... D'*ispiritus*, que l'on entend encore aux offices de villages, viendra *esprit*. *Aiutare* offre la suppression qui nous donnera le verbe *aider*. Dès le ve siècle *santa* prépare le mot *sainte*. Le *g* de *triginta* s'oblitère et nos pères disaient *trienta* comme, plus tard, nous écrirons *trente*. Déjà, pour eux *tanto*, comme pour nous le mot *tant*, indiqua un nombre indéterminé[1].

Just as the cases in Vulgar Latin disappear, or almost disappear, so we find the declensions of the nouns to simplify: the earliest step towards this is the resolution of the so-called fourth and fifth declensions into forms that can be classified with the others, from which indeed they must have been primitively evolved. Thus we may expect to find *dies* turn into *dieus*, as in Acts x. 40,

hunc d̄s suscitauit post tertium dieum.

And in the case of nouns from the so-called fourth declension, the transference to the second frequently causes a change of gender; e.g.

Luke ix. 4,

in quemcumque domum.

Luke xxii. 21,

ecce manus qui tradet,

unless *qui tradet* should be the simple translation of *παραδιδόντος*, or *qui* has ceased to be inflected.

Acts iii. 11,

in porticum qui uocatur Solomonis.

6. *Pronominal and adverbial enclisis in the Vulgar Latin.*

An examination of the Romance languages will shew many cases of the enclitic use of pronouns and adverbs; and it becomes a matter of interest to examine whether any of these occur in our text. Let us take for instance the adverb *ibi:* this becomes in French *if* and finally *y:* but in Italian it is used enclitically in the form *vi*. Suppose then we find in John xii. 2

et fecerunt ei cenam bi,

may we not regard the word as used enclitically, and far gone in the process of decline?

[1] Our MS. shews *tempula* (Acts xix. 24), *santi* (Acts iv. 30), etc.

And is not the same thing discernible in the following cases of suffixed pronouns?

Matt. ix. 19. *sequebatur um.*
Matt. xix. 21. *et ueni sequerem.*
Mark vi. 26. *noluit am contristare.*
Luke xi. 9. *dabite* for *dabit ei.*
Luke xiii. 7. *praecideam.*
Luke xiv. 12. *et illi reinuitente.*
Luke xxiii. 39. *unus autem de malignis blasphemabat um.*
3 John 15. *salutante amici.*

7. *Phonetic Variations in the Verb-Forms.*

We must now say a few words about the confusion in the verb-forms: we have already pointed out that in the archetype of our copy there was a confusion between *sum* and *sunt* just as in modern Italian. It is probable then that we shall find some other cases of confusion between the nasal terminations.

One common case is the writing of the singular for the plural: e.g.

Acts vii. 57. *exclamasset* for *exclamassent.*
Acts xiii. 27. *habitabat* for *habitabant.*
Acts xx. 18. *esset* for *essent.*
Acts xxi. 21. *circumcidat* for *circumcidant.*

Perhaps we may add Acts xvi. 27,

NOMIZΩN EKΠEΦEYΓENAI TOYC ΔECMIOYC
EXISTIMANS EFFVGISSET CVSTODIAS,

in which case *custodias* would be the nominative plural; but may it not rather be that *effugisset* is meant for the infinitive?

Remark also

Matt. xvii. 14. *uenisset* for *uenissent,*

where the variation has affected the Greek.

John xx. 25. *dicebat ergo illi alii discipuli,*

where *n* has been superscribed.

Mark vi. 1. *et sequebatur illum discipuli eius,*

where *n* has been superscribed.

There are a number of instances of this confusion in the text of the Lyons Pentateuch.

Another important change of which our MS. shews frequent traces is the substitution of the *e* vowel for *i*, especially in the

third person singular; and since we sometimes find the opposite error, we must assume the sounds to have been nearly equivalent. The MS. is full of such exchanges (e.g. Matt. iii. 9, *putetes = putetis;* iv. 5, *suscepit = suscipit;* v. 28, *omnes = omnis;* v. 34, *sedis = sedes;* xi. 13, *omnes = omnis;* xii. 24, *potestes = potestis* etc. etc.). In this respect it is very like the Lyons Pentateuch, which has scores of such confusions[1].

The result of these errors is apparent in the language and in the particular texts where they occur; in the language because there is produced an approximation between a number of present tenses to the future tenses, which assimilation ultimately makes way for the introduction of a new future, made with the auxiliary *habeo;* and in the particular texts, because there is a bilingual reaction from the modified Latin to the Greek.

For instance, in Luke xxii. 21,

ΤΟΥ ΠΑΡΑΔΙΔΟΝΤΟΣ ΜΕ
QVI TRADET ME,

where *tradet* is not meant for a future, but for a present; cf. Mark xiv. 20, 21 where *παραδίδοται* is twice rendered *tradetur.*

Again, in John xii. 25,

qui amat animam suam perdet eam,

where either the future *perdet* has been taken as a present, or conversely; for the Greek MSS. fluctuate suspiciously between *ἀπολέσει* (D etc.) and *ἀπολλύει* (ℵBL).

M. Robert points out that this approximation between the present and future tenses holds also for those future forms which are more divergent from the present tense-forms: thus he cites as future tenses *abominamini inquinamini sanctificamini.* We have the same thing in Cod. Bezae: Luke vi. 21, *saturamini*: Acts i. 5, *baptizamini,* are certainly future tenses.

The participial formations shew great variation, the following being the most common changes.

NS to S.

Luke iv. 40. *impones* for *imponens.*
Luke xii. 16. *dices* for *dicens.*

[1] See Robert, pp. lxx, lxxi.

NS to N.

Acts xix. 16. *insilien* for *insiliens.*

NS to NT.

Luke v. 16. *orant* for *orans.*
Acts x. 20. *dubitant* for *dubitans.*
Cf. Luke xv. 1. *erat autem adpropiant*^{n},

where *adpropiant* would seem to be an adjective[1].

These confusions may be illustrated from others which occur in the verb-forms: e.g.

Acts xxi. 21. *docens* for *doces*[2].
Matt. xvii. 27. *inueniens* for *inuenies.*
Luke xiii. 25. *incipientis* for *incipietis.*
Matt. v. 11. *dixerin* for *dixerint.*
Luke xviii. 9. *confidens* for *confident.*
Perhaps Mark iii. 11. *cum uideret illum* (if the Greek is *ἐθεώρουν*).

Such forms are difficult of classification: in the Romance languages the participle present appears in French as *chantant,* in Provençal as *chantans,* and in Italian as *cantante.* The general fluctuation which we find in our text will hardly fall exclusively under any of these heads.

8. *On the use of the Vulgar Latin future in the Codex Bezae.*

On p. xliv of his introduction to the Codex Bezae, Scrivener notes the peculiar employment of *habeo* as an auxiliary verb:

> We find (he says) in the style of *d* distinct traces of the employment of *habeo* as an auxiliary verb, which is well known to be a notable characteristic of the modern languages of Western Europe (of the French as much as any) as distinguished from the Latin whence most of them sprung. In Mark xiv. 27 *σκανδαλίσασθαι* (*-θε*)[3] is rendered *scandalizari habetis* by *d*, but *scandalum patiemini* by *ac*, *scandalizabimini* by *f* and the Vulgate. *Habeo* is used three times to render *μέλλω*, Luke x. 1: xix. 4: Acts i. 5, although the Greek word is translated by *incipio* 25 times (sometimes very awkwardly), 15 times by the future participle, three times in other ways.

Now there is something which all these examples have in common: they are all expressions or modifications of the future

[1] The scribe of the Lyons Pent. (p. 50, *c.* 17) wrote the word *aperiens* as *aperient*, but corrected his own mistake.

[2] The Lyons Pent. (p. 55, *a.* 21) writes *offerens* for *offeres.*

[3] For *σκανδαλισήσεσθε*?

tense. A similar case will be found in the Athanasian Creed, as given, for example, in the Utrecht Psalter, in the sentence

ad cuius aduentum omnes
homines resurgere habent
cum corporibus suis,

where the Greek version would shew either a future tense, or μέλλω with an infinitive. Scrivener's statement is therefore not quite complete as to the use of the auxiliary in French. It should be shewn that the French future can be analysed so as to shew the form in Codex Bezae. That is, the parallel does not lie between the future with *habeo*, and the preterite with *avoir*, but between the future with *habeo*, and the French and Provençal future in *ai*, as *donnerai*, for example, separated into the elements *donner* + *ai*.

When these forms are placed side by side, we see in what sense the future of the Vulgar Latin is related to the future of the French and other Romance languages[1]. And it can be shewn, I think, that in some Romance dialects the attached auxiliary verb of the French remained capable of separation from the infinitive to which it belonged.

We cannot be wrong in referring a peculiarity which we find in all the Romance languages right back into the Vulgar speech of the Empire[2].

[1] "Von den altlateinischen Temporibus sind in den romanischen Sprachen nur erhalten: das Präsens, das Imperfekt, das Perfekt und das Plusquamperfekt. Die beiden Futura werden durch Umschreibung mit *habere* und dem Infinitive des Präsens gebildet, z. B. *cantare abjo cantare abea*." Schwan, *Altfr. Gram.* p. 12.

[2] It is curious that the later Greek language shews also a future formed with ἔχω and the infinitive; but there is no linguistic connexion between the Greek and Latin forms. The earliest trace that I know of this Greek future is its intrusion into Greek MSS. from the fourteenth century onward: e.g. Cod. 418, S. Sabae of the Jerusalem Collection, a MS. of the Invention of the Cross, has

λιμοκτονῆσιν σε ἔχω ἐὰν μὴ ὁμολογήσῃς,

where a comparison with other texts shews

λιμοκτονήσω σε κτέ:

this MS. is probably of the fourteenth cent., and another curious tract of nearly the same age in the same library, Cod. 66 S. Sep., containing an Ἀντιλογία between Christ and the Devil, has

οἱ γὰρ ἄγγελοί μου φοβεροί εἰσιν· καὶ ἐάν σε
ὑποδείξω αὐτοῖς πατάξειν σε ἔχουν.

Now let us turn to Rönsch, *Itala und Vulgata*, p. 447, where we shall find a large collection of cases where *habeo* occurs with an infinitive, under the heading *Gräcismen des Infinitivs.*

At the end of the catalogue of cases (p. 449) Rönsch adds a note saying that there are three different uses of *habeo* in his list; (i) können, vermögen, im Stande sein; (ii) Nothwendigkeit; (iii) das Futurum; and under this last head he refers to the Romance Futures and their origin in the Vulgar Latin. ("Bemerkenswerth ist, dass dieser Gebrauch von *habere* durchgehends der *romanischen Futural*bildung zu Grunde liegt.") It would have been convenient if the three classes had been separated, for we clearly cannot assume that every writer who employs *habeo* in one of the three senses will necessarily employ it in the other two senses. Moreover it is important for us to know how far this Vulgar Latin future prevailed, which we find at the back of all the Romance languages. Does it occur, for example, in Africa? Or may we regard its occurrence as a proof that the copies in which it can be traced are European copies? Let us see what other cases there are of the translation of a future tense by the present tense *habeo.*

In John viii. 22 the Codex Vercellensis renders *ἀποκτενεῖ αὐτόν* by *occidere se habet*, where we see that the future really carries the force of *μέλλει ἀποκτείνειν.* We cannot then be quite sure whether the translator was working literally. Indeed the same objection may be urged with regard to the passage quoted from Cod. Bezae: Mark xiv. 27 *σκανδαλίσασθαι* looks very much as if *μέλλετε* had stood at one time in the text and been removed.

The same thing is true of Tertullian, *Marc.* iv. 39: "quod et ipsae uires caelorum concuti habeant" is not an immediate quotation from the Gospel (Luke xxi. 26 *σαλευθήσονται*): Tertullian is quoting much in the same way as we should if we said "But that the powers of the heavens have to be shaken." And indeed almost all of the fifty or more cases of the use of *habeo* by Tertullian belong to the same category. They are not pure futures; their Greek equivalent involves *δεῖ* or *μέλλει* or *ὀφείλει* in almost all the cases quoted. On the other hand, the frequent occurrence of these *futures of necessity* in Tertullian may indicate the very ground out of which the later Vulgar Latin future tense was evolved.

In the Palatine version of the Shepherd of Hermas, we find a striking case of a genuine future:

Vis. iii. 9. 5,

> *θελήσετε ἀγαθοποιεῖν καὶ οὐχ ἕξετε τόπον*
>
> velle habetis benefacere et non habebitis locum.

Now Haussleiter[1] has brought forward very decided reasons for believing the Palatine version of Hermas to be an African translation. If this be so, then we can draw no conclusion as to locality from the occurrence of a Vulgar Latin future with *habeo*[2].

It may be of interest in connexion with the further investigation of the place and time of the Bezan translation to see how far this peculiarity of which we have been treating prevailed in the Latin of Irenaeus. We premise, then, for comparison, that the following are the Bezan instances of the future with *habeo*.

[1] *De versionibus Pastoris Hermae Latinis*, Erlangen, 1884.

[2] It may be interesting to note how the two versions of Hermas, the Palatine and the Vulgate respectively, render *μέλλω*. Here are some cases which we have noted:

			Palat.	Vulg.
Vis.	i. 1. 6.	*μέλλω λέγειν*	incipio dicere	dictura sum
	i. 1. 8.	*τῶν ἀγαθῶν τῶν μελλόντων*	gloriam venturam	futura bona
	ii. 2. 3.	*τῇ μελλούσῃ*	quae incipit esse	quae futura est
	ii. 2. 8.	*τοὺς νῦν μέλλοντας ἀρνεῖσθαι*	qui nunc incipiunt	denegaturi sunt
	iii. 5. 5.	*οἱ οὖν μέλλοντες μετανοεῖν*	si ergo coeperint	acturi sunt
	iii. 8. 11.	*ἃ σοι μέλλω λέγειν*	incipio dicere	incipio dicere
Mand.	iv. 3. 3.	*τοῖς μέλλουσι πιστεύειν*	qui crediturі sunt	qui crediturі sunt
	iv. 4. 4.	*μέλλω λαλεῖν*	dicturus sum	——
	xi. 7.	*μέλλω λέγειν*	——	dicturus sum
	xi. 18.	*μέλλω λέγειν*	dicturus sum	——
Sim.	i. 1.	*μέλλετε κατοικεῖν*	habitaturi estis	habitaturi estis
	i. 4.	*τί μέλλεις ποιεῖν*	quid facturus es	quid facies
	iv. 1.	*οἱ μέλλοντες κατοικεῖν*	qui habitaturi sunt	qui habitaturi sunt
	v. 3. 3.	*ἔμελλες εἶναι*	eras futurus	eras futurus
	v. 3. 7.	*ἔμελλες ποιεῖν*	erogaturus eras	facturus eras
	v. 5. 4.	*ὃ μέλλω σε ἐπερωτᾶν*	quod quaero	quod quaero
	viii. 6. 2.	*μέλλουσαν καθαρὰν γενέσθαι*	puras mentes futuras	puras mentes futuras

It will be seen that in the Vulgate version *μέλλω* is only once rendered by *incipio*: in the Palatine version, however, it is translated in the Visions five times out of six by *incipio* and *coepi*. I have found no case, in either version, of what is so common in the Bezan text, the rendering of *μέλλω* by *habeo* with the future.

Mark xiv. 27,

ΟΤΙ ΠΑΝΤΕC ΥΜΕΙC CΚΑΝΔΑΛΙCΑCΘΑΙ
QVI OMNES VOS SCANDALIZARI HABETIS.

Luke x. 1,

ΟΥ ΕΜΕΛΛΕΝ ΕΡΧΕCΘΑΙ
VBI HABEBAT VENIRE.

Luke xix. 4,

ΗΜΕΛΛΕΝ ΔΙΕΡΧΕCΘΑΙ
HABEBAT TRANSIRE.

Acts i. 5,

ΚΑΙ Ο ΜΕΛΛΕΤΑΙ ΛΑΜΒΑΝΕΙΝ
ET EVM ACCIPERE HABETIS,

(where, as we shall shew by and by, the Latin is the original, and is probably due to an African hand).

In twenty-five other cases *μέλλω* = *incipio*, in fifteen cases we have a future participle and three other modes of translation; e.g. Mark xiii. 4, *μέλλει συντελεῖσθαι* = *consummabuntur*, a passage which cod. *k* renders by *incipiunt perfici*.

Notice also the curious textual changes in John xiv. 30, where, the expression *ἐν ἐμοὶ οὐκ ἔχει* not being understood, a Latin interpreter assumed that *habet* was a sign of the future tense, and that a verb had dropped. Hence in *a d* we have *invenire* added: this goes back into D as *εὑρεῖν*, and in some late Greek texts and versions (KΠ, etc.) as *εὑρήσει*.

And now turn to Irenaeus and examine some of the similar phenomena which appear in the Latin text.

In ii. 296 = Mass. 285,

θεὸς γὰρ ὁ μέλλων ὁρᾶσθαι

is rendered

deus enim est qui habet videri.

Here we have the same Vulgar Latin usage: but more commonly *μέλλω* is rendered by *incipio* as in i. 118 = Mass. 62,

διαθερμανθεῖσα τὴν ψυχὴν ὑπὸ τῆς προσδοκίας
τοῦ μέλλειν αὐτὴν προφητεύειν

is rendered

concalefaciens animam a suspicione
quod incipiet prophetare,

the translation being almost as close and servile as in Codex Bezae.

In i. 151 = Mass. 78,

τοῦ μέλλοντος εἰς αὐτὸν κατέρχεσθαι Ἀνθρώπου

is rendered

eius qui incipit in eum descendere Hominis.

In ii. 48 = Mass. 191,

μόσχος ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀνευρέσεως τοῦ νεωτέρου παιδὸς μέλλων θύεσθαι

vitulus qui pro inventione minoris filii inciperet mactari,

and so in a number of other cases.

9. *Decline of the prepositions.*

The codex shews great decay in the forms of the prepositions; some of which are far gone on their way to French and Italian; while others are only slightly changed.

The weakness of the final *t* in *post* is seen when it comes before a word beginning with either *t* or *d*, as

Acts xx. 29,

pos diescessum meum.

Matt. xxiv. 29,

pos tribulationem.

Such assimilations between neighbouring words are however not uncommon in our text.

We notice one case of *pos* for *post* in the Lyons Pentateuch (*pos hoc*).

Sursum is a word which is more changed; and becomes almost French in its form.

In John iii. 31, *desusum*, and so in Luke i. 3; in Acts ii. 19 it is *susum*[1].

That the final letter was not sounded appears from *susu* in Matt. xxvii. 51. The Lyons Pentateuch shews two cases of *susum* and one of *desusum*.

Trans appears as *tras* in John vi. 15: cf. *trasire* in Luke xviii. 25. In Mark v. 21 we find *tranfretasset*, so that it has the same weaknesses as a participial formation.

[1] This is the form which appears in the Peregrinatio Sylviae (IVth cent.), p. 46: "ecce et commonetur episcopus et descendit et sedet susum."

Deorsum = *diosum* in Luke iv. 10; and this appears as *zosum* in Acts xx. 9. We note *deosum* in the Lyons Pentateuch once.

Per appears once as *sper:* Mark v. 13, *sper praeceps.* The scribe has separated *sper* from the previous word *grex* by a point: otherwise we should read *grexs per.* Note that the form has been traced provisionally to *ex per;* Diez notes that in Wallachian *per* becomes *pre* and then is strengthened to *spre*[1].

There is nothing in all this which is discordant with our previous location of the MS.: and we will now leave the study of the Latin forms in the MS.[2], and see whether we can get any further light from the Greek side. And first, a few preliminary remarks on the Graecisms in the Latin.

[1] Diez, *Gramm.* p. 756.

[2] Many of the forms discussed in this chapter may be paralleled from a remarkable seventh-century Vulgar Latin MS. of the Acts of Peter, preserved at Vercelli, and recently transcribed by Gundemann for Lipsius' *Acta Apocrypha.* For instance, *scoruscare* will be found on p. 68, *turbas* for *turbae* (p. 73), *componeretum* for *componeret eum* (p. 51); while the future with *habeo* appears in such expressions as *certare habent duo Iudaei* (p. 70), *quaecunque consumere habui* (p. 77).

CHAPTER XIII.

Some Phonetic Peculiarities of the Beza Greek.

1. *On the Graecisms of the Latin text of Codex Bezae.*

Whether the Codex Bezae is ultimately derived from an African, a Roman or an Old French rendering, we must not forget that the Roman Church was a Greek Church in many respects, and the Old Gallican Church was Greek in almost every respect, while even the African Church had a Greek element: so that we need not wonder if we find some Graecisms on the Latin side. For an illustration of the diffusion of Greek forms, it may be noted that the Peregrinatio Sylviae, of the end of the IVth century, which has been referred to Southern Gaul, contains traces of the influence of the Greek colonists' speech upon the Vulgar Latin.

Thus Sylvia says of the services in Jerusalem,

> "et cata singulos ymnos fit oratio"
> "qui cata singulos ymnos vel antiphonas orationes dicunt[1]."

Moreover the Vulgar Latin knew such forms as *cata unum*, however harsh they may seem to us, and out of this form was developed the Old French *chadun* = *chëun*.

Our MS. shews one curious use of *ἀνὰ* on the Latin side: it is in Luke ix. 3,

> nequae ana duas tunicas habere.

This is the more curious, inasmuch as *ἀνὰ* is omitted in the Greek of ℵBCFLΞ, and so we must either say that it belongs purely to the Latin translator, or that it had been dropped from

[1] Gamurrini, *Peregrinatio Sylviae*, p. 45.

the Greek text in early times; in which latter case might it not be a Greek correction carried into the wrong column?

2. *Dialectical changes in the Greek of Cod. Bezae.*

Now let us examine the peculiar forms of the Greek text of our MS. just as we did in the case of the Latin.

One of the first things that we shall notice is the irregularity of the aspiration. Scrivener gives a list of specimens of this peculiarity[1] and makes no attempt to analyse them, thus leaving the impression that the greatest confusion prevailed in the mind of the primitive scribe to whom we owe our Western Greek.

An analysis of the instances given will shew the following results.

Four times we have an unusual smooth breathing before εὑρίσκω (Matt. [2] + Luke + Acts); three times a similar feature with ἑξῆς (κατεξῆς), all in Acts; once with οὗτος (Mark) and once with ἑαυτῶν (Mark).

For the irregular rough breathing we have ἡδύνατο once (Mark); three times the rough breathing is found with the stem εἶδον (Luke + Acts [2]): three times with ἴδιος (Matt. [2] + Mark); once with ὀλίγος (Acts); once we have ἐφίστασθε (Acts) and once ἐφαγάγειν (Acts): twice we have such cases as ἐμοῦ, ἐμέ (Mark + Acts); observe also the forms ἐλπίζω and ἐλπίς (Luke + Acts).

Now, if this be madness, there is a method in it: for the same words shew a tendency to the same aspiration. The rough breathing with εἶδον is, of course, the lost digamma; the same is true of ἴδιος whether its earlier form be σϜέδιος or Ϝέδιος[2].

We cannot be quite sure that the sixth-century scribe is responsible for the spelling of this latter word, because it occurs often in the Vatican MS. and once at least in the Sinaitic; but we may regard it as a genuine dialectical form and not as an error. The same thing is true of ἐλπίς which had a digamma, and consequently appears in the Latin inscriptions as a proper name *Helpis*, and occasionally with a strong breathing in MSS.[3] of the

[1] p. xlvii.

[2] Vaniçek, *Etym.* 1035. Note that the form καθ' ἰδίαν is discussed in Keil, *Inscrip. Thessal. tres*, p. 10.

[3] See Hort, *Introd.* 145.

New Testament. With ἄγω the case is more difficult: according to Curtius, *Griech. Etym.* p. 676, "there can be no doubt in other cases that the spiritus asper has crept in irregularly, in ἄγειν &c. ...The case is the same with ἡγεῖσθαι which no one thinks of separating from ἄγειν: by the side of which we get the very rare ἄγειν—especially as the derived verb now and then itself shows the lenis." It is sufficient then to remark that this case also is a recognized variation and not a scribe's blunder.

ἐφίσταμαι is again quite a possible form: the formation of the word ἐπίσταμαι is uncertain, and we cannot say positively that the word is a derivative from ἵστημι. If, however, its origin should be sought elsewhere, the analogy of the forms would be sure to invite the aspirate and some dialects would shew it.

The case of ἐμέ and ἐμοῦ is more difficult: it is complicated with the problem of the origin of the aspirated ἡμεῖς (which some hold to be merely an imitation of ὑμεῖς, while others will have it to be due to a misplaced spirant from the middle of the word, cf. Sanskrit *asmat*). There are traces of aspiration in the inflexion of the first personal pronoun which have hardly been adequately explained. Thus we have the Bœotian ἰών and the Sanskrit *aham* to equate with the normal Greek form ἐγών. Then there is the Latin dative *mihi* against the Greek ἐμοί. It is possible then that the primitive root had an aspirated letter, which shews itself in the dialectical forms of our transcriber. Or it may be a mere vulgarism of the province where he was brought up.

ὀλίγος and ἠδύνατο are more obscure. The former is usually derived from a primitive root *lik*, and Curtius draws an analogy between the case of μίσγω from the root *mik*, and asks whether it is possible that a spirant has been lost from the middle of the word and compensated for by a rough breathing. In the Æolic dialect the word was accentuated on the first syllable, which would account for the regression of the spirant. Nor is it without importance that in this dialect and its neighbour the Thessalian, the form ὄλιζος was current, which is the more curious in that the Æolic dialects usually replaced the ζ by σδ. We suspect then that the form of our MS. is an Asian dialect form, not without connection with the form ὄλιζος (cf. Ahrens, *De Gr. Ling. Dial.* i.

219). But we must be careful again in identifying this form with the dialect of our scribe; it recurs in other early MSS., e.g. in Acts xix. 23 in ℵB, and it may be the primitive form for the Acts. For the other word *ἡδύνατο* I can give no reason.

So much for the eccentrically aspirated forms[1]. As to the unaspirated cases, they can probably be put in a satisfactory light. The most curious is the very decided case *κατεξῆς*. Curtius (p. 192) equates this with *ἑξειῆς* and takes it to the same root as *ἔχω*. We may regard it as certain that in the district represented by our writer the word was pronounced without a breathing, which almost implies that *ἔχω* itself had the lenis (*ἔκω*). In any case the scribe is quite decided as to the form, as he is also with regard to *εὐρίσκω*.

We may say then that the group of words shewing eccentric aspiration in Codex Bezae constitutes a series of dialectical peculiarities which ought to enable us to identify the nationality of the writer. Let us examine into some more of his peculiarities. A very interesting case is his spelling of the word *χιτών*.

Matt. x. 10,

μητε δυο χειθωνας μητε υποδηματα.

Luke iii. 11,

λεγει αυτοις ο εχων δυο χιτῶνας.

Everywhere else we have the usual form. Now, from the second of these instances we can see that the scribe of D has corrected his copy: he not merely has *τ* for *θ*, but he emphasises it by putting in a smooth breathing over the vowel. We may be sure then that he read *χιθωνας* and, taking this with the first case, we have clearly the form *χιθων* for the original translator. This might be due to the influence of the original Semitic form, but when we find that the Ionic form is *κιθών*, we shall probably be able to divine what was meant by the scribe of the Codex Bezae. He has given us an Asian dialectical form. Indeed the difference between the Bezan uncorrected form *χιθών*, and the Ionic *κιθὼν* is not so great as might be supposed; for the Ionic

[1] The study of these mutations of the breathings is not without effect on the text of the N. T.: for instance, it is quite within the bounds of possibility that *τέκνων* has been written *τεχνῶν* in Matt. xi. 19, and hence corrected to *ἔργων*.

and some other Asiatic dialects retained an explosive element in the pronunciation of the aspirates; and we see this constantly in the transliterations made by our scribe: e.g. in *Betsaida* for Βηθσαίδα; and the apparent metathesis of the breathing from χιτὼν to κιθὼν occurs often in our text, as in Acts xvi. 16, where we have πύθωνα represented by *phytonem;* and Acts xvi. 11, *samotrachiam* for σαμοθράκην; cf. also Mark vii. 9, ἀτεθεῖτε for ἀθετεῖτε.

Let us examine more closely this question of the explosive element in the pronunciation of the aspirates. It has been pointed out by Mullach[1] that this substitution of κ for χ exists even in modern times, especially in the dialect of Rhodes; where we find ἔκω, στοκάζομαι, τεκνίτης; τέλω is found for θέλω amongst certain Asiatic Greeks[2], and very commonly the vulgar speech puts στ in the place of σθ; as ἐγνωρίστην, γραφόμαστε. This last error is very common in Cod. Bezae, since we find in Mark iv. 1, καθῆσται for καθῆσθαι, where the word cannot be an indicative since it answers to the Latin *sedere.* In Acts xix. 25 we find ἐπίστασται for ἐπίστασθε. Now, it is concerning such forms as these that Curtius wrote (*Gr. Etym.* p. 418) as follows: "as early as in my review of Mullach (*Zeitschr.* VI. 236) I argued that this circumstance was only to be explained from a pronunciation of θ in which a hard explosive element was heard." And this explanation is probably correct; Arendt's objection that, upon this hypothesis, the forms χθ, φθ would be unpronounceable falls to the ground when it is shewn from our MS. that such sounds *were not pronounced.* Thus we find, Mark ii. 2, συνήκθησαν: Mark vii. 34, διανύκθητι: and the form ἐκθρός occurs in Matt. x. 36; xiii. 35; xxii. 44; Luke i. 74; Acts ii. 35; xiii. 10: so that this must have been the regular form of our primitive scribe, and it is owing to correction of his spelling that we get such forms as Mark xii. 36, ἐκχθους (for ἐκθρους)[3].

[1] *Grammatik der griechischen Vulgarsprachen,* Berlin, 1856.

[2] Will this help us to explain how our scribe in Matt. xi. 19 came to write θελόντων for τελωνῶν?

[3] Cf. Karsten, *De Titulorum Ionicorum Dialecto Commentatio,* p. 13, "antiquissimis temporibus iis locis, quibus litera aspirata non genuina erat, sed ex literis t et b, p et h, k et h oritur, i.e. in elisione eam ob causam omissam esse, quod assimilatio literarum tenuium ad sequentem spiritum asperum nondum facta erat, sed uterque

The same phonetic explanation furnishes us with the reason for the transcription of certain proper names; thus we find *μαθθαιος* constantly as against the Latin *matthaeus*, shewing that the first *θ* was sounded nearly as *τ*. Cf. *σαφφυρα = sapphira* in Acts v. 1.

We may say then that the Greek dialect of the original scribe of the bilingual tradition (and perhaps this means to a certain extent his successors the later copyists) was marked by an early pronunciation of the aspirated sounds such as probably prevailed amongst the Asiatic Greeks and in some of the islands near the coast of Asia Minor. It is necessary to bear this peculiarity carefully in mind, or we may be in danger, as we have shewn in similar cases, of referring important and characteristic forms to mere scribal errors instead of to nationality.

Further, when we find, for instance, in Mark vi. 21, the form *γενεχλίοις* we are not to dismiss it as the absurd mistake of a half-educated person. There are similar changes in early and modern Greek dialects. And we must ask ourselves the question as to what Greek dialects, early or late, exhibit the change of *θ* into *χ*. Curtius draws attention to the occurrence of the Doric forms *ὀρνι-χ* by the side of the ordinary Greek *ὀρνι-θ*, and the shorter form *ὀρνι-*, as seen in the accusative form *ὄρνιν*. The suggestion is the more appropriate to our case inasmuch as our MS. actually gives the very form *ὄρνιξ* in Luke xiii. 34[1]. Moreover this form, occurring as it does in the spontaneous variations of the scribe, is not likely to be other than a genuine dialectical form. I mean that Buttmann's objection to it as being a mere grammatical refinement is probably wrongly taken. His criticism was based upon the fact that the literary Doric of Pindar and Alkman shews *ὄρνιχος*, *ὄρνιχα*, etc., but *ὄρνις* and *ὄρνιν*[2]. But the evidence of Photius (*Δωριεῖς ὄρνιξ, παρ' Ἀλκμᾶνι δὲ ἅπαξ ὄρνις*) would seem to shew that the form is genuine.

Now this form is set down as a Dorism[3]: and if the gramma-

sonus disiunctim pronuntiabatur. Hanc autem legem non solum apud Ionas et Aeolas a quibus haec sonorum disiunctio *diutissime servata videtur esse*, sed etiam apud reliquos Graecos antiquiorum temporum quondam valuisse."

[1] It appears also probably as a Western reading in the Sinaitic Codex.

[2] Ahrens, II. 243.

[3] Ahrens quotes a similar change of *πλήχω* for *πλήθω* from Cramer, *Anecd. Oxon.*

rians and philologians are right in recognizing it as such, it is probable that our form γενεχλίοις belongs to the same school, which gives us two possible cases of Dorism in Codex Bezae. The Dorian Dialect held its own against the common speech in many of the Greek islands and in outlying parts of the Roman empire. For example, Suetonius observes that they spoke Doric in the island of Rhodes down to the time of Tiberius. And even where the set speech disappeared, the traces of it were never wholly lost.

But as to the explanation of the form in question we are left in obscurity. Curtius thinks that the χ of ορνιχ- is the mark of a diminutive suffix, and compares the "χ with the often recurring diminutive κ, and the θ with the *t* that serves the same purpose in the related languages." This diminutive idea is not altogether foreign to such forms as γένεθλον from γένος.

A further peculiarity of our writer's dialect is a weakness and shifting of the liquids. In this respect his speech was marked by a feature something like that of the Romance languages where, in final syllables, *r l n* are extremely mutable: e.g. the Spanish *hombre = hominem:* the French *timbre = tympanum* and perhaps *trésor* for *tensaurus*[1]. The Codex Bezae shews one curious substitution of ἔρχορται for ἔρχονται, Mark xvi. 2. More common still is its change of λ and ν. Thus we have, Luke xii. 35, οἱ λύχλοι; John v. 35, ὁ λύχλον *ex errore* for ὁ λύχλος; Luke xii. 55, πνέοντα is changed to πλέοντα. These are not mere barbarisms: the occurrence of the phenomenon twice shews that λύχλος is the scribe's dialectical form: the other case we should dismiss if it were not for the precisely similar case of the Greek πλεύμων as a variation of πνεύμων, along with the Latin *pulmo* (for *pulmon*). The two words evidently belong to the same classification. Pauli's explanation that πνεύμων is the later form, arrived at by an attempt to bring the word into harmony with πνέω, breaks down in view of the fact that the MS. shews πνέω changed to πλέω. Yet the antiquity of the form πλεύμων would seem to be shewn by the Latin. We shall at all

1. 149. 6, as an Æolism, observing however that the regular form πλήθοισα is found in Sappho.

[1] See Curtius, *Griech. Etym.* p. 444.

events say that πλέω is an early collateral form of πνέω, preserved for us through the Latin *pulmon* and through the vocabulary of the Greek who wrote the Beza MS.[1] The genuineness of the form λύχλος is, I think, also capable of demonstration, however eccentric it may seem at first sight. A similar change of sounds may be noted in Luke i. 15 (μεγαρ ἐνωπιον του κυ), with which note that Curtius, *Gr. Etym.* 329, says that μεγαίρω is "from a stem with ρ instead of the λ appearing in μεγαλο[2]."

No doubt many other forms in our Greek text are capable of a similar dialectical elucidation. For instance, the form πανδοκει in Luke x. 35 is in harmony with the Ionic spelling of the verb δέκομαι (as for instance in Herodotus), and with the proper name of a Trojan Πάνδοκος mentioned in *Iliad* XI. 490[3]. The same spelling turns up in Æolic Greek, as in Sappho I. 22, where Ahrens observes that it is not a peculiarity confined to that dialect. Moreover it occurs commonly in Doric, as upon the Heraclean Tables I. 57, and in Pindar[4]. We need not then be surprised at its occurrence in our MS.

Again, we find in our text twice the form μασθός (Luke xi. 27, xxiii. 29). The origin of this form seems to be as follows: both the Æolic and Doric dialects replace the ζ of the primitive form μαζός by σδ. And there is some grammatical authority for believing that the Dorians changed their μασδός into μασθός. Accordingly Ahrens (II. 84) quotes, though without committing himself on the point, the following from Eustathius: Ἡρακλείδης... λέγει ὅτι καὶ τὸν μασδὸν οὕτω μασθὸν λέγουσιν οἱ Δωριεῖς καὶ τὸ ψεῦδος δέ, φησίν, ἅραντες τὸ ε ψύθος φασί. The authority of grammarians, without some support from philological or epigraphic considerations, is uncertain enough. But the suggestion as to the existence of the Dorism is worth examination. Other forms will

[1] Cf. the Latin *flare* and the English *blow*. We shall shew later on that the same form underlies the corrupt Western text of Acts xxvii. 15.

[2] From p. 547 it appears that he is quoting Buttmann, *Lexilogus*, I. 259.

[3] Vaniçek, p. 334.

[4] Lindemann, *De Dialecto Ionica recentiore*, p. 73, shews the persistence of these forms in the Asiatic Greek. "Iones in nonnullis vocabulis tenues servarunt, velut in δέκομαι αὖτις. In libellis Luciani mira Codicum constantia non leguntur formae nisi Ionicae δέκομαι et αὖτις, uno excepto loco libri de astrologia." He gives a number of similar cases from the later literature (Arrian &c.).

suggest themselves in this connexion: *ὁδαγος* and *ὁδαγεω* occur in Matt. xv. 14 and Luke vi. 39[1].

In Luke x. 31 we have *κατα τυχα* (for *τυχαν*) where we should expect *τυχην*. This is a characteristic of the Æolic and Doric dialects.

In Acts viii. 21 we have *ἀνεθραψατο* implying the form *τράφω*, which, like *τράπω*, *τάμνω*, characterizes the Doric and Ionic dialects; as a matter of fact it may be the primitive form[2].

In Luke xx. 42 we have

ἐν τῃ βυβλω των ψαλμων,

and Matt. xii. 26,

εν τῃ βυβλω μωυσεως.

We may infer that the scribe preferred the spelling *βυβλος* if not *βυβλιον*. It is a question whether he is Ionizing or not. According to Smyth[3]

"Herodotus has *βύβλος*, *βύβλινος*, *βυβλίον*. A complete mustering of these words in Stein's edition shews that the chief support of the forms with *ι* is derived from MSS. P, R, while in one-seventh of all passages there is no variant...The variants in favour of *ι* are due to the scribes rather than to the influence of such actual forms in *ι* as we find as early as 400 B.C. in Attic. The forms in *ι* continue in Attic inscription until the second century B.C., after which *βυβλίον* is the normal form."

The evidence, then, is hardly sufficient to demonstrate, while it may suggest, Ionism; it is worthy of note that our scribe's dialect shews the form *βύβλος* only and not *βυβλίον*, the reason being that in the latter case the change in the accent gives the advantage to the *ι* vowel and accelerates the change of the *υ* by assimilating it to the accented syllable. This makes us believe the scribe's forms to be dialectical rather than literary[4].

[1] There is a trace of this form also in the Vatican MS.

[2] A pretty case of dialectical variation, which I am unable to localize further than to say that it has an Asiatic look, is *νησσος* of Acts xiii. 6. Taken along with the Ionic *νησσα* (duck), we ought to be able to decide that the idea in both words is that of *swimming*.

[3] *Vowel System of the Ionic Dialect*, p. 35 in *Trans. Am. Phil. Ass.* 1889.

[4] Cf. Birt, *Das antike Buchwesen*, p. 13 note.

A curious feature of the Ionic dialect is its exchange of ε for α in certain verb-forms, such as ὁρέω, τολμέω, οἰδέω etc.[1]

And the same feature is to be found in the Codex Bezae, where we have ἐρωτέω (Matt. xv. 23 ἠρώτουν); ἐμβριμέω (John xi. 33 ἐμβριμούμενος); καταγελέω (Luke viii. 53 κατεγέλουν); κοιμέω (Acts xii. 6 κοιμούμενος); τελευτέω (Mark vii. 10 τελευτείτω). These forms can hardly be regarded as accidental, and if not accidental, then they are dialectically significant.

For θυρουρος and one or two similar forms I am unable to give an explanation.

Reviewing the cases which we have brought forward, we find many traces of Ionism, and a few Dorisms: if we could neglect the Dorisms we should probably say that the conditions were satisfied by an Asiatic dialect somewhere north of Smyrna; and if the Ionisms could be neglected we should probably refer to that last stronghold of Dorism, the island of Rhodes.

Now, when we take the two together may we not say that, since the name of the Rhône and of certain cities in the Rhône Valley indicate an original Rhodian migration[2], and since the history of the Churches of Lyons and Vienne shews that there was also a later Ionic migration, all the conditions for the production of such a dialect as we find in Codex Bezae are met by the hypothesis of a Greek scribe writing in some one of the churches or monasteries in that part of France: always bearing in mind that there will be residual peculiarities which are to be traced to the primitive hands that laboured on the autographs of the New Testament books[3]?

We see nothing, then, in the Greek text that militates against the theory that we have so strongly supported from the Latin; viz. that Codex Bezae is a Gallican bilingual of the sixth century.

[1] See Smyth, p. 21.

[2] Cf. Jerome, *in Galat.* lib. ii. "Massiliam Phocaei condiderunt, quos ait Varro trilingues esse, quod et Graece loquuntur et Latine et Gallice. Oppidum Rhoda coloni Rhodiorum locaverunt, unde amnis Rhodanus nomen accepit."

[3] We ought not to omit a reference to one other Ionism of our text; the pluperfect formations without the augment are very common. Scrivener points out seven such cases: and these are quite sufficient to indicate a characteristic of the transcriber's dialect, especially when we bear in mind that they occur all through the MS. from Matthew to Acts, and not in any special section of it.

3. *Decay of the Greek prepositions.*

There are a few residual forms in the Greek which need a word or two of explanation. We must expect an occasional streak of Latin influence; indeed this has already been alluded to. Such cases are λεπρωσος, φλαγελλωσας etc. Probably to the same influence is due the exchange of the *x* sound for *s* in σκωλης, which we find in Mark ix. 48. The typical change of this kind is *senes* for *senex*; which is one of Dr Hamann's test cases for Italian forms. It is doubtful whether the geographical limits can be so sharply drawn.

Besides these occasional forms we have to notice that the Greek prepositions are already in a state of decay: we find με for μετὰ, κα for κατὰ, and ἀ for ἀνά. The following are some of the instances:

Luke xv. 30. καφαγοντι for καταφαγοντι.
Mark v. 27. πε του ιηυ for περι του ἰησου.
Mark x. 1. και ἐκειθεν ἀστας for και ἐκειθεν ἀναστας.
Luke iv. 17. ἀπτυξας for ἀναπτυξας.
Acts v. 39. οὐ δυνησεσθαι καλυσαι αὐτους for καταλυσαι αὐτους.

Perhaps

Luke xxiii. 43. τω επλησοντι for επιπλησσοντι

should be referred to a similar decline of the language.

It will be said that these are accidents; I think not; we find similar traces of linguistic change elsewhere; for instance, the text of Hermas in the Codex Sinaiticus is not free from them.

4. *Supposed Alexandrian forms.*

Concerning the supposed Alexandrianism of such forms as ἐξήλθοσαν (Mark viii. 11), εἴδοσαν (Mark ix. 9), ἤλθοσαν (Mark ix. 33) I have no information to add to the well-known fact that similar forms occur in the Septuagint.

CHAPTER XIV.

The Codex Bezae a Montanist Manuscript.

We shall now endeavour to shew that the ancestry of the Codex Bezae has passed in its earliest stages through Montanist hands.

The first point to which we desire to draw attention relates to the line-division of the Codex: it is recognized that the Codex Bezae has been copied from a MS. similarly divided to itself with respect to the lines; which is much the same thing as saying that the line-division is ancient. Indeed it was natural that such a system of division should spring up in connexion with bilingual codices.

Now turn to Luke xiii. 29, 30,

ΚΑΙ ΗΞΟΥCΙΝ ΑΠΟ ΑΝΑΤΟΛΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΔΥCΜΩΝ
ΚΑΙ ΒΟΡΡΑ ΚΑΙ ΝΟΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΑΝΑΚΛΕΙΘΗCΟΝΤΑΙ
ΕΝ ΤΗ ΒΑCΙΛΕΙΑ ΤΟΥ ΘΥ ΚΑΙ ΕΙΔΟΥ ΕΙCΙΝ
ΕCΧΑΤΟΙ ΟΙ ΕCΟΝΤΑΙ ΠΡΩΤΟΙ ΚΑΙ ΕΙCΙΝ
ΠΡΩΤΟΙ ΟΙ ΕCΟΝΤΑΙ ΕCΧΑΤΟΙ

ET VENIENT AB ORIENTE ET OCCIDENTEM
ET AB AQVILONE ET AVSTRO ET RECVMBENT
IN REGNO DEI ET ECCE SVNT
NOVISSIMI QVI ERVNT PRIMI ET SVNT
PRIMI QVI ERVNT NOVISSIMI

The point to be noticed is the way in which the words *καὶ ἰδοὺ εἰσίν* = ET ECCE SVNT have attached themselves to the third line. We shall now shew reason to believe that they have this position by a long inheritance.

Let us turn to the Acts of Perpetua and Felicitas (c. xi.), where, in the vision of Saturus we find a description of the rapture of the Martyrs under the care of four angels to the gates

of Paradise, where they were received and welcomed by four other angels. Now, the angels who bear them on their way are, I think, derived from the Gospel, "He shall send forth his angels...and they shall gather together his elect from the four winds"[1]; hence these angels are four in number: they are the angels of the four winds.

But according to the passage quoted from Luke, the elect do indeed come from the four winds, but the description is worded so as to end a clause with the words *καὶ ἰδοὺ εἰσίν*. Accordingly we find in the Acta Perpetuae the following sentence, "et dixerunt (sc. alii quatuor angeli) ceteris angelis: Ecce sunt, ecce sunt: cum admiratione." This passage has, hitherto, been unexplained: but in the light of the text as arranged in Codex Bezae, we begin to see what it means: it is an early commentary upon a badly divided text.

Here then we have our first suggestion that the Codex Bezae has as regards its ancestry passed through Montanist hands; we find a similarly divided text in the hands of the martyrs of Carthage. Let us follow the matter a little further and see whether there is anything in the actual text to confirm this opinion. We naturally look for such points as (i) the manipulation of favourite passages: (ii) the insertion of glosses which carry some special mode of interpretation; and, in particular, we should look for light on the work of the Spirit, and on the communication and interpretation of visions.

Under the heading of favourite texts, we draw attention to the singular coincidence between the reading of our MS. in Acts ii. 17,

και προφητευσουσιν οι υιοι αυτων
και θυγατερες αυτων

ET PROPHETABVNT FILI EORVM
ET FILIAS EORVM,

and the Latin of the Acta Perpetuae (c. i.)

et prophetabunt filii filiaeque eorum.

(The Greek text of the Acta has corrected the textual aberration.) The same reading that we have observed in Codex Bezae is found in Tertullian (*adv. Marc.* v. 8) and elsewhere.

[1] Matt. xxiv. 31.

Is it unreasonable to suggest that the change to *filii eorum* has been made by some one who was interested to prove what we know Justin to have affirmed, that the gift of prophecy had passed over from the Jewish Church to the Christian? May not such a change be Montanistic? In any case, note the striking coincidence between the text of D and the Carthaginian text of the second century.

Again; we know that the Acts of the Apostles is everywhere decorated with glosses, so that we might almost call it a text and a commentary, and some of the glosses are very suggestive and valuable. Are any of them Montanist? That is the question. Are there any glosses that refer to the work of the Paraclete, and to His indwelling?

In Acts vi. 10, we find

ΟΙΤΙΝΕϹ ΟΥΚ ΙϹΧΥΟΝ ΑΝΤΙϹΤΗΝΑΙ ΤΗ ϹΟΦΙΑ
ΤΗ ΟΥϹΗ ΕΝ ΑΥΤΩ ΚΑΙ ΤΩ $\overline{\text{ΠΝΙ}}$ ΤΩ ΑΓΙΩ Ω ΕΛΑΛΕΙ

QVI NON POTERANT RESISTERE SAPIENTIAE
QVAE ERAT IN EO ET $\overline{\text{SPO}}$ SANCTO IN QVO LOQVEBATVR.

Here the added words are *τῇ οὔσῃ ἐν αὐτῷ*, and *τῷ ἁγίῳ*: the wisdom of Stephen was an indwelling Wisdom; the spirit which he spake by was the Holy Spirit. "Wisdom in all ages enters into holy souls and makes them friends of God and prophets."

In Acts xv. 32 the statement that Judas and Silas were prophets is enlarged on, by the addition that this was because they were filled with the Holy Spirit:

ΙΟΥΔΑϹ ΔΕ ΚΑΙ ϹΕΙΛΑϹ ΚΑΙ ΑΥΤΟΙ ΠΡΟΦΗΤΑΙ
ΟΝΤΕϹ ΠΛΗΡΕΙϹ $\overline{\text{ΠΝϹ}}$ ΑΓΙΟΥ

IVDAS QVOQVE ET SILAS ETIAM IPSI PROPHETAE
CVM ESSENT PLENI $\overline{\text{SPO}}$ SANCTO.

In Acts xv. 29 the Apostolic injunction to Gentile converts is embellished with the addition

ЄΥ ΠΡΑΞΑΤΕ ΦΕΡΟΜΕΝΟΙ
ΕΝ ΤΩ ΑΓΙΩ $\overline{\text{ΠΝΙ}}$

BENE AGITIS FERENTES
IN SANTO $\overline{\text{SPO}}$.

In Acts xix. 2, as might almost have been expected, special attention has been paid to the statement about the Ephesians who did not know whether there was a Holy Ghost; and they are made to say that they do not know whether any people do receive Him.

οι δε προς αυτον αλλ ουδε $\overline{\text{πνα}}$ αγιον λαμβανουσιν
τινες ηκουσαμεν,

where *οὐδέ* stands for *οὐδὲ εἰ*.

Moreover the attention of the reader is drawn by the glossator, in not a few cases, to the fact that the holy men were moved of the Holy Ghost: thus, instead of saying in Acts xx. 3 that Paul was minded to return through Macedonia, the writer of the Western text tells us

ειπεν δε το $\overline{\text{πνα}}$ αυτω υποστρεφειν
δια της μακεδονιας.

In Acts xix. 1 a whole sentence is prefixed to shew that Paul came to Ephesus under the special direction of the Holy Spirit: he had been intending to go to Jerusalem, but, as in so many other cases, the Spirit suffered him not:

θελοντος δε του παυλου
κατα την ιδιαν βουλην
πορευεσθαι εις ιεροσολυμα
ειπεν αυτω το $\overline{\text{πνα}}$ υποστρεφειν εις την ασιαν.

Probably it is to the same hand that we owe the addition *διὰ πνεύματος ἁγίου* in Acts iv. 25.

Just as the commentator has shewn that the true prophet is possessed by the indwelling good Spirit, so he enlarges on the opposite kind of possession. The girl with a spirit of Python practises divination through this spirit;

δια τουτου μαντευομενη,

where the words *διὰ τούτου* are an addition.

Now let us come to the question of visions.

In Acts xvi. 10, where Paul sees the man of Macedonia, the translator adds the explanation

ΔΙΕΓΕΡΘΕΙC ΟΥΝ ΔΙΗΓΗCΑΤΟ ΤΟ ΟΡΑΜΑ ΗΜΙΝ
ΚΑΙ ΕΝΟΗCΑΜΕΝ

EXVRGENS ERGO ENARRAVIT VISVM NOBIS
ET INTELLEGIMVS...

Now compare with this the Montanist visions in the Acta Perpetuae: Perpetua's vision (c. iv.) concludes with the words

et retuli statim fratri meo et intelleximus passionem esse futuram = *κα εὐθέως διηγησάμην τῷ ἀδελφῷ καὶ ἐνοήσαμεν ὅτι δέοι παθεῖν κτέ.*

Again, in c. viii. the visions concerning Dinocrates end with the same terms

καὶ ἐνόησα ὅτι μετετέθη ἐκ τῶν τιμωριῶν = tunc intellexi translatum eum esse de poena.

So in c. x. (Vision of the Wrestling-Match) we end with

et experrecta sum: et intellexi, etc. = *καὶ ἐξυπνίσθην· καὶ ἐνόησα κτέ.*

It seems then that there is a close parallel in manner between Perpetua's account of her visions and the interpolating hand in the Pauline vision.

One other parallel to the Martyrdom shall be given from the glosses of the Acts. In Acts iv. 24, when the apostles return from the Sanhedrin, the interpolator tells us that the Church recognized the operation of a Divine Energy in what had occurred:

ΟΙ ΔΕ ΑΚΟΥCΑΝΤΕC ΚΑΙ ΕΠΙΓΝΟΝΤΕC ΤΗΝ ΤΟΥ $\overline{\text{ΘΥ}}$ ΕΝΕΡΓΕΙΑ
AD ILLI CVM AVDISSENT ET COGNOVISSENT $\overline{\text{DI}}$ VIRTVTE.

Compare with this the effect which the prison-life of the Martyrs of Carthage produced upon their keepers; it runs in Latin as follows:

c. ix. Deinde post dies paucos Pudens, miles optio, praepositus carceris, qui nos magni facere coepit, *intellegens magnam virtutem* [*Dei*] *esse in nobis.*

The Greek is as follows:

καὶ μετ' ὀλίγας ἡμέρας Πούδης τις στρατιώτης ὁ τῆς φυλακῆς προϊστάμενος μετα πολλῆς σπουδῆς ἤρξατο ἡμᾶς τιμᾶν καὶ δοξάζειν τὸν θεὸν ἐννοῶν δύναμιν μεγάλην εἶναι περὶ ἡμᾶς.

Now I think it will be admitted that this passage in the Acts of the Martyrdom is decidedly Montanistic; that it was so felt and understood may be seen from the fact that the Greek text

has been slightly reformed, as by reading περὶ ἡμᾶς for ἐν ἡμῖν, and by the addition of τὸν θεόν. But the idea of the indwelling energy is Montanistic.

The conclusion which we draw from the series of coincidences here described is that the Western text of Luke and the Acts is a Montanist text, earlier in date than the time of Perpetua, and that it was a familiar subject of study amongst the Carthaginian Martyrs. Whether this implies a local origin for the text must not be hastily decided; for it is probable that all the three Churches, Rome, Carthage and Lyons, Montanized in the second century.

CHAPTER XV.

Further Proofs in the textual interpolations of the Theory of Latinization of the Bezan text in the Acts.

We have shewn reason to believe that the Codex Bezae is a Montanist MS., basing our conclusion upon observed phenomena in the Gospel of Luke and in the Acts of the Apostles. But now let us see whether these interpolations were first made on the Greek or the Latin side of the text. Happily the very first case that presents itself in the Acts is a crucial instance. In order to elucidate it we will transcribe Acts i. 2, in the Greek and Latin:

ΑΧΡΙ ΗC ΗΜΕΡΑC
ΑΝΕΛΗΜΦΘΗ ΕΝΤΕΙΛΑΜΕΝΟC ΤΟΙC ΑΠΟCΤΟΛΟΙC
ΔΙΑ ΠΝC ΑΓΙΟΥ ΟΥC ΕΞΕΛΕΞΑΤΟ [ΚΑΙ ΕΚΕΛΕΥCΕ
ΚΗΡΥCCΕΙΝ ΤΟ ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ]

where we have bracketed the words which constitute the gloss.

The Latin is

VSQVE IN EVM DIEM
QVEM SVSCEPTVS EST QVO PRAECEPIT APOSTOLIS
PER SPM SANCTVM QVOS ELEGIT [ET PRAECEPIT
PRAEDICARE EVANGELIVM].

Now, in order to clear up some of the confusion, observe that *quo* in the second line of the Latin is merely a wrongly inserted correction for the erroneous *quem* at the beginning of the line. Probably a conjunction has been displaced by the *quo* (? *et*).

In the next place observe that the commentator, in order to make clear what it was which our Lord enjoined upon His disciples, adds the words

et praecepit praedicare euangelium.

Obviously this gloss was in Latin, *praecepit* occurring in the text as the word to be explained, and appearing again in the commentary. The Greek then has taken the Latin back by a new translation without any regard to the equivalence between the first *praecepit* and the Greek verb *ἐντέλλομαι*.

But if this was a Latin gloss, we shall only find it in Latin copies, or in those Greek copies whose ancestry passes through the first form of Codex Bezae.

Now, the addition is found either wholly or in part in *Augustine*, in *Vigilius Tapsensis*, in the *Sahidic Version* and in the *Luxeuil Lectionary:* i.e. we have a Gallican Lectionary of the earliest period, an Egyptian Version, and two African fathers of the fifth century. It must be owned that this is very instructive; we are not surprised at the conduct of the Sahidic version, for we detected this in the transference of a Latin hexameter in Luke; but we are at first a little surprised at the wide area of country covered by the reading. The Sahidic text probably is based ultimately upon a Roman original: D and the Luxeuil Lectionary are Gallican; and the fathers quoted would most likely get their texts by way of Carthage. Is it possible that an interpolated text could spread so far?

There are two more glosses on the same page, probably by the very same hand:

Acts i. 5,

και ο μελλεται λαμβανειν
ET EVM ACCIPERE HABETIS,

which is attested by Hilary, Augustine, Maximus of Turin, and the Toledo Lectionary.

And in the same verse

εως της πεντηκοστης
VSQVE AD PENTECOSTEN

is attested by Augustine and the Sahidic version.

We note again the concurrence of these last two authorities.

Just in the same way as we recognize a Latin hand in the glosses in the Acts by means of the word *praecepit*, common to the text and the gloss; so we can detect some other instances of the same workmanship.

In Acts v. 39 the words are added

ΟΥΤΕ ΥΜΕΙC ΟΥΤΕ ΒΑCΙΛΕΙC ΟΥΤΕ ΤΥΡΑΝΝΟΙ
ΑΠΕΧΕCΘΑΙ ΟΥΝ ΑΠΟ ΤΩΝ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΩΝ ΤΟΥΤΩ

NEC VOS NEC IMPERATORES NEC REGES
DISCEDITE ERGO AB HOMINIBVS ISTIS.

Now, here the last line is a recapitulation from the 38th verse, and it is in the Latin that the repetition occurs, and not in the Greek, as we may see by comparing the text with

Acts v. 38,

ΑΠΟCΤΗΤΕ ΑΠΟ ΤΩΝ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΩΝ ΤΟΥΤΩΝ
DISCEDITE AB HOMINIBVS ISTIS.

The gloss is then a Latin one, and evidently by the same hand as before: its Greek is merely a re-translation.

A similar argument applies to Acts vi. 10, where the words

ΟΙΤΙΝΕC ΟΥΚ ΙCΧΥΟΝ ΑΝΤΙCΤΗΝΑΙ ΤΗ CΟΦΙΑ
QVI NON POTERANT RESISTERE SAPIENTIAE

are repeated at the end of the verse in the form

NON POTENTES AVTEM RESISTERE VERITATI,

and done into Greek with a new word *ἀντοφθαλμεῖν* for *ἀντιστῆναι* (the former word may itself be borrowed from the xxviith chapter), so that we have

ΤΗ ΟΥCΗ ΕΝ ΑΥΤΩ ΚΑΙ ΤΩ ΠΝΙ ΤΩ ΑΓΙΩ Ω ΕΛΑΛΕΙ
ΜΗ ΔΥΝΑΜΕΝΟΙ ΟΥ ΑΝΤΟΦΘΑΛΜΕΙΝ ΤΗ ΑΛΗΘΕΙΑ,

where *οὐ* stands for *οὖν*.

But if this verse be glossed by a Montanist, as we suggested above with regard to the words *τῇ οὔσῃ ἐν αὐτῷ* and *τῷ ἁγίῳ* then we may say that the rest of the matter added to the verse is by the same hand. We also include in the list of Montanist glosses the other words which intervene and which made the repetition necessary

ΔΙΑ ΤΟ ΕΛΕΓΧΕCΘΑΙ ΑΥΤΟΥC ΕΠ ΑΥΤΟΥ
ΜΕΤΑ ΠΑCΗC ΠΑΡΡΗCΙΑC

QVONIAM PROBATVR ILLIS AB ILLO
CVM OMNI FIDVCIA.

But this expression *μετὰ πάσης παρρησίας* is frequently inserted as a gloss in the text: is it then a Montanist expression?

Now, in the Acts of the Apostles the gloss appears again in ch. ix. 20: though this part of Codex Bezae is missing; for we can restore it by means of Irenaeus' quotation of the passage, which undoubtedly comes from the same text-tradition;

ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς, φησὶν, ἐν Δαμασκῷ ἐκήρυσσε [μετὰ πάσης παρρησίας] τὸν Ἰησοῦν=in synagogis, ait, in Damasco praedicabat [cum omni fiducia] Iesum.

Harvey II. 63=Mass. 197.

And it appears also in the gloss added in xvi. 4,

ΜΕΤΑ ΠΑCΗC ΠΑΡΡΗCΙΑC ΤΟΝ $\overline{\text{ΚΝ}}$ $\overline{\text{ΙΗΝ}}$ $\overline{\text{ΧΡΝ}}$
ΑΜΑ ΠΑΡΑΔΙΔΟΝΤΕC
CVM OMNEM FIDVCIAM $\overline{\text{DNM}}$ $\overline{\text{IHM}}$ $\overline{\text{XPM}}$
SIMVL TRADENTES.

The reason why the Montanists were so constant in using this expression is that it occurs in connexion with the prophetic enthusiasm: we find that in Acts iv. 31 the sentence *καὶ ἐλάλουν τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ μετὰ παρρησίας* is preceded by *ἐπλήσθησαν ἅπαντες τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος*.

But the recognition of this gloss concerning the delegates from the Church at Jerusalem as Montanistic probably carries with it the two similar glosses, in which the attempt is made to improve upon the unspiritual decrees of the Jerusalem Council by the addition of some evangelical expansion. And this consideration carries us to Acts xv. 29, where we had already recognized the words *φερόμενοι ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι* as being Montanistic, and must now ascribe to the same hand the insertion of the famous sentence

καὶ ὅσα μὴ θέλετε ἑαυτοῖς γείνεσθαι ἑτέρῳ μὴ ποιεῖν.

And we have also Acts xv. 20,

καὶ ὅσα μὴ θέλουσιν ἑαυτοῖς γείνεσθαι ἑτέροις μὴ ποιεῖτε,

the Greek forms of the two passages being a little nearer together than the Latin.

It is becoming, by this time, clear that there is an internal connexion between the greater part of the glosses in the Acts. The supposition is not an unnatural one, and it is interesting to see how capable of confirmation it is. There is a suspicious

family resemblance in the character of the glosses, in the language in which they were made, and in the copies, versions and fathers that attest them. A number of these witnesses have already been alluded to; but we may further note that a gloss in iv. 32, which appears to belong to the same family, is attested by DE, Cyprian, Ambrose and Zeno, while in the previous verse another gloss has the support of DE, Irenaeus and Augustine, where again it is certainly the original text of Irenaeus and not a translator's addition.

In v. 38, to which we have alluded above, the added words are attested by DE 34. In v. 39, the gloss is attested in some form or other by DE, *demid.*, the later Syriac, Cod. 180 and the margin of Cod. 33.

In vi. 10, we apparently have for the first gloss in the verse DE; then DE and the Luxeuil Lectionary. Then DE and the margin of the Heraclean Syriac: and last of all DE, the Heraclean margin and the Bohemian version.

The famous gloss at the end of xv. 20 brings together D, Sahidic version, Ethiopic version, and eleven cursives, together with Irenaeus. While in xv. 29, the first part of the gloss brings together very nearly the same attestation with the addition of Cyprian: and the last part brings in Irenaeus and Tertullian.

Numbers of similar coincidences of attestation may be found: but we need not record them all. It has always been recognized that there was a peculiar affinity between certain members of the various classes mentioned above. But it becomes intelligible now that we have seen reason to suspect that these glosses, or at least a great part of them, are due to a single hand, and that probably the hand of a Latin Montanist.

We have no hesitation in saying that the influence of this Latinized and Montanized copy is to be seen in the following copies, versions and fathers.

DE, *tol.*, *luxov.*, *demid.*, *Sahidic*, *Heraclean Syriac* (*and its marg.*), *Bohemian*, *Irenaeus*, *Tertullian*, *Cyprian*, *Ambrose*, *Augustine*, *Hilary*, *Zeno*, *Maximus Taur.*, *Vigilius Taps.*

No doubt it may seem, at first sight, rather absurd to suppose that the errors of a single copy could spread so far as Poitiers, Lyons, Turin, Verona, North Africa and Egypt; to which must

probably be added Sardinia which is supposed to be the birth-place of Cod. E, and perhaps even Spain; but this is just the point that always is hard in connexion with the Western text: the way to understand it is by recognizing that the errors in question are undoubtedly errors of a great antiquity, and, if that is not sufficient to explain their diffusion, we must go further and shew that they occurred in or near the centre of ecclesiastical distribution for Latin texts: and we must examine the errors in question carefully with a view to recognizing the locality to which they originally belong.

CHAPTER XVI.

Relations of the Bezan text to that used by Irenaeus.

But if the Codex Bezae was in Lyons as far back as the sixth century, as we have tried to prove by a variety of considerations, it was presumably copied from an earlier bilingual, also in Lyons: and although suspicions have arisen in our mind that the ultimate origin of the Bezan tradition is Cisalpine if not African, yet we have still to ask the question as to the time that the Lyonnese succession has been kept up. How far back does the Gallican history of the MS. go? Are we to say with Scrivener that "it is, on the whole, an independent translation made either directly from the Greek on the opposite page, or from a text almost identical with it; that the translator often retained in his memory, and perhaps occasionally consulted, both the Old Latin version, and Jerome's revised Vulgate; and that he probably executed his work in Gaul about the close of the fifth century[1]"?

Each of the three statements is probably an error: the translation was, indeed, made from a companion Greek text, but not the Greek text as now read in the MS., for this has been harmonized with the Latin, to say nothing of some other changes which have crept into it. The translator not merely remembers the Old Latin version; he is himself the author of the Old Latin version; the reference to Jerome is probably a delusion; last of all, the translation is much older than the fifth century, as we have by this time pretty well proved.

[1] p. xxxi. Cf. p. lxiv, 'We assign to the Latin version of Codex Bezae a western province (most probably Gaul) and a date not higher than the fifth century.

Or shall we follow Dr Hort's theory which makes the Codex Bezae a product of the fourth century? Its structure he describes as follows: "The Greek text of Codex Bezae is substantially a Western text of cent. ii. with occasional readings probably belonging to cent. iv.[1]," while in speaking of the Latin versions he says, "In the fourth century we find current in Western Europe, and especially in North Italy, a second type of text the precise relation of which to the African text of the second and third centuries has not yet been clearly ascertained[2]."

I take this to mean that the Latin of Cod. Bezae, which has such close affinities with Codices Vercellensis and Veronensis and the MSS. used by Ambrose, is substantially a fourth century text. Its method of composition is described by Dr Hort as follows[3]:

> A genuine (independent) Old Latin text has been adopted as the basis, but altered throughout into verbal conformity with the Greek text by the side of which it was intended to stand. Here and there the assimilation has accidentally been incomplete, and the scattered discrepant readings thus left are the only direct Old Latin evidence for the Greek text of the New Testament which the bilingual MSS. supply. A large proportion of the Latin texts of these MSS. is indeed, beyond all reasonable doubt, unaltered Old Latin; but where they exactly correspond to the Greek, as they do habitually, it is impossible to tell how much of the accordance is original and how much artificial; so that for the criticism of the Greek text the Latin reading has here no independent authority.

Now if our investigation shews anything it proves that the artificial agreement of which Dr Hort speaks is due to a specific cause, viz. Latinization of the Greek text; and that consequently it is the Bezan Latin that is of prime importance[4], while *the Greek has no certain value except where it differs from its own Latin, and must not any longer be regarded as an independent authority.* And if the Greek be thus relegated to a secondary position, the case not only calls for a re-statement of the theory as to the building of D, and of the date of the translation, but it brings up another question with it, that namely of the Bibles respectively in use

[1] *Introduction*, p. 148.

[2] *Introduction*, p. 78.

[3] *Introduction*, p. 82.

[4] Consequently Tischendorf was right when he said, *Cod. Sin. proleg.* p. xxxii. note 2, "Italus ejusdem codicis textus (sc. D) a quo ipsum Graecum pependisse certum est etc."

by Irenaeus and his translator. Dr Hort explained the wonderful agreement between the Latin of Codex Bezae and the Latin of Irenaeus (for there are many cases in which the translator of Irenaeus is nearer to the Latin of D than to the Greek) by representing the Bezan Greek as co-eval with Irenaeus, and the Bezan Latin as belonging to the time of his translator. And this led him to deny Massuet's theory that the text of Irenaeus was translated before the end of the second century and was, in fact, in the hands of Tertullian. Accordingly we find him saying[1], "We are convinced not only by the internal character of this biblical text [i.e. the text followed by the translator], but by comparison of all the passages borrowed in substance by Tertullian,...that the true date of the translation is the fourth century." This I take to mean that the Bezan Latin being of the fourth century (as seen from its concurrence with the great North Italian texts), the Latin quotations in Irenaeus are very largely Bezan Latin. I shall attempt to shew that this conviction is a misapprehension; and shall take the Bezan Latin, which we have seen to be the real authority, right back to the time of Irenaeus, instead of to the fifth century, as Scrivener suggests, or to the fourth, as Hort allows: and I shall try to take the translator of Irenaeus back with him, for the sake of companionship.

It is admitted then in the first place that there is a wonderful concurrence between the Biblical text of Irenaeus and the text of Codex Bezae. They combine, especially in the Acts, in readings that are nowhere else found, and which are so obviously erroneous that it would be absurd to deny genealogical contiguity to the texts that contain them, especially when, as in the present case, geographical contiguity has been practically proved. Perhaps the most conspicuous instance of all these is a coincidence in the Latin in Acts iii. 14,

ΥΜΕΙϹ ΔΕ ΤΟΝ ΑΓΙΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΝ
ΕΒΑΡΥΝΑΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΗΤΗϹΑΤΕ ΑΝΔΡΑ ΦΟΝΕΙΑ

VOS AVTEM IPSVM SANCTVM ET IVSTVM
GRABASTIS ET POSTVLASTIS VIRVM HOMICIDA,

[1] *Introduction*, p. 160.

which Irenaeus quotes as[1]

vos autem sanctum et iustum
aggravastis et petistis virum homicidam.

Now, concerning this peculiar reading, we first find out its origin, which was as follows; observe that the Greek text as generally edited reads

ἠρνήσασθε καὶ ᾐτήσασθε,

while D reads in the second place ᾐτήσατε, probably for the sake of a more exact agreement with its Latin. But at some period in the transcriptional history this ᾐτήσατε perhaps written as a marginal correction of ᾐτήσασθε affected the first word ἠρνήσασθε, which was sufficiently like to it in appearance, and the latter was read as ἠττήσατε by the insertion of a single letter. The translator did his best with this ἠττήσατε and gave it a signification, which it has in later Greek, so as to mean "ye insulted (or slighted) the holy one and the just &c."; for this *aggravastis* was a very good rendering: but, as was to be expected, the revising hand took the Greek to task for insufficient correspondence and wrote ἐβαρύνατε.

Now of this error we say that, although it was primitively a Greek error, yet, as far as our text goes, it is a Latinizing error, and the Latin text has precedence of the Greek. But the translator of Irenaeus had this rendering, though unfortunately there is no Greek text extant at this point by which we could determine whether Irenaeus read ἐβαρύνατε. Lastly, Augustine was under the influence of it, for Tischendorf quotes the text

Aug.[pecc. mer. 28] inhonorastis et negastis,

which would seem to shew that Augustine used a text in which *aggravastis* had been corrected to a more conventional word.

Whether, then, our explanation of the origin of the error in this passage be correct or not (and we shall draw attention in a future chapter[2] to another solution of the difficulty which has been proposed) it is clear that the text of the Codex Bezae at this point is closely related to that of the Latin Irenaeus; and since the instance quoted is only one out of many similar

[1] Ed. Harvey, II. 55 = Mass. 194.

[2] c. XVIII. p. 187.

cases, we are warranted in describing the two texts as genealogically contiguous. And this means on the one hand that, if the translation of the Codex Bezae were made in the fourth century, then the translation of Irenaeus cannot have been made in the second; and on the other hand, if the Codex Bezae is proved to contain a Latin text of the second century, there is no à priori objection to the theory that the translation of Irenaeus belongs to the same century, and in fact there is no objection at all provided only that reasonable grounds be asserted for such a belief.

Now the difficulty of the case lies in the relations between the Greek and Latin of Irenaeus. So little of the Greek of Irenaeus is preserved, that in appealing to the evidence of that father, we are liable at any moment to the counter-assertion that the text is not really that of the Greek, but is merely an expansion or alteration of the translating scribe. And even in those readings which may safely be carried back to the original text of Irenaeus, we have to prove not merely that the Codex Bezae and Irenaeus are in agreement, but that they are in agreement in Latinized readings, if we are to shew that the translation in the Codex must be earlier as to its origin than the great work on Heresies.

Perhaps the simplest way to resolve the difficulty is to confine ourselves to the glosses in the manner suggested in the last chapter; for these glosses have a frequent internal nexus which betrays a common hand, and the evidence of one gloss in a group can be used to confirm the evidence of another in the same group. And moreover it is precisely in the matter of expansions of the current text that we are safest in arguing from the text of the translation to the original Greek of Irenaeus; for, while a scribe may translate a biblical text which he finds before him in the language with which he is familiar, he is very unlikely to complicate his rendering by additional sentences from his own copy of the scriptures. We say then, (i) that the Biblical glosses in the Latin Irenaeus are probably to be referred to Irenaeus himself; (ii) where these glosses shew a Latin origin (since Latin glosses imply a Latin text), they are decisive as to the antiquity of the Latin translation.

Take, for example, the glosses which describe the freedom of

speech which the apostles experienced under the influence of the Holy Spirit; and which consist in the insertion of the terms *μετὰ παῤῥησίας, μετὰ πάσης παῤῥησίας, cum fiducia, cum omni fiducia*; which certainly betray a single hand.

In Acts vi. 10, where Codex Bezae makes the addition, the passage is not quoted at all by Irenaeus.

In Acts ix. 20, the page of Codex Bezae is lost, but the passage is quoted in Irenaeus, and the same gloss occurs, and at this point happily the Greek text of Irenaeus is extant as well as the Latin: we have as follows (II. 63 = Mass. 197).

ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς, φησίν, ἐν Δαμασκῷ ἐκήρυσσε μετὰ πάσης παῤῥησίας τὸν Ἰησοῦν, ὅτι οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ ὁ Χριστός.

= In synagogis, ait, in Damasco praedicabat cum omni fiducia Iesum, quoniam hic est Christus filius Dei.

In Acts xvi. 4, we find the same gloss in Codex Bezae, where it forms a part of a longer passage, in which the glossator has attempted to reform the unspiritual character of the decrees of the Jerusalem Council:

ΜΕΤΑ ΠΑCΗC ΠΑΡΡΗCΙΑC ΤΟΝ $\overline{\text{ΚΝ}}$ $\overline{\text{ΙΗΝ}}$ $\overline{\text{ΧΡΝ}}$
ΑΜΑ ΠΑΡΑΔΙΔΟΝΤΕC.

Now since these three Western glosses are due to the same hand, we infer that they are earlier than Irenaeus, who quotes one of them, and that they were extant in the early Western text, for the Codex Bezae has two of them (and probably had the third in the unmutilated form of the MS.).

This group of glosses was, therefore, in the Western text before the time of Irenaeus.

The only question that remains is that of Latinity; were they originally made on a Latin copy?

Now there is nothing in the words themselves that is decisive one way or the other: *μετὰ πάσης παῤῥησίας* might just as easily be inserted in a Greek tradition as *cum omni fiducia* in the Latin; but in the context there is much that is indicative of Latin hands. We have already pointed out that in Acts vi. 10 the remainder of the gloss of which we have quoted part is certainly Latin. And we have further shewn that there is reason to connect these glosses with others in the Acts which are clearly the work of a Montanist

interpolator, the greater part of whose insertions, if not the whole of them, were certainly made in Latin.

We conclude, then, that the Western glosses in question were extant in Latin before the time of Irenaeus. Even where we are not able to say decisively that the glosses in the Acts come from a Latin original, we are able to prove their antiquity, which makes it so much easier for us to argue from their occurrence in the Latin of Irenaeus to their existence in the lost Greek.

For instance it is not at first sight easy to determine whether the gloss in Codex Bezae Acts xv. 29,

φερομενοι εν τω αγιω πνευματι
FERENTES IN SANTO SPO,

is from a Latin or Greek original; but since it is found in Tertullian (*De pudic.* 12) in the form

rectante (=vectante) vos spiritu sancto,

and in Irenaeus' Latin in the form (II. 70 = Mass. 199)

ambulantes in spiritu sancto,

we need not hesitate to refer the use of the gloss to Irenaeus himself. And, indeed, it will be found generally true that the glosses of the translator of Irenaeus were in the text which he worked upon. The preserved fragments of the Greek text confirm us strongly in this belief. For instance in Acts iv. 31 we find in Codex Bezae the gloss

παντι τω θελοντι πιστευειν
OMNI VOLENTI CREDERE.

This passage is preserved in the Greek of Irenaeus as well as in the Latin; and the words are extant in both, although Harvey, following Massuet, declines to print them as a biblical quotation. If the Greek of Irenaeus had been lost at this point, we should, perhaps, have had difficulty in making people believe that the added words belonged to Irenaeus himself. But they are fortunately preserved, and we have one more proof of the safety in reasoning from the gloss of the translator's text to the gloss of his copy. Moreover in this case, we are fortunate in being able to detect the hand that made the gloss: for the favourite expression of the author of the group of glosses which we were

just now discussing occurs as a part of the genuine text at this very point:

ΜΕΤΑ ΠΑΡΡΗCΙΑC
ΠΑΝΤΙ ΤΩ ΘΕΛΟΝΤΙ ΠΙCΤΕΥΕΙΝ.

We can hardly doubt that it was the sight of this favourite expression which inspired the glossator at this point to add a few more words by way of explanation.

Again why should we hesitate, when we find Acts iii. 17 quoted in Irenaeus (II. 55 = Mass. 194) in the form

secundum ignorantiam fecistis nequam,

to carry back the *nequam* to his Greek text, which unfortunately is lost? But this word is clearly due to the Latin translator of the Acts, who, in rendering *κατὰ ἄγνοιαν ἐπράξατε*, disliked to have an active verb in his text without an object; and so inserted a word, which was promptly reflected on the Greek. Hence in Codex Bezae we have

per ignorantiam egistis iniquitatem,

the primitive form being doubtless *nequam*. Does not this look like a Latin addition to the text of the Acts? Many similar cases might, no doubt, be brought forward. But perhaps we have said enough, in view of the proved pre-eminence of the Latin of Codex Bezae over the Greek, in view of the proofs and suspicions of Latinity in the glosses of the Acts, and the certainty that some of them were extant in the Greek of Irenaeus, to convince our readers that the Western bilingual is not a fourth century product but that it goes back to the times before Irenaeus and before Tertullian. Whether any readings of later times may be current in Codex Bezae is, of course, an open question: but the actual translation and many of the glosses of the translation seem to belong to the period which we have indicated.

We will examine presently the whole body of these glosses in the Acts in a special chapter. Now let us turn to the question of the Latin of Irenaeus. If our reasoning be correct, it is no longer *necessary* to regard this as a fourth century product. Are there any reasons for referring it to an earlier period?

Let us then say a few words about Massuet's theory that the Latin translation of Irenaeus was known to Tertullian. The point is not exactly material to our argument, but it is an interesting one. If we are wrong, it will be easy for Dr Hort or some other scholar who holds with him to put us right.

I take it that the translation of Irenaeus was made either in Lyons, Rome or Carthage: the problem is thus very like the one of determining the original home of the Western bilingual. But Carthage is, perhaps, excluded by the fact that Africanisms do not seem to have as yet been adequately proved in the text. A translation, however, which was made either at Rome or Lyons would rapidly pass to the sister Montanist Church, and furnish the material for any quotations made by Tertullian. There is nothing, then, in the nature of an *à priori* objection against Massuet's theory. The case for that theory is stated as follows by Harvey[1]:

Internal evidence persuades the judgment that Tertullian wrote his treatise *c. Valentinum* after A.D. 199, with this version before his eyes: Massuet's comparison of the two texts in his second dissertation is very convincing: when the translator trips, Tertullian also stumbles; and too many minute peculiarities of nomenclature and style are found to agree in both, to be the result of accident. Cyprian possibly[2], and Augustine certainly, copied this version[3].

The evidence of Augustine is admitted, and we may turn to Cyprian: the extract is as follows:

Cuius [Marcionis] magister Cerdon sub Hygino tunc episcopo, qui in urbe nonus fuit, Romam venit; quem Marcion secutus, additis ad crimen augmentis, impudentius caeteris et abruptius in Deum Patrem creatorem blasphemare instituit.

With which we have to compare the Latin of Irenaeus:

Et Cerdon...occasionem accipiens cum venisset Romam sub Hygino qui nonum locum episcopatus per successionem ab apostolis habuit...Succedens autem ei Marcion Ponticus adampliavit doctrinam, impudorate blasphemans eum qui a lege et prophetis annunciatus est Deus.

It seems evident that Cyprian has been reading Irenaeus either in the Greek or in the Latin; or in the Greek as quoted by Hippolytus[4].

[1] p. clxiv.

[2] *Ep. ad Pompeium* (*de Cerdone*).

[3] *C. Iulian. Pelag.* I. 3, 7.

[4] I suppose we should correct ηὔξησε διδασκαλεῖον of Hippolytus into ηὔξησε διδασ-

Now we have seen that in some form, either Greek or Latin, the works of Irenaeus were current in North Africa before Cyprian's time, and it is reasonable, therefore, to suppose that Cyprian is referring to Irenaeus: and Massuet says bluntly that Cyprian knew no Greek. Dr Hort would seem to believe the same, when, after speaking of the way in which Tertullian's Scripture quotations are complicated by independent translations from the Greek, he remarks[1], "This disturbing element is absent, however, from Cyprian's quotations, which are fortunately copious and carefully made." But if Cyprian was not in the habit of using the Scriptures except in the African Latin form, still less is he likely to have consulted the original Greek of Irenaeus.

I do not, however, lay any stress on the fact that Cyprian agrees with the translator of Irenaeus in making Hyginus the ninth bishop of Rome, where we should, from Irenaeus' statement elsewhere, have expected *eighth*, for the recovered text of Irenaeus in the *Philosophumena* shews the same reading in Greek. On the whole, however, there is a fair possibility that Cyprian used a Latin Irenaeus.

This brings us very near to Tertullian; and we may say that the only objection to Massuet's theory is that Tertullian seems to have often translated independently from the Greek in the case of the New Testament, and therefore any coincidence which may be found in his extracts from Irenaeus with the Latin translation, made at Lyons or Rome, may be purely accidental. Let us see then whether Tertullian is translating entirely *de novo*. We admit that in handling the New Testament he was fond of "immediate and original renderings, the proportion of which to his quotations from the existing version is indeterminate but certainly large[2]."

For instance, we find in Irenaeus[3] that the translator had to deal with the sentence

ὃ ἐνήρξατο μὲν ἐν τοῖς περὶ τὸν Νοῦν καὶ τὴν Ἀλήθειαν, ἀπέσκηψε δὲ εἰς τοῦτον τὸν παρατραπέντα.

κάλειον if we are to retain an agreement with the Latin. Irenaeus must surely mean that Marcion exaggerated the teaching of Cerdon: and so does Cyprian.

[1] p. 78. [2] Hort, *Introd.* p. 78.

[3] Ed. Harvey, I. 14 = Mass. 8.

He renders it as follows:

quae exorsa quidem fuerat in iis quae sunt erga Nun et Alethiam; derivavit autem in hunc [Aeonem, id est Sophiam] demutatam, (l. demutatum):

where a reference to the Latin of (309 I. = Mass. 130), "audent dicere, quia a Logo quidem coepit, *derivatio* autem in Sophiam," shews that there is no doubt about the reading, *derivatio* in this case standing for *ἀπόσκημμα* or *ἀπόσκηψις*.

Now, according to Stieren, this is not the right rendering; "haec vox non respondet graecae *ἀπέσκηψε*. Vertendum erat *irrupit* seu incidit." If Stieren be right it is curious that Tertullian should translate in the same way. But whether it be a right translation or not of the medical term used by Irenaeus, and we are not disposed to support Stieren's objection, it is certain that Tertullian uses the word, and not merely uses it, but explains it, *just as one explains a word in a difficult text, and just as one does not do in making one's own translations with any degree of freedom.* Accordingly Tertullian says "in hunc autem id est Sophiam derivarat, ut solent vitia in corpore alibi connata in aliud membrum perniciem suam efflare." If Tertullian had been translating *de novo* he would not have needed this long explanation of the obscure translation; nor would he have added the other gloss "*id est Sophiam*," for he would have simply translated *in hanc*, with or without the addition of *Sophiam*. The fact is, he had a rude rendering to handle, and just as later copyists inserted in Irenaeus the explanation (*Aeonem, id est Sophiam*), so Tertullian adds *id est Sophiam*. He may even have found the gloss already in his Latin text.

No doubt much more might be said in favour of the opinion that Tertullian glosses, comments on and amends an already existing text. He could not have done otherwise with a barbarous Gallic or Vulgar Latin version, and we ought not to be surprised at the treatment. We are disposed then to believe that Massuet's theory, to which we refer the reader, may after all be true, and that the Latin version of Irenaeus found its way very early into the library of the Church of Carthage.

CHAPTER XVII.

Relation between the Tatian Harmony and the Bezan Text.

We have now shewn reason for believing that the whole body of Western Latin readings go back into a single bilingual copy, the remote ancestor of the Codex Bezae: and we have also seen that the Greek of the Beza text owes the greater part of its textual and grammatical peculiarities to the reflex action of its own Latin.

We have also furnished material for a very decided belief that this peculiar revised Greek or its Latin, and perhaps both of them, passed into Egypt, presumably to Alexandria, and there became the parent of one at least of the corrupt Egyptian versions, viz. the Thebaic or Sahidic.

So that it is not at all surprising if the belief should expand to a conviction that Western readings are to be looked for in Alexandrian Codices; and that not because of the great antiquity and consequent world-wide diffusion of Western readings, but simply because Rome is the ecclesiastical parent of Alexandria.

But it will be said that this suggestion is nullified by the fact that the Syriac readings present the same eccentric forms and features as the Western Latin texts; and surely, it will be said, no one can possibly maintain that the Syriac versions date from any such origin as a Graeco-Latin bilingual. Let us then examine a little into this point, and without prejudice: the New Testament criticism is so full of burning questions that we must be careful not to anticipate solutions; but it also bristles with unsolved problems, so that we may be prepared for surprises.

The Syriac texts of the New Testament are usually reckoned to be a series of successive revisions, the two earliest forms being the so-called Curetonian Syriac or Old Syriac, and the Peshito Syriac or Syriac Vulgate. Closely connected with these is the Harmony of Tatian, which has recently been recovered in an Arabic version and was already known by the extracts from it and the running commentary made upon it by Ephrem the Syrian. This Harmony then was current in the second century, and it is certainly very closely related to the Old Syriac and the Vulgate Syriac.

The prevalent belief as to the true relation between them is that the Harmony is the elder, and that the Old Syriac of Cureton stands in relation to it just as one of the Old Latin versions might stand to a primitive Latin Harmony; only its relation may be closer than that, for it is suspected that the Old Syriac may have been constructed indirectly out of the very fragments of the Harmony by a scribe who was perfectly familiar therewith. However that may be, we have to ask ourselves the explanation of these Eastern-Western readings. And we must interrogate them until we get a series of satisfactory answers, which may lead us to a hypothesis that is adequate for the explanation of the known coincidences between the readings.

We begin with John xvi. 21, which appears in Ciasca's Latin translation from the Arabic in the following form

"Mulier enim, cum ei appropinquat tempus pariendi, opprimit eam adventus diei partus eius."

Now the following considerations will shew that Tatian used a text in which was the word ἡμέρα instead of ὥρα. First the words *adventus diei partus* convince us of this: and next, a reference to the critical apparatus shews the same reading in

D 248 *a b c e ff*^{2} and syr^{sch},

the latter version, which probably derives ultimately from Tatian, shewing the words which are equivalent to *dies parturitionis*. So that Tatian and the Peshito agree in their text at this point, and the reading is a conspicuously Western one: it has only two Greek texts chronicled for it by Tischendorf, and of these one is conspicuously Latinized. The reading then is a decidedly

Western one: it belongs to that errant crew which we have so often detected in following the primitive Latinized bilingual. Does it not seem as if the translator of this text had used a translator's freedom and paraphrased the expression "the woman's hour," and explained it by "the day of parturition," or at all events had translated ὥρα as if it were ἡμέρα? But if this be so, Tatian has used the primitive bilingual or some associated text. It is even conceivable that he never used a Greek text at all; but only a Latin copy.

The second instance to examine is one to which allusion has already been made; I mean the reading προσχέροντες for προστρέχοντες in Mark ix. 15, where the corrupt Greek is read by D and supported by *b c ff*^{2} *i k*, and the Arabic is represented by *prae gaudio properantes.*

Did Tatian use a Greek copy which had the corruption? It is certainly possible, though perhaps not likely, when no other Greek traces of the reading are forthcoming than those in D; on the other hand, if he used a Latin copy, the error was not only possible, but almost inevitable; for we may easily see that the error must have been, at first, universal in Latin texts. Certainly in this case the probability is in favour of a Latin original.

Now let us turn to Luke xxi. 25,

ΚΑΙ ΕΠΙ ΤΗC ΓΗC CΥΝΟΧΗ ΕΘΝΩΝ
ET SVPER TERRAM CONFLICTIO GENTIVM.

So the text runs in Codex Bezae.

The word συνοχὴ was not a very easy one to render, but I think it will be admitted that D has made a very spirited translation, carrying with it the idea of the hurling together of masses of men in battle. Codex Vercellensis renders it *compressio*, Brixianus *occursus*, others *pressura*, as if the Latin versions had found especial difficulty with the word as it stood in the Greek or in the first Latin rendering. Now, the Curetonian Syriac and the Peshito have given us words equivalent to

complosio manuum gentium,

and that this stood originally in Tatian may be derived, not merely from the coincidence of the Old and Vulgate Syriac texts, but from the conflate text which appears in Ciasca's edition

et in terra pressura gentium
et frictio manuum prae gemitu
sonitus maris etc.

Here *pressura gentium* stands for *συνοχὴ ἐθνῶν*; but *frictio manuum* is the equivalent also of *συνοχή*, as may be seen from the Cureton text; the text is therefore conflate, and the correct reading is *frictio manuum gentium*. But how does this *manuum* come in? Evidently it must have arisen, not from the Greek *συνοχή* which might easily have found an equivalent, but from a reviser's reflection upon the spirited word *conflictio*. *Conflictio* of what? and the imagination suggested the completion of the elliptical expression by means of the word *manuum*.

Does not this look as if the archetype from which Tatian made his mosaic was a Latin or Latinized text?

Now let us turn to Luke v. 8. In the Beza text it stands

λεγων παρακαλω εξελθε απ εμου
DICENS ROGO EXI A ME.

Here the word 'rogo' is a translator's addition to the Latin: it occurs elsewhere in our text as an expansion: for instance there is Acts xxi. 39, where *δέομαι* is rendered by *rogo obsecro*, and a number of similar cases may be pointed out in the Old Latin.

Now, the word in the passage quoted from Luke goes back into the Greek, and it appears in the Old Latin authorities, as *c e f*.

But it is clearly a Western reading of an early type; we may say then, when we find it also in the Peshito, that it probably came there by way of Tatian, and a reference to Ciasca's Latin shews us

Domine, peto a te, ut a me recedas.

We are disposed, then, to the belief that Tatian has here absorbed a Latin reading, nor is our conviction sensibly weakened by the fact that the reading turns up also in the Gothic version.

In Mark i. 13 we find Codex Bezae reading

προς την θυραν αυτου
AD IANVAM EIVS,

and supported in the added word *αὐτοῦ* by *c ff*^{2} *g*^{1} *q*. We should certainly be disposed to call this a genuine Western reading: but notice that it is in Tatian in a slightly modified form

et erat omnis ciuitas congregata ad ianuam Jesu.

In John xiii. 14 D reads

ποcω μαλλον και υμειc οφειλετε
αλληλων νιπτειν τουc ποδαc.

Here the words *πόσῳ μᾶλλον* are due to the free translation of the Latin scribe who gave

QVANTO MAGIS ET VOS DEVETIS
INVICEM LAVARE PEDES.

But this reading acquired great Latin currency, for we find it in *a ff*^{2} *g*, &c.

It appears also in the Peshito Syriac, which must have derived it ultimately from Tatian, for Ciasca's Latin has

quanto magis aequum est etc.,

and the text of the early Syrian father Aphraates had the same or similar prefixed words[1].

Again, we see that the phenomena are explicable by the use of a Latinized text on Tatian's part.

In John xiv. 9 the Latin of the Beza text is against the Greek in reading

et non cognouistis me philippe.

The error was an extremely easy one in the Latin text, a mere matter of a single letter; but it spread widely, for it is in

a b c f ff^2 *e q*

and the Vulgate, in Irenaeus, Tertullian, Hilary and Novatian.

Surely this is a distinctively Latin reading, and not the less so because we find it in the Ethiopic version. Observe then that Tatian had the plural (teste *Ephrem*[2]); and the Latin of Ciasca is *nondum cognovistis me.*

Now let us look at Luke xxiv. 29. The Bezan text is

μεινον μεθ ημων οτι προc εcπεραν
καικλεικεν η ημερα

MANE NOBISCVM QVIA AD VESPERVM
DECLINAVIT DIES.

[1] Zahn, *Tatian's Diatessaron*, p. 203, gives "wie müsst dann ihr etc."

[2] Zahn, p. 206.

Notice here that at the beginning of the second line *καὶ* has dropped before *κέκλικεν* (read by itacism as *καίκλικεν*). Under the influence of this error *ἐστίν*, which stood at the end of the first line, has been removed from the Greek text. Accordingly the Latin texts *a b c e ff*^{2} *l* represent a text from which *ἐστὶν καὶ* is absent. Surely this is an error which may properly be called Western; because the Latin texts all agree in dropping the repeated syllable *καί*, and no other Greek authority than D is found for the reading. Now, the Tatian text as given by Ciasca reads

Mane apud nos quia dies iam declinauit ad tenebras,

and the Curetonian Syriac shews the influence of a similar reading.

We say then that the influence of the Western bilingual is perceptible in the Tatian text. The same thing is true of the associated Curetonian version; for example

In Luke xxiii. 39 Codex Bezae reads

ΟΤΙ ΕΝ ΤΩ ΑΥΤΩ ΚΡΙΜΑΤΙ ΕΙ
ΚΑΙ ΗΜΕΙC ΕCΜΕΝ ΚΑΙ ΗΜΕΙC ΜΕΝ
ΔΙΚΑΙΩC ΑΞΙΑ ΓΑΡ ΩΝ ΕΠΡΑΞΑΜΕΝ
ΑΠΟΛΑΜΒΑΝΟΜΕΝ

QVONIAM IN IPSO IVDICIO
ET NOS SVMVS ET NOS QVIDEM
IVSTE DIGNE ENIM SECVNDVM QVOD EGIMVS
RECIPIMVS.

Now here the Greek text has dittographed the words *καὶ ἡμεῖς μέν* and made *καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐσμέν* out of them, which the Latin renders, omitting the superfluous word *εἶ*. The addition has affected Cod. C, the Sahidic and Coptic versions, and the Curetonian Syriac.

Reviewing the instances which have here been given, we see that the Western text which Tatian used was not merely a Greek text into which transcriptional errors had crept, but a text which had stood in a bilingual copy and had been affected by its accompanying translation. For some of the errors in Tatian are Latinizing errors. But if this be true *for a single one* of the errors examined, we are obliged to admit that a Latin translation of the Gospels already existed in Tatian's time; and that being so,

we conclude further that the text which Tatian employed was either an early Latin text, or the Greek of an early bilingual text. The two hypotheses are not so very far apart; and either can be supported from the phenomena exhibited by the variants of Tatian's text: upon the whole, I incline to think that a Latin text was employed. But it is not necessary to be too decided on this point, until further evidence is produced. We shall discuss in a separate chapter the cases where the pleonasms of the Latin translator have been projected on the text of Tatian.

The conclusion to which we have been led is an astonishing one: the hydra-headed Western text has been resolved into a single form; that form is the primitive Western bilingual; its apparently Eastern character is a delusion, for the Old Syriac texts lean on a Graeco-Latin, and perhaps simply on a Latin base. That the Sahidic version, and other Egyptian attestation, sometimes complicates the question by an apparently greater geographical distribution than would seem to be possible for truly Occidental readings, is an illusion arising from the fact of our ignorance that the Sahidic version demonstrably has stolen Latin readings. The Western text is now no longer the 'conceivably apostolic' edition which Dr Hort suggests, but it represents the successive translations and retranslations of actual Occidental tradition.

This text was translated into Latin before the time of Tatian, and the primitive bilingual in which the translation stood is a document of a patriarchal dignity and largely capable of restoration. We will presently proceed to intimate where this translation was made.

But before going further we must ask a similar question to the important one which occupied us in relation to the Latin translations; the question of reflex action. If either the Greek or the Latin of the Western text passed into Syriac, was there any reaction from the Syriac on the Greek or Latin?

CHAPTER XVIII.

Does the Codex Bezae Syriacize?

Those who have, like ourselves, sought to explain the perplexing textual anomalies of the Western readings, have generally fallen back either upon the hypothesis of reflex Latinism or upon reflex Syriasm. And it has usually happened that the Syriac hypothesis has been taken up, because the Latinizing theory was supposed to be no longer tenable.

Certainly it is not a theory against which we ought to be prejudiced in advance. There are some things in the New Testament that perhaps will never yield to any other mode of elucidation. Take for example Mark viii. 10, which in Cod. D reads

ΚΑΙ ΗΛΘΕΝ ΕΙϹ ΤΑ ΟΡΙΑ ΜΕΛΕΓΑΔΑ
ET VENIT IN PARTES MAGIDAN.

Here most early texts give us *Δαλμανουθά*, so as to read

ἦλθεν εἰς τὰ μέρη Δαλμανουθά.

But since the letters *λμανουθα* are an almost exact transcript of the Syriac for *εἰς τὰ μέρη*, we have a text which is equivalent to

ܠܡܢܘܬܐ ܕܠܡܢܘܬܐ,

and it is clear that the text is dittographed and that the real name has dropped out.

If this explanation be the right one, we have lighted upon a case in which all Greek MSS. except D have a Syriac error! An astonishing thing, but not an impossibility.

Let this instance suffice to shew that it is by no means an unreasonable thing to look for Syriac corruptions in the New Testament text.

Such a suspicion is confirmed when we turn to history: the Western Church, especially in Gaul, was constantly and from the first under Oriental and Greek influences. First and foremost amongst these influences was the presence of traders. Let us look at what Salvian of Marseilles (writing in the fifth century) says about that city[1].

Nam ut de alio hominum genere non dicam consideremus solas negotiatorum et siricorum[2] omnium turbas, quae majorem ferme civitatem universam partem occupaverunt, si aliud est vita istorum omnium quam meditatio doli et tritura mendacii, aut si non perire admodum verba aestimant quae nihil loquentibus prosunt.

And that this influence of Eastern traders is not limited to Marseilles and the neighbourhood may be seen from the stories in Gregory of Tours: for example, a Syrian trader got himself appointed bishop of Paris, apparently by unfair means, and when elected applied to the Church offices the principle that 'to the victor belong the spoils.' Accordingly Gregory tells us[3]

Ragnimodus quoque Parisiacae urbis episcopus obiit. Cumque germanus eius Faramodus presbiter pro episcopato concurreret, Eusebius quidam negotiator genere Syrus, datis multis muneribus, in locum eius subrogatus est; isque, accepto episcopato omnem scole decessoris sui abiciens, Syros de genere suo eclesiasticae domui ministros statuit.

The same Gregory of Tours tells us[4] that he translated the story of the Seven Sleepers into Latin by the aid of John the Syrian: "quod passio eorum, quam Siro quodam interpretante in Latino transtulimus, plenius pandit"; but it is difficult to determine from what language the translation was made. Under the date A.D. 585[5] he relates an account of the entry of the king into the city of Orleans, and of his being met by a crowd of people carrying banners and singing in the language of the Latins, the Syrians, and even the Jews[6].

[1] Salvian, *De Gubern. Dei*, IV. 14.

[2] Rittershusius suggests *sericorum*, but it is more likely *syrorum*.

[3] Greg. Tur. Bk X. p. 438 (ed. Arndt et Krusch).

[4] Greg. Tur. *Glor. Mart.* c. 94.

[5] Bk VIII. p. 326.

[6] "Sed cum ad urbem Aureliensem venisset, erat ea die solemnitas beati Martini, id est quarto nonas mensis quinti. Processitque in obviam eius immensa populi turba cum signis adque vixillis, canentes laudes. Et hinc lingua Syrorum, hinc Latinorum, hinc etiam ipsorum Iudaeorum, in diversis laudibus varie concrepabat, dicens: Vivat rex, regnumque eius in populis annis innumeris dilatetur."

The only difficulty with such statements is that of determining whether the term Syrus means anything more than a Greek. It is certain that the Oriental influence in Gaul, say in the fifth century, was very great; but they do not seem to have discriminated much between the various Eastern nationalities. Occasionally we meet with more specific statements. For example, there is the case of St Abraham, of whom Sidonius Apollinaris gives us an account. This good man came to France from the East, probably from the kingdom of Persia[1], having fled from the persecutions brought on the Christian people beyond the Euphrates by King Isdigerdes (A.D. 420). He settled not far from Clermont, and built a church in honour of Saint Cyriacus, where miracles were performed after his death, if we may believe Gregory of Tours. Here then is a bona-fide case of an Eastern ascetic, a Syrian, transplanted into the very region to which our manuscript belongs: and we have no doubt that many more such cases occurred, and that communications between the East and the West were even more open in the first centuries of the Christian era than they are to-day.

There is nothing, then, which is à priori absurd or difficult in the theory that Syriac texts may have re-acted on the Western texts from which they were derived, whether those texts be found in Gaul or elsewhere. We are not limited to any possible influence of the immediate school of Irenaeus and his successors. Even political influences come to our aid in this investigation; for, as Duchesne points out[2], we have to bear in mind that many reunions of Oriental bishops took place in Milan in the fourth century, and in particular that Auxentius, who was bishop of Milan from A.D. 355—374, was a Cappadocian.

In dealing then with the Codex Bezae, which was certainly in Gaul in the sixth century and whose text may be under ancestral Gallican influences for some time before the sixth century, even if the translation itself be not primitively Gallican, we hold ourselves at liberty to use with freedom the hypothesis of Semitic re-actions on a Greek text.

[1] Sidonius, *ep.* 17; Tillemont, XVI. 257; Stokes, *Ireland and the Celtic Church*, p. 173.

[2] *Revue Critique* for 15 July, 1890.

It is interesting to notice that a similar question has come up in connexion with the translation of Irenaeus and with the text of Irenaeus himself. Harvey, for instance, claims for Irenaeus "a respectable knowledge of the Hebrew tongue, and a very perceptible familiarity with the Scriptures of the New Testament in a Syriac version[1]." He even goes so far as to suggest that the name Irenaeus may be a substitute for some Semitic name; and says[2]: "S. Irenaeus, who was of eastern extraction, had in all probability a more familiar acquaintance in his early years with some Syriac translation than with the Greek original of the Scriptures of the New Testament." Accordingly he makes many attempts to shew how the Western readings of Irenaeus' New Testament are to be arrived at by the process of corruption of Syriac texts: for example, in the opening words of Irenaeus' preface the expression *λόγους ψευδεῖς καὶ γενεαλογίας ματαίας αἵτινες ζητήσεις μᾶλλον παρέχουσι* is brought into harmony with the current Greek texts of the New Testament by equating *ματαίας* = *ἐν αἷς ματαιότης* = ܕܣܟܠܘܬܐ ܠܗܘܢ = ܕܣܟܐ ܠܝܬ ܠܗܘܢ, which is the Syriac equivalent for *ἀπεράντους*. And he applies the same method more or less successfully in a number of other cases.

I do not however see that his method is very different from the general attempt to explain Western readings in the New Testament by means of Syriasms. It has been recognized that many of what are called Western readings are just as much Eastern readings; they are supposed by Dr Hort to have had their origin in Asia Minor, while we, for our part, hold that they are truly Western: whichever of these hypotheses be correct, the affinity between the text of the Old Syriac and the Diatessaron of Tatian, and the so-called Western Greek and Latin versions, is so decided that they have to be treated together. Consequently there have from time to time been suggestions made that the texts of the New Testament which we call Western contain a Syriac element, which is something different from the Aramaisms that may have coloured the speech of the primitive evangelical writers; an element which can be eliminated, and by the study of which we can explain the occurrence of some at least of the

[1] Harvey, *Irenaeus*, p. cliii.

[2] p. 1, note.

primitive and perplexing forms in the early text of the New Testament.

Now, this hypothesis is a very inviting one and has engaged the attention of a number of writers, especially those who desired to explain the text of the Codex Bezae. For example, a reference may be made to I. D. Michaelis' *Introduction to the N. T.*, and the notes of Herbert Marsh on the same[1], from which we will quote a sentence or two by way of illustration. Michaelis speaks of the probability that

> The Syriac has had an influence on the Latin, especially in those examples where an error is committed that might happen more easily to the Syrian than the Latin translator. The Latin text is properly a composition of several ancient Latin versions, one of which must have been made by a native Syrian, as appears from the Syriasms found in the Latin text of several ancient MSS. that greatly exceed in harshness the Syriasms of the Greek Testament: this Syriac translator was probably guided, in obscure passages, by the version of his own country, the effects of which appear to this very day in the Vulgate.

But Michaelis does not push this theory to an extreme, for he recognizes that

> The wonderful harmony between the two most ancient versions of the New Testament, one of which was spread throughout Europe and the north of Africa, the other propagated from Edessa to China, could have had no other cause than similarity of the Greek MSS. in the West of Europe and the East of Asia.

Since Michaelis wrote these words the textual affinities have become more decided by the discovery of older forms of the Syriac version, yet it cannot be said that his hypothesis has been confirmed or demonstrated.

Another hypothesis nearly related to that of Michaelis is that of Schulz, who in his discussion of our MS.[2] maintained

> Etiam Graecum codicis D sermonem ab interpretatione aliqua eaque Orientali (forsan Syra) primitus pependisse, aut eiusmodi versionem in exarando hocce libro...una cum Graeco quodam antigrapho adhibitam fuisse. Nam alia ratione sumpta haud facile crediderim solvi posse cuncta, quae libri mira indoles divinationi nostrae obiicit, aenigmata.

[1] Marsh's *Michaelis*, Vol. II. part 1, p. 26.

[2] *Disputatio de Codice Cantabrigiensi*, Wratislaviae, MDCCCXXVII. p. 16.

Schulz, then, in modern language maintains that the Western Greek text, as exhibited by D, is corrected from or conflate with a Syriac copy. But he does not do more in illustration of his thesis than collect a number of readings in which D and the Peshito Syriac agree. He could scarcely get to the heart of the mystery that way.

Now, when we note these suggestions which are made in the hope of explaining Western readings, we ought to ask whether there is any promise of the obtaining of any further light in this direction, or whether, on the other hand, the idea of Syriac reaction upon Greek and Latin texts ought to be dismissed with as much confidence as we should, for example, dismiss the opinion of Kipling and Schulz that the Codex Bezae was written in Egypt, or Bengel's view that it was related to the Anglo-Saxon.

Now it seems to me that the best way to approach such an enquiry would be to examine the Codex Bezae for individual Syriasms, rather than for coincidences of reading with Syriac versions; just as we began our study of the Old Latin text by detecting some of its archaisms.

For instance, when in John xi. 14 we have *Lazar* for the translation of *Lazarus*, and note the same error in the Old Latin Cod. *a*, which perhaps derives it from the same source as *d*, we may say that there is either a Syriasm or a Hebraism in the text, and apparently on the Latin side of the house. In Luke xiii. 14 again we find *in die sabbat*, which need not be a scribe's blunder. When we find in Luke ix. 1, *και ἐξουσιαν επι πασαν δαιμονιον* we suspect that the feminine adjective is due to the Semitic; in fact the Curetonian text has in this place ܪܘܫܐ. When, again, we frequently find the scribe of D spelling *camellus* instead of the conventional form, both in Greek and in Latin, and remember that the last letter of the Hebrew גמל is a double letter, we might perhaps suspect Semitic influence; but on the other hand observe it is the spelling of the Lyons Pentateuch and of some Romance languages.

In Acts xiii. 6 we have

ΟΝΟΜΑΤΙ ΚΑΛΟΥΜΕΝΟΝ ΒΑΡΪΗϹΟΥΑ

NOMINE QVI VOCATVR BARIESVAM,

and the form of the name suggests at once a Syriasm both in the text and in the rendering. The true reading in this passage is very difficult to determine, but it seems as though some copyists had taken offence at the name *βαριησοῦς* in such a connexion and had deliberately changed it, something in the same way as the Rabbis changed Moses into Manasseh in the account of the idolatrous priest in the Old Testament; accordingly the Syriac version reads ܒܪ ܫܡܐ or *son of the Name*. In the West, however, it seems to have been held sufficient to change the common Greek form *Ἰησοῦς* to the Semitic form. There are, then, at least shadowy hints of non-primitive Syriasms.

Now let us turn to a more decisive instance:

In John xi. 54 we have

αλλα απηλθεν εις την χωρᾱ
σαμφουρειν εγγυς της ερημου εις εφραιμ λεγομενην
πολιν

SED ABIIT IN REGIONEM
SAPFVRIM IVXTA DESERTVM EFREM QVAE DICITVR
CIVITAS.

On this curious reading Dr Hort remarks as follows: "perhaps a local tradition, though the name has not been identified with any certainty. Sepphoris is apparently excluded by its geographical position."

It would be extremely interesting if tradition had here preserved the name of our Lord's brief sanctuary in a time of increasing hostility on the part of the Jewish rulers; but we are inclined to suspect that *Σαμφουρείμ* is a mere corruption from the Syriac words answering to "whose name is Ephraim"; it is easy to see how a Syriac text which contained the words

ܕܫܡܗ ܐܦܪܝܡ ܩܪܝܬܐ

could be read as "the city of Samphurim."

Nor is this a mere random conjecture; notice how artificially the word has been thrust into the text so as to lengthen the line unreasonably, so that we might call it both in appearance and in matter a conflate text. And then let us pass on to another precisely similar instance. In Ephrem's commentary on Tatian's Harmony[1] we find "Patres nostri in hoc monte adoraverunt.

[1] Ed. Moesinger, p. 142.

Haec de Jacob et filiis ejus dixit, quia in Monte Sichem aut in Bethel aut in Monte *Samgriazim* adorarunt." Ephrem is commenting upon the verse John iv. 20, and he is in some confusion as to the identification of the mountain, as to whether it be the mountain of Shechem which might mean either Ebal or Gerizim, or whether it means Bethel, or the mountain Samgriazim. Now this is a similar case to the preceding, and involves a misunderstanding of the Syriac words "whose name is Gerizim,"

ܕܫܡܗ ܓܪܙܝܡ

Of course it is possible that in either of the cases we have mentioned the letters Σαμ might be the first syllable of a lost Σαμαρία, but the concurrence in error is so peculiar that we can hardly accept such an explanation, against the simple and natural one given above.

In this last case Mar Ephrem is evidently perplexed about the name which, if his text had been quite clear, would have needed no comment; that is, he found it in the text upon which he had been working, and we have therefore to suggest that *Tatian had inserted the name of the mountain in his text.* Such a proceeding would be quite in harmony with many of his other expansions and elucidations of the Scripture. But this drives us back to the first case; for the two belong so suspiciously together that we are obliged to ask whether Σαμφουρείμ is not also a corruption of a Tatian text. And this leads us again to the wider question; has the Tatian Harmony in any way reacted on the Western text? and are any of the assimilations or conflations in D due to reflex action from this source?

In Acts xiv. 27 we have

ΑΝΗΓΓΕΙΛΟΝ ΟΣΑ Ο $\overline{\text{ΘΣ}}$ ΕΠΟΙΗΣΕΝ ΑΥΤΟΙΣ
ΜΕΤΑ ΤΩΝ ΨΥΧΩΝ ΑΥΤΩΝ,

where the reading has every appearance of conflation and is singular to our MS. The ordinary reading *ἐν αὐτοῖς* seems to have been replaced by *μετ' αὐτῶν*, which passed into the Syriac as ܥܡ ܢܦܫܬܗܘܢ for *μεθ' ἑαυτῶν*, and has come back to reside in a literal translation in the Greek text.

These are the principal traces of actual Semitism which we

find in our MS. Such as they are, *they are either the accidents of a Semitic hand* or *they are reflex actions from the Tatian Harmony.* It does not seem as though they constituted a general solution to the New Testament text riddle.

If we had not known that the MS. was French, we might possibly have urged that the use of *de* for a genetive was a form of speech to which a Semitic hand was disposed: cf. the Syriac use of the prefix ܕ. Or we might have drawn attention to the use of the prosthetic vowel which prevails in Syriac as widely as in old French (e.g. ܐܣܛܕܝܘܢ for *στάδιον*, ܐܣܛܘܐ for *στοά*, ܐܣܛܘܟܣܐ for *στοιχεῖα* and the like). But we are satisfied that where such forms occur in our MS. they are Gallicisms, even though they should occur in the Greek (as in Mark xi. 8, *ἐστιβάδας* for *στιβάδας*).

If we had not known, by examination, the extent to which the Latin had re-acted on the Greek, we should perhaps have been tempted with Kipling to scent Semitism in the recurrence and superfluity of the connective *καί*. But we see clearly that it arises from the translation of a participle and finite verb by two verbs with a conjunction, which said conjunction has a trick of returning on the Greek text. As to the instances brought forward by Michaelis and Harvey, they deserve a closer examination. Perhaps the best of them are as follows.

In Mark i. 41[1] the reading *καὶ ὀργισθεὶς ἐκτείνας τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ* is explained by a confusion between ܪܓܙ and ܪܚܡ which would give the necessary *σπλαγχνισθείς*.

We are convinced, however, that the real explanation is something much more simple; it arose out of a misunderstanding of the African Latin *motus*, which was ambiguous in its meaning. If the reader will refer to the Acts of Perpetua he will find two instances of the use of the word. In c. 3 we have

"tunc pater motus in hoc verbo"

where the corresponding Greek is *ταραχθείς*, and in c. 13

"et moti sumus et complexi illos sumus,"

[1] Marsh's *Michaelis*, II. 233.

where the Greek is σπλαγχνισθέντες. The word might be used both of *passion* and of *compassion.*

We may be sure then that the primitive Latin text was *motus,* which was misunderstood by some later readers, and a correction imported into the Greek. We have a modern instance of the very same peculiarity in Zahn's recent restoration of the text of Marcion[1]. Zahn quotes from Tertullian the following remark on Luke xiv. 21, "Hoc ut patrifamiliae renuntiatum est, motus tunc (bene quod et motus, negat enim moveri deum suum, ita et hoc [v. l. hic] meus est), mandat de plateis et vicis civitatis facere sublectionem": and having established the word *motus* for Marcion's text, which certainly looks as if Tertullian were quoting from a known Latin version, Zahn goes on to say: *also sicherlich nicht* ὀργισθείς. Accordingly he projects back an impossible κινηθείς upon Marcion's text. A beautiful but unnecessary instance of modern Latinization!

In Acts iii. 14,

ΥΜΕΙC ΔΕ ΤΟΝ ΑΓΙΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΝ
ΕΒΑΡΥΝΑΤΕ

VOS AVTEM IPSVM SANCTVM ET IVSTVM
GRABASTIS,

it is proposed to explain the reading by a change of ܟܦܝ (*negare*) to ܟܒܪ (*gravare*). The reading is an important one[2], on account of its occurrence in Irenaeus; we have already endeavoured to explain it in a previous chapter as a Latinization of a misread Greek text.

In Acts iii. 17,

ΟΤΙ ΥΜΕΙC ΜΕΝ ΚΑΤΑ ΑΓΝΟΙΑΝ ΕΠΡΑΞΑΤΕ ΠΟΝΗΡΟ
ΩCΠΕΡ ΚΑΙ ΟΙ ΑΡΧΟΝΤΕC ΥΜΩΝ

QVIA VOS
G
QVIDEM PER INORANTIAM EGISTIS INIQVITATEM
SICVT ET PRINCIPES VESTRI,

where the ἐπράξατε πονηρόν is said to be for ܥܒܕܬ ܒܝܫܬܐ, perhaps under the influence of ܥܒܕܬ ܒܝܫܬ in the next line[3]. But here too

[1] *Geschichte des Neutestamentlichen Kanons* Bd. ii. Zweite Hälfte, 1 Abtheilung, p. 478.

[2] See Harvey, *Irenaeus,* II. 55 = Mass. 194.

[3] Harvey, *Ibid.*

we have probably nothing more than a reflex action from the translation into Latin.

Many other cases may be found in Michaelis and in Harvey, but they are by no means as convincing as one has a right to expect. (Harvey's textual criticism is never of a very high order.) We cannot then say that they or we have brought forward any clear evidence of wide-spread Syriacizing in the Codex Bezae. Sporadic traces there may be, and perhaps a few Tatianisms; but not much beside. The latter form of corruption may appear not only in the use of actual readings but perhaps also in the form of harmonistic confusion.

It is undeniable that there is a great deal of harmonistic error in the Codex Bezae. The only trouble in laying such errors at any individual door lies in the fact that all Harmonists are likely to make certain combinations, and to some of them a scribe is liable who never used a Harmony in his life. We will point out a few cases of this tendency, without any desire to draw an extreme conclusion from them.

In Luke xi. 30 there is added at the end of the verse,

και καθως ϊωνας
εν τη κοιλια του κητους εγενετο
τρις ημερας και τρις νυκτας
ουτως και ο ϋιος του ανθρωπου εν τη γη.

The appendix is a somewhat rude representation of Matt. xii. 40, and can scarcely be in its primitive form, one would think. But, in any case, in Tatian the passage Matt. xii. 40 followed Luke xii. 30, as we may see by a reference to the Arabic version published by Ciasca.

In Luke xxiv. 1 we have the addition

ελογιζοντο εν εαυταις
τις αρα αποκυλισει τον λιθον.

This is, perhaps, from Mark xvi. 3, and we notice that the Arabic Harmony puts the passages together:

Luke xxiv. 1,

portantes quae paraverant
aromata;

Mark xvi. 3,

et dicebant in semetipsis
quis revolvet nobis lapidem
ab ostio monumenti.

Here D has the following of *c* and the Sahidic, and we should prefer to believe that the error had a Latin origin, so as to agree with a previously observed delinquency of this group. But, on the other hand, it may be harmonistic.

In Luke xix. 45 the text of D is very involved: he has expanded the account of the cleansing of the temple from John and Matthew; but this need not surprise us; for Tatian regards the account in John as the same as that in the Synoptics, and welds the two stories together. According to D then we have

ελθων δε εις το ιερον ηρξατο εκβαλλειν
τους πωλουντας εν αυτω και αγοραζοντας
και τας τραπεζας των κολλυβιστων
εξεχεεν και τας καθεδρας των πωλουντω
τας περιστερας...

Here we follow Luke as far as *πωλοῦντας*, where it is pretty evident that the text of Luke ended; the next words answer to Matt. xxi. 12, *καὶ ἀγοράζοντας ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ καὶ τὰς τραπέζας τῶν κολλυβιστῶν*, but here something has dropped out, probably the words *κατέστρεψεν* (from Matt.) and *ὧν τὰ κέρματα* (from John ii. 15); *ἐξέχεεν* is from John, and the rest of the passage is from Matthew.

We can now compare with the Arabic Tatian which shews

et numularios quorum aes effudit et subvertit mensas et cathedras vendentium columbas.

It is then possible that a mental or an actual reference to Tatian, or to some other Harmonist, may be the cause of the expansion of the narrative.

The case of Luke xix. 27 is somewhat more difficult: we have Matt. xxv. 30 added at the end of the verse. Now, the Arabic Tatian carefully separates the two parables of the talents and the minae; but, on the other hand, Zahn seems to think that in the primitive Tatian they formed part of one account. Accordingly he shews how the passages run together in Ephrem's Commentary and in the Homilies of Aphraates. In particular the text of Ephrem

ran thus (Moesinger, p. 218), "Talenta sua...abscondit illud... auferte ab illo talentum...sint lumbi vestri praecincti...et accensae lucernae vestrae," where the beginning is from Matt. and the end from Luke. Now, if Tatian or some earlier Harmonist really joined the passages together, as we may well believe, we need not be surprised at the added verse in Cod. D.

Other instances for study, in the line of harmonisation, will readily present themselves. We will examine one further case before leaving the point.

Let us turn to Matt. xxvii. 8; we may verify the following statement from the forms of the Tatian Harmony that have come down to us, that Tatian not merely harmonised his four Gospels, but that he also expanded them, when he thought fit, from the Acts and Epistles. One such case is this apparently double account of the death of Judas, where Tatian appended the details which he found in the Acts (ἐλάκησε μέσος), as a post-mortem experience. Thus in Ephrem's Commentary we have "abiit et se suspendit *et mortuus est*"; followed by references to Acts i. 18.

Now, when the scribe of the Bezan text copies Matt. xxvii. 8, he writes

> propter quod appellatus est ager ille • echeldemach hoc est ager sanguinis • usque in hodiernum.

The peculiar spelling of *echeldemach* shews that we have here a transposition from the first chapter of the Acts: but this would be natural enough for Tatian, first, because we know he borrows from the account in Acts; next, because he was obliged to exhibit some such form in translating the Greek χωρίον αἵματος[1].

Finally, it may be interesting to contrast the method of Tatian with that of the Western text; Tatian aims at supplementing the Gospel of Matthew from the other three: the Bezan text, which is conceivably Tatianized, makes its chief expansions in the text of Luke.

[1] I pass by the difficult question as to the form of the word: merely saying here that I believe the primitive form was חקל דמך *the sleeper's field* or κοιμητήριον, which in Galilean patois was pronounced nearly as חקל דמא.

CHAPTER XIX.

Local Origin of the Primitive Western Text of the Acts.

And now we have at last succeeded in tracking the Western corruptions to their origin. At least we have gone so far with the matter as to say that we know to what cause (viz. systematic Latinization) to attribute the major part of the variants in the Acts of the Apostles: and although there is still much to be said with regard to the variants in the Western Gospels, I think we may safely attack the question of local origins, keeping our attention chiefly on the text of the Acts, and avoiding hasty generalisations with regard to the other parts of the New Testament. We have shewn, as we believe, if the canon hold that community of reading implies community of origin, that the Old Latin texts are all from one fountain; however much they may have emended their Greek from their Latin, and translated and re-translated, they go back into a single root which we call the primitive Western bilingual. And this primitive bilingual must be very ancient. A study of its interpolations in Luke and the Acts shewed it to be a Montanist text, probably known to the Martyrs of Carthage. A study of the relations between D and the Sahidic version intimates that it passed through the hands of those persons who made the eclectic Egyptian copies and versions; this carries it back beyond the time of Origen, who may be responsible for Alexandrian textual eclecticism, and who in any case was probably one of the worst textual critics the New Testament has ever had. The coincidences between D and Irenaeus take us again to a primitive translation that cannot be as late as the end of the second century. And finally, an

examination of the relics of Tatian's Harmony and of the Syriac versions shews reason for believing that the bilingual, at least as far as concerns the Gospels, is older than Tatian[1].

But the actual determination of the local origin of the Latin text has been a problem that has hitherto defied solution; we must not even assume that the same origin will be the birthplace of the Latin Gospels and of the Latin Acts of the Apostles, nor that all the Gospels were primitively translated by the same hand and in the same place.

Now, the right way to settle such a question does not consist in citing puzzling remarks of Augustine as to the relative merits of Italian and African texts, and the superior verbal fidelity of the African rendering: these criticisms only result from Augustine's observation of discrepancy between texts current in North Africa and texts current in Italy in his own day: they are not scientific. It may be doubted whether Augustine or Jerome had the slightest idea as to where the New Testament was originally translated, or even that there was a single primitive translation. They merely saw a variety of types of Latin text around them, and they criticised them superficially and used them eclectically; Origen did much the same with the Greek texts in Alexandria.

One of the first suggestions to occur in such an enquiry as this is that we should test the various texts for Africanism. Indeed this is the only course open to those who undertake to

[1] It is pleasing to find that at this point my researches lead to the same conclusion as those of Resch. I am surprised at this, for in many points I suspect my results are fatal to some of his reasonings with regard to the uncanonical sources of the New Testament; but in the following points we seem to agree.

Resch, *Agrapha*, pp. 350, 351, "Es ist nämlich der Cod. Cantabr., oder vielmehr dessen Archetypus, mit welchem fast sämmtliche patristischen Citate, vorab sämmtliche lateinische zusammenhängen. Denn der Archetypus des Cod. D ist ohne Zweifel die Quelle der altlateinischen Versionen gewesen. Von diesen altlateinischen Versionen aber sind die lateinischen Autoren vor Hieronymus beherrscht, so namentlich Iuvencus, Hilarius, Augustinus.....Nun es ist aber ausser Zweifel, dass der Archetypus des Cod. D, welcher bis in das zweite Jahrhundert zurückzudatieren ist, auf die vornicaenischen Väter griechischer Zunge, vorab Clemens und Origenes, wie überhaupt auf die Alexandriner, grossen Einfluss ausgeübt hat, dass er aber auch mit Tatian sich berührt, folglich bis in Iustins Zeiten seine Spuren zurückverfolgen lässt. Thatsächlich schrumpft also die grösste Zahl der griechischen und lateinischen Parallelcitate beinahe auf einen einzigen Hauptzeugen zusammen, welcher in einem Archetypus des Cod. D zu erkennen ist."

prove that the primitive text is African. It is not enough for them to say, as they do, that Tertullian evidently knew of a translation of the New Testament: for the underlying assumption that this translation could only have been made shortly before Tertullian used it is not verifiable, and indeed it is probably far from the truth. The search for individual Africanisms has not, however, been a very successful thing. Some persons deny altogether the existence of an African dialect distinct from the Vulgar-Latin. But such a position is hardly a tenable one: it is surely impossible that the Latin spoken in a Punic country should shew no variations of style or matter from the Latin spoken amongst the Celts or the Lombards.

The best investigation of the subject is that made by Sittl[1], who goes straight to the inscriptions for the peculiar forms of speech, and tests the literature by the inscriptions. But Sittl could find no satisfactory catalogue of Africanisms in the Old Latin texts, and while he admitted the substantial Africanism of some parts of the Latin Old Testament, and believed in the existence of a special version associated with Tertullian, he concluded that the so-called Italic version had its origin and home not in Africa but in Italy. He further conjectured that, if it had arisen in Rome, Augustine would have called it Romana and not Itala; and suggested some smaller Italian city—say Naples—as the centre of emanation of Latin texts. But, as we have already intimated, Augustine was not likely to know anything in the world about the primitive *habitat* of texts, so that this suggestion of Sittl is valueless.

On the whole we must admit that no very definite conclusions have as yet been reached, and I propose to begin the examination *de novo*, not with the hope of resolving the whole of the ambiguities of the ancient Western textual history, but because it is only by trying patiently to solve a part of the problem by a new examination, that the way can be made for some one else to solve the remaining part.

Let us begin then with the Western text of the Acts of the Apostles, and confine our attention for the present to that. When we say that it is an early text, and that it is a Montanizing

[1] *Die lokalen Verschiedenheiten der lateinischen Sprache*, Erlangen, 1882.

text and a Latinizing text, there is nothing decisive as to locality about either of these statements: but we cannot be far wrong in adding that this practically shuts us up, in seeking for the centre of textual distribution, to the three cities, Rome, Lyons and Carthage: because all these Churches have a strong Latin element, and all of them Montanize, the order of intensity being probably Carthage, Lyons, Rome: each city furnishing one noted teacher at least, who was tinctured more or less completely with the Montanist ideas, viz.: Tertullian, Hermas, and Irenaeus, the order of intensity being that of the names[1]. But before we can get any further, we must examine the data of the case more closely.

We must not assume that these Montanist glosses are coeval or collocal with the primitive bilingual; but we may begin by saying that their distribution textually is very wide, and they must, *as a body of glosses*, be very early. Here we part company from Dr Salmon, who remarks that he has "found reason, on investigating the history of Montanism, which clearly is combated in the Muratorian fragment, to think that it did not make its appearance in the West until a little after the year 200[2]!"

If a single one of the group of Montanist glosses be traced in the text of Tertullian, and another in the text of Irenaeus, it would be enough to prove that the Montanist edition of the Acts was much earlier than the year 200, and what becomes then of the theory of third-century Western Montanism? The fact is that neither the history nor the character of Montanism is as yet properly understood; the eyes of even judicious critics having been dimmed through a long heredity of heresy-hunting. But, when we once realize the fundamental spiritual aims of Montanism (instead of merely treating it as an outward division of the Church), however much such aims may be liable to fanatical extravagance, a number of difficulties become clear to us in the history and discipline of the Church, to say nothing of the illumination thrown upon the text of the Codex Bezae. Every verse of the Old Testament, or of the New, which treats of the descent of the spirit of prophecy is a hinge in the Montanist system. If

[1] We may limit the Montanism of Irenaeus to the earlier years of his life.

[2] *Introd. to New Test.* p. 62.

they read in the Old Testament that the Sophia enters into holy souls in all ages and makes them friends of God and prophets, this magnificent statement is the reason why S. Priscilla says that Christ appeared to her in female form and imparted to her the Sophia[1]. The passage in the book of Wisdom is seen to be a key-text, and so, when the Montanist glossator comes to the statement in the Acts that the opposers could not resist the wisdom that was in Stephen, he felt constrained to add a few remarks about the Sophia, which, as an imparted principle, dwelt in Stephen. We must also have a regard to Montanist proof-texts in the New Testament: for here one of the fundamental texts is John xvi. 8, "The Paraclete shall convince the world." That is why the gloss in Acts vi. 10 adds the words "since they were convinced by Him," meaning the Holy Spirit, and not Stephen; "quoniam probatur illis ab illo." So that a study of a system of glosses like these in the Acts furnishes us with what we may call the quintessence of the Montanist theology.

No less light is thrown by the same study upon the difficult questions of textual criticism. Let us give a single illustration: the case of the famous interpolation (or omission) in John vii. 53—viii. 11. Dr Hort thinks that "few in ancient times, there is reason to think, would have found the section a stumbling-block except *Montanists* and Novatians[2]."

Evidently Dr Hort did not think that Montanist tampering with the text amounted to much; we on the contrary have found reason to believe that it was a very far-reaching influence: and that in the present instance the Montanist Churches either did not receive this addition to the text, or else they are responsible for its omission; but at the same time it can be shewn that they knew the passage perfectly well in the West; for the Latin glossator of the Acts has borrowed a few words from the section in Acts v. 18,

ΚΑΙ ΕΠΟΡΕΥΘΗ ΕΙC ΕΚΑCΤΟC ΕΙC ΤΑ ΙΔΙΑ
ET ABIERVNT VNVSQVISQVE IN DOMICILIA[3].

[1] Cf. Origen, *Homil. in Jerem.* xiv. 5, *τίς δὲ γεννᾷ προφήτας; ἡ σοφία τοῦ θεοῦ· ἔλεγεν οὖν τό· Οἴμοι ἐγὼ μήτηρ, ὡς τίνα με ἔτεκες, ὦ σοφία;*

[2] *Introd. Notes on Select Readings*, p. 86.

[3] The origin of the gloss is confirmed by the words added a little lower down

I think it may be safely said that *more than forty* of the troublesome glosses in the Acts of the Apostles can be set down with a confidence that borders closely on certainty to the hand of the Latin Montanist referred to above. And nothing can be more important for the acquiring of right views with regard to the genesis of New Testament readings than such a fact as this. For the attestation of such a group of readings is demonstrably capable of combination and can be replaced by a single factor; and the evidence of this single factor, when it stands by itself, is of the nature of a proved corruption.

The reader will be interested to work this point out for himself, and he will be surprised to find the power of this Montanised copy: he will find its influence in almost all Latin texts and fathers; he will trace it in Cod. E, which is probably a direct descendant of Codex Bezae, and in a stray cursive or two; he will find it in the Sahidic and Ethiopic versions, shewing that it passed to Alexandria; in the margin of the later Syriac, which represents a Greek MS. which Thomas of Heraclea consulted in Alexandria; and probably in the Syriac text itself, perhaps in both of its recensions, though this is a point which may require more examination. It will not, however, be found in the Great Uncials, nor in the ordinary Greek texts and fathers. Wide as its scope is, this text and its descendants are not universal in their influence. The lines on which it moves can be marked out, the areas over which it is current can be shaded in. And if this explanation be a correct one for the diffusion of the single group of readings referred to, then it is a *vera causa* for similar textual phenomena; and we say unhesitatingly that *the occurrence of a given reading in*

in the text; viz. ἐγερθεντες το πρωι, which is an adaptation of John viii. 1. The man who made this addition not only knew the Gospel of John, but knew it in its (supposed) interpolated form. Moreover, it looks as though the interpolation was made from the Latin side. Thus our body of glosses furnishes important evidence for the *antiquity* of the doubtful section.

Those who are interested in this particular subject will find that the semi-Montanist Hermas knows the disputed section; for in the fourth Mandate, Hermas discusses the problem of the woman who has been convicted of adultery, and the duties of the husband and wife are laid down by the Shepherd, who finally sums up his teaching by the words, οὐ δίδωμι ἀφορμὴν ἵνα αὕτη ἡ πρᾶξις οὕτως συντελῆται, ἀλλὰ εἰς τὸ μηκέτι ἁμαρτάνειν τὸν ἡμαρτηκότα. The disputed section was therefore known in Rome and to Hermas.

Western texts and in the main body of the versions is no proof at all that the reading did not originate in Rome, or even Carthage, but rather is a suggestion to the contrary.

We have only dealt hitherto with those glosses and changes which may be considered to be demonstrably Montanistic; it is probable that a number of the remaining textual excentricities in the Acts may have to be set down to the same cause; for it is extremely unlikely that we should always have been able to detect the glossator at his work, or that his corrections should always have been so highly coloured as to be capable of immediate identification. In any case, it can be proved that a number of the remaining glosses are from a Latin hand, whether contemporaneous with the former or not. For example, the first four glosses in the Acts are as follows:

Acts i. 2 et praecepit praedicare evangelium [lux: sah: Aug: Vig.Taps.].
i. 4 de ore meo [lux: aeth: Aug: Hil.].
i. 5 et eum accipere habetis [tol: Aug: Hil: Max.Taur.].
i. 5 usque ad pentecosten [sah: Aug.].

Of these the first, third and fourth belong to the Latin Montanized edition. What of the second? Its attestation shews it to be as decidedly Latin as the first or third or fourth; in its nature it is evidently the mere paraphrase of a translator: we may conclude then that it is a Latin gloss: whether it be by the Montanist hand or not, we can scarcely venture to say dogmatically; but the attestation agrees very well with such a supposition.

This belief in the fundamental Latinity of many of the eccentric Bezan readings is confirmed in another way: just as we were able to prove the Montanist glossator to be a Latin by the fact of the repetition of a clause of his text in the same Latin but in a different Greek dress, so we can argue for a number of readings in which the glosses in the Bezan text appear in a different Greek form elsewhere, as for instance in the Codex Laudianus.

For example, in Acts ii. 13 the Latin gloss appears as *in iudicium* in *e* and in the Latin of Irenaeus, and in the equivalent *in iudicio* of *d*; but the Greek in Codices DE is different; εἰς κρίσιν D; εἰς κριτήριον E. Hence we see that the reading must be primitively Latin; and we shall probably be not far from the

mark when we say that Codex E is the resultant of two texts; one a Greek text, and the other the detached Latin of a bilingual.

Another good example is Acts v. 15, where we have

D ἀπηλλάσσοντο γὰρ ἀπὸ πάσης ἀσθενίας
ὡς εἶχεν ἕκαστος αὐτῶν.

E καὶ ῥυσθῶσιν ἀπὸ πάσης ἀσθενίας
ἧς εἶχεν.

d et liberabantur ab omnem valetudinem
quem habebant unusquisque eorum.

e et liberarentur ab omni valetudine
quam habebant.

Here again it is clear that the Greek of E is a reformed rendering of what is substantially the same Latin as in the Bezan Codex.

Or we may examine Acts v. 38, where E has changed the μιάναντες τὰς χεῖρας = non coinquinatas manus of D into μολύνοντες τὰς χεῖρας = non coinquinantes manus. But this case is probably a part of a Montanist gloss which we have already discussed; so that we are the more sure here of the priority of the Latin.

It will be seen then by what precedes that the Latin origin of others of the glosses in the Acts, besides those which are more definitely Montanistic, can be clearly established [1].

[1] The reasoning as to the fundamental Latinity of the Western text will apply also to those places in the Acts where the evidence of D, or of D and E, is not forthcoming, but where the attestation has otherwise the same constituents.

For example, when we find in Acts xxvii. 15 after ἐπιδόντες the addition τῷ πλέοντι καὶ συστείλαντες τὰ ἱστία, we should handle the reading in the following manner. First, we note the curious form πλέοντι for πνέοντι, which we recognize to be the Bezan form from Luke xii. 55 (καὶ ὅταν νότον πλέοντα). It stands, therefore, as the equivalent for the Latin *flanti*, and the three Greek MSS. 44, 112, 137, which testify in favour of πλέοντι, may be assumed to have taken it from the same source, namely the glossed bilingual.

So much for the Greek spelling, which intimates a single Western copy, of the Bezan type. Tischendorf points out that the evidence of the Heraclean Syriac is for a text *flanti et collegimus artemonem*. Here again the combination of authorities is undoubtedly Western; but it cannot be the earliest form of the gloss, for *flanti* without a substantive makes no sense. It must therefore be a corruption for *flatui* (FLANTI = FLATVI). Accordingly we find in Bede the note "Haec alia translatio manifestius edidit: et arrepta navi cum non possent occurrere vento, commodata navi *flatibus* colligere vela coeperunt." The Greek text is therefore a literal trans-

With the view of confirming the reader's belief in the fundamental Latinity of these glosses, we will now draw attention to the remarkable results which follow from this analysis of the Latinizing factors, by turning to the passage Acts xiii. 12,

ΙΔΩΝ ΔΕ Ο ΑΝΘΥΠΑΤΟC
ΤΟ ΓΕΓΟΝΟC ΕΘΑΥΜΑCΕΝ
ΚΑΙ ΕΠΙCΤΕΥCΕΝ ΤΩ ΘΩ
ΕΚΠΛΗCCOΜΕΝΟC ΕΠΙ ΤΗ ΔΙΔΑΧΗ ΤΟΥ ΚΥ

TVNC CVM VIDISSET PROCONSVL
QVOD FACTVM EST MIRATVS EST
ET CREDIDIT IN DO
STVPENS SVPER DOCTRINA DNI.

First remark that the words *ἐθαύμασεν καὶ* and *τῷ θεῷ* are glosses. The latter is an obvious translator's expansion and presents no difficulty. But the former is more obscure. Following the line of our previous experience with the glossed text, we suspect that we have here a double translation (or else an African pleonasm) in the rendering of *ἐκπλησσόμενος* by *miratus est* and *stupens*. If this be the true explanation we shall probably be able to support it by similar usage elsewhere. Let us turn to the Codex Bezae in Matt. xix. 25: here we have

ΑΚΟΥCΑΝΤΕC ΔΕ ΟΙ ΜΑΘΗΤΑΙ ΕΞΕΠΛΗCCΟΝΤΟ
ΚΑΙ ΕΦΟΒΗΘΗCΑΝ CΦΟΔΡΑ ΛΕΓΟΝΤΕC

AVDIENTES AVTEM DISCIPVLI STVPEBANT
ET TIMVERVNT VALDE DICENTES.

lation of a misread Latin gloss. Other cases of the same kind can no doubt be given.

If the reader is interested in tracing the glosses to their common origin, he is advised to fix his attention closely on the pair of companion MSS. D and E, and to study their glosses side by side, as shewn above in our text. Another pretty case of the same phenomenon will be found in Acts xiv. 7, where D has

ΚΑΙ ΕΚΕΙΝΗΘΗ ΟΛΟΝ ΤΟ ΠΛΗΘΟC ΕΠΙ ΤΗ ΔΙΔΑΧΗ
Ο ΔΕ ΠΑΥΛΟC ΚΑΙ ΒΑΡΝΑΒΑC
ΔΙΕΤΡΙΒΟΝ ΕΝ ΛΥCΤΡΟΙC

ET COMMOTA EST OMNIS MVLTITVDO IN DOCTRINIS
PAVLVS AVTEM ET BARNABAS
MORAS FACIEBANT IN LYSTRIS.

E reads *τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ· καὶ ἐξεπλήσσετο πᾶσα ἡ πολυπληθία ἐπὶ τῇ διδαχῇ αὐτῶν· ὁ δὲ Παῦλος καὶ Βαρνάβας διέτριβον ἐν Λύστροις*, while his Latin is practically the same as that of D.

Now here the same verb ἐκπλήττομαι turns up, and again we have a gloss in the Greek text, viz. the word ἐφοβήθησαν. Evidently it is a case of double translation agreeing almost verbatim with the former case; and it is certain that the primitive Latin rendering was pleonastic, for on turning to Cod. Vercellensis we have *mirabantur et timebant*, and so in Cod. Veronensis: other Old Latin texts shew the same pleonasm, though some reduce it back to a single term, no doubt by omission of the alternative rendering.

But if this reasoning be correct, since the pleonastic translation is found in D *a b c e ff*² *g*² it must be a part of the primitive rendering of the text of Matthew. And this arouses our suspicions that the original rendering in Matthew and the translation of the Acts are by the same hand; and that the particular gloss in the Acts of which we are speaking is due to the first translator.

Nor is this all: for the gloss in Matthew found its way into the text of the Curetonian Syriac, which gives

ܐܬܡܗܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܘܕܚܠܝܢ ܛܒ

So that we suspect that the Curetonian text was made from a Latinized copy. Moreover it is included in the preceding that the whole of the translation into Latin of the Gospels and Acts (more exactly, Matthew and Acts) is earlier than the Curetonian Syriac[1].

There are doubtless many other cases of these pleonastic translations in the Gospels (as distinct from conflations), and we can sometimes detect them by noticing that separate Latin copies take up detached parts of an extant pleonastic rendering. For instance, if we find in Codex Bezae the form *possessionem heredetatis* for κληρονομίαν (as in Acts vii. 5), we may be pretty sure that Cod. E which is related to D will drop one or other of the words, and, as a matter of fact, on turning to the Codex we find that he contents himself with *hereditatem*. No doubt there is much to be done in the study of the parallel Latin versions, with a view to the detection of the pleonasms and barbarisms of the first rendering. The foregoing instance is given, as has been said, merely as a suggestion of the right method of procedure, and of the results

[1] The Arabic Tatian in the parallel passage Mark x. 26 shews a similar rendering of ἐξεπλήσσοντο, *admirabantur...iam timidi.*

that will follow. For the present, however, all that we need to deduce from the study of the case with which we started is that it furnishes no exception to the theory that the major part of the glosses in the Greek text of the Acts are primitively Latin glosses.

One other remarkable case of Latin glossing shall be given, before we plunge deeper into the question of local and temporal origins for the Latin text of the Acts; it is the gloss in Acts xii. 10:

et cum exissent descenderunt septem grados
et processerunt gradum unum.

I must confess that there are few things that have so deceived me in the Bezan text as this gloss about the seven steps of the prison at Jerusalem has done. Its innocent touch of originality had almost led me to join Bornemann in his worship of the Western idol. But we are saved by the study of other passages, from which we have learned that we must not expect in such a text to find the footprints of a commentator who had been in the prison at Jerusalem and had counted the steps as he came out. And knowing, as we do, that in one passage at least, and probably in a number of others, in the Gospel of Luke the text has Homerized, we see our way to explain the perplexing interpolation. First, we fix our minds upon the Latin text, which is clearly not the same as the Greek. On the hypothesis that the Greek is a rendering of the Latin, we need not assume that it was necessary to write *τοὺς ζ' βαθμούς*: it will be sufficient to translate *septem gradus* without the article; 'they (Peter and the angel) came down seven steps and went on one step.' The writer is imitating Poseidon's descent from the mountains of Thrace (*Iliad* xiii. 17),

Αὐτίκα δ' ἐξ ὄρεος κατεβήσετο παιπαλόεντος
Κραιπνὰ ποσὶ προβιβάς, τρέμε δ' οὔρεα μακρὰ καὶ ὕλη,
Τρὶς μὲν ὀρέξατ' ἰών, τὸ δὲ τέτρατον ἵκετο τέκμωρ.

And just as Poseidon makes his descent with a hop, skip and jump from Samos to Aegae, so rapidly does the angel carry Peter from the middle of the prison into the heart of the city. Notice the concurrence of the language,

κατεβήσετο = descenderunt = *κατέβησαν.*
προβιβάς = processerunt = *προσῆλθαν.*

The change in the numbers, from three steps and a step to seven steps and a step, is suggestive of metrical exigency, just as we found in the passage borrowed from the story of Polyphemus, where twenty carts had replaced the two and twenty carts of Homer, in order to make a Latin hexameter. We may suspect then that here the same hand has been at work as we detected in the Gospel of Luke[1]. It is a case of the use of a Latin metrical

[1] It may be asked, what was it that provoked Homerization of the passage in the first instance? In the Polyphemus passage it is the cave and the great stone; but what was the motive here? I am inclined to believe that the first thing which drew the attention of the annotator was the abrupt introduction of the *ἄγγελος Κυρίου*. To one accustomed to pagan literature this would easily recall Hermes; and that the writer did make the mental connection with the winged herald of the gods, will be seen from the fact that he immediately alters the text from *πατάξας τὴν πλευρὰν τοῦ Πέτρου* to *νύξας δὲ κτέ* (=pungens autem latus Petri). In other words the *ἄγγελος* wakes Peter by a thrust of his wand and not by a stroke of his hand. Readers of Homer will recall at once the conventional description of the *ἄγγελος*.

εἵλετο δὲ ῥάβδον, τῇ τ' ἀνδρῶν ὄμματα θέλγει
ὧν ἐθέλει, τοὺς δ' αὖτε καὶ ὑπνώοντας ἐγείρει·
τὴν μετὰ χερσὶν ἔχων πέτετο κρατὺς Ἀργειφόντης.

(*Il.* xxiv. 343.)
(*Od.* v. 47.)

This explains the perplexing *νύξας*, of which I. D. Michaelis rightly said in his *Curae in Versionem Syriacam*, p. 107, "Hic sine dubio ex latinizante codice corruptus est Syrus. Cum enim solus Cantabrigiensis legat *νύξας*, *pungens*, quam lectionem ex latinis patribus Lucifer Calaritanus expressit, Syrus habet ܕܩܪܗ = *pupugit illum* atque ex ipso olim expresserat Arabs." Strange to say, Lagarde seems to have accepted *νύξας* as the primitive reading!

Returning to our commentator, the next thing that would strike him would be the directions given by the *ἄγγελος κυρίου* to Peter; *calcia te calciamenta* again suggests Homer, and the idea that Peter and the angel are going to fly through the air: we have only to recall the description given by Homer of the flights of Pallas and Hermes:

αὐτίκ' ἔπειθ' ὑπὸ ποσσὶν ἐδήσατο καλὰ πέδιλα
ἀμβρόσια, χρύσεια, τά μιν φέρον ἠμὲν ἐφ' ὑγρὴν
ἠδ' ἐπ' ἀπείρονα γαῖαν ἅμα πνοιῇς ἀνέμοιο.

The escape of Peter was then a genuine flight, in which he was assisted (i) by the presence of the angel, (ii) by the use of his sandals. We are thus able to explain all the perplexing corruptions in the passage. They are due to a Homerizing Latin scribe.

text of the New Testament, or of glosses from a Latin translation of Homer. In any case, I think we may feel some confidence in the theory which asserts the priority of the Latin glosses over their Greek conjugates.

But ought we not to go one step further, though I can well imagine some one suggesting that the steps already taken are sufficiently Olympic, and may we not in the final stride perhaps touch the goal? The writer who inserted that picture of a flight from prison into the city lived in a place where the prison was high above the city, and overlooked it: how else could he have used the word *κατέβη* or thought of Poseidon's descent from Olympus? He must have been in some city where people went up when they were committed to prison, and came down when they recovered their freedom. Such a case as that of S. Perpetua at Carthage suits the description, where the prison was on the Byrsa, hundreds of feet above the town, so that Perpetua describes the visit of her father to her in the words 'de civitate...ascendit ad me.' The suggestion, then, arises that perhaps the glossator in question was a Carthaginian. So we are brought back again to the question of the African origin of the Western text, and we must proceed to test for Africanisms, to the best of our limited ability.

Bearing in mind, then, the fundamental Latinity of nine tenths of the Western readings, let us turn to the gloss in Acts xv. 11,

> CYNKATATEΘEMENΩN ΔE TΩN ΠPECBYTEPΩN
> TOIC YΠO TOY ΠETPOY EIPHMENOIC
>
> DESPONENTES AVTEM PRESBYTEROS
> QVAE A PETRO DICEBANTVR.

Here the Latin shews the remarkable feature of the accusative absolute instead of the ablative absolute. Now there is some reason to believe this usage to be an Africanism: the Corpus Inscriptionum shews eight cases of the peculiarity amongst the African inscriptions; and I see that Haussleiter in his tract on the Versions of Hermas[1] maintains that this is the most certain of Africanisms: "in certissimis Africae testimoniis numerandam esse puto miram accusativi absoluti pro ablativo absoluto

[1] *De versionibus Pastoris Hermae Latinis*, p. 44.

positi constructionem; quam, si inscriptionum latinarum volumina adhuc iuris publici facta perlustres, nusquam nisi in titulis Africis animadvertes. Ut legimus in titulo publico c. a. 290 (nr. 8924) (Aurelius Litua), qui...rebelles caesos, multos etiam et vivos adprehensos sed et praedas actas, repressa desperatione eorum victoriam reportaverit." Haussleiter is using the point in proof of his thesis of the Africanism of the Palatine Version of Hermas: and if his argument be a correct one, we must apply it to the case which we are discussing: let us see then whether there are any other cases of the kind, excluding of course such as arise from the intrusion or extrusion of a silent final *m*[1].

In Acts xx. 12 we find the gloss

ΑCΠΑΖΟΜΕΝΩΝ ΔΕ ΑΥΤΩΝ
SALVTANTES AVTE[M E]OS,

which is another case of the same kind.

It may be urged that *salutantes* here is not really an accusative but a nominative, as is shewn by the following line

ADDVXERVNT IVVENEM VIVENTEM,

but we must remember that it has been rendered into Greek from the Latin as a genetive absolute, which is somewhat of a presumption in favour of the opinion that it was meant for an accusative.

In Acts v. 38 we have the curious gloss

ΜΗ ΜΙΑΝΑΝΤΕC ΤΑC ΧΕΙΡΑC
NON COINQVINATAS MANVS.

Here again the Latin text has suspiciously the appearance of an accusative absolute, though the Greek has rendered as if it read *coinquinantes*, which we should certainly have expected. Further, we have in Acts xiv. 19,

MORAS FACIENTES EOS ET DOCENTES

as the equivalent of a Greek genetive absolute.

Here then we have two clear cases, and two doubtful cases, of accusative absolute on the part of the translator or glossator; and this certainly invites the hypothesis that we have definite

[1] e.g. Acts ii. 33, pollicitationem $\overline{sps}$ sancti accepta.

traces of Africanism. Let us see whether there are any other cases in the rest of the text.

Acts iii. 7 is doubtful

et adpraehensum eum dextera manu suscitabit.

A more likely instance is Acts xvi. 37

anetios caesos nos publice
indemnatos homines
romanos ciues miserunt in carcerem,

but even this is not perfectly conclusive. It is conceivable that the same idea of the equivalence of the accusative and ablative when used absolutely is responsible for the rendering in Acts xix. 29, where we have

macedonibus comitibus pauli,

as a rendering of

Μακεδόνας συνεκδήμους Παύλου.

But it must be admitted that we have a very decided suggestion of the existence in the Acts of the supposed African accusative absolute, especially in the glosses.

Possibly the Gospels may furnish us with some cases: e.g. there is John xii. 37,

ΤΟCΑΥΤΑ ΔΕ ΑΥΤΟΥ CΗΜΙΑ ΠΕΠΟΙΗΚΟΤΟC
TANTA AVTEM AB ILLO SIGNA FACTA,

which looks extremely like the accusative absolute

Again, in Matt. xvii. 9,

ET DESCENDENTES DE MONTE
PRAECEPIT EIS DICENS IHS,

where *descendentes* is the equivalent of καταβαινόντων αὐτῶν, but the Greek text has been corrected back from the Latin so as only to shew καταβαίνοντες[1].

[1] In the nature of the case such forms would rapidly be eliminated; and perhaps we ought to be surprised that there are so many traces of them left. Sometimes we may find the accusative absolute in the very article of death and disappearance. A case may be taken in Acts xiv. 20, where I feel pretty confident that the detached nominative absolute

CIRCVMEVNTES ENIM DISCIPVLI EIVS

is a correction for an accusative. Here, too, the reader will find his Greek text coloured.

We must not, however, put more weight than it will bear on the theory of the Africanism of the accusative absolute. If Haussleiter's criterion is a correct one, it is so for the first centuries of the era. Later on we find cases of it in Merovingian documents, as Diez shews (*Gramm. der Rom. Sprächen,* III. 267). But most of the cases given by Diez are cases where there is no longer any distinction between accusative and ablative, the *m* of the accusative not being sonant: e.g. *adprehensum unum rusticum de civitate acceptum ab eo pacis praetium,* etc. More important are two instances from Bréquigny's *Diplomata* dated in 543 (*illas inspectas*), and in 712 (*inspectas ipsas praeceptiones*): but these seem to be legal formulæ, and so are not perhaps to be judged by grammatical standards. Our position is this, that the Old Latin texts of the New Testament shew primitive traces of the use of the accusative absolute, and that there is reason to believe the early accusative absolute to be African.

It is interesting to observe how near Middleton came to detecting this Latin accusative absolute in Codex Bezae: for he says (*Greek Article,* p. 480), "ἐξελθόντα (in Mark xi. 12) appears to me to be here purposely employed in the sense of a Genitive absolute, and the following passage is similar in a degree which can hardly be imputed to accident: in Luke ix. 37...if κατελθόντα αὐτὸν do not mean *quum descendisset* I can make nothing of the place... no critic, I presume, will wish to regard them as examples of the elegant attic accusative absolute."

Let us turn to the other peculiarities which are supposed to characterize the African dialect.

Of these the most striking is the so-called *tumor Africanus;* which consists in the conjunction of a substantive with a synonymous genetive (e.g. avaritiae cupido, feritatis crudelitas, etc.[1]).

Let us see whether any of these are found in our texts. We naturally suppose that in a literal translation they will hardly occur; and moreover, if they do occur, the reviser who equalizes the Greek and Latin texts by the law of numerical justice, will probably excise them. But let us, at all events, examine the matter: for we may find traces of the original rendering.

[1] For examples, cf. Sittl, p. 93.

Acts vi. 5,

et non dedit ei possessionem heredetatis in ea,

where the single Greek word *κληρονομίαν* is rendered by the double expression in Latin. And we may also note the double translation *hereditate possidete* in Matt. xxv. 34.

It is quite possible that this mannerism is at the root of the perplexing reading in Acts vii. 46, where we have

et petiit tabernaculum inuenire
sedes domui iacob.

Here we have a double rendering of *σκήνωμα*, and the second rendering is itself a double translation and is African, for *domui* is a genetive formation in the vulgar Latin (e.g. Luke ix. 55, nescitis cuius *spiritui* estis; Mark iii. 17, quod est filius *tonitrui*). But if such a rendering had ever stood in the text, it was almost certain to appear in the Greek as *τῷ οἴκῳ*; and this is actually found (horresco referens!) in ℵBH as well as in Codex D.

Possibly we might apply the same method to Acts xiii. 15,

ΑΝΔΡΕC ΑΔΕΛΦΟΙ ΕΙ ΤΙC ΕCΤΙΝ ΛΟΓΟΥ CΟΦΙΑC
VIRI FRATRES SI QVIS EST SERMO ET INTELLECTVS.

Here the original Greek is certainly λόγος, without *σοφίας*; and one of two things has happened; either λόγος has been rendered by a double translation *sermo et intellectus*, which would thus contain the two possible meanings of λόγος; or else *sermo intellectus* is a pleonastic translation of λόγος, which would explain how the genetive *σοφίας* crept in, if we allow for a subsequent corruption of λόγος. But the first explanation may seem to many persons the more natural one.

In xix. 9 we have

ΕΝΩΠΙΟΝ ΤΟΥ ΠΛΗΘΟΥC
IN CONSPECTV MVLTITVDINIS GENTIVM,

and a subsequent insertion of ΤΩΝ ΕΘΝΩΝ in the Greek: but here the double genetive may conceivably, though I do not believe it, be nothing more than a conflation of two separate translations.

Acts xx. 19,

ΜΕΤΑ ΠΑCΗC ΤΑΠΕΙΝΟΦΡΟCΥΝΗC
CVM OMNI HVMILITATI SENSVI,

where *sensui* is a genetive, is somewhat more like the African pleonastic usage, but, inasmuch as the two words are not equivalent, and both of them underlie the Greek, it would hardly be fair to call it a case of *tumor Africanus*. But, taking all the cases together, I think we have suggestions of something more than conflation. The same suspicion of African pleonasm is aroused in the text of the Gospels.

An interesting case, but again not a conclusive one, will be found in Mark ii. 5,

ΜΕΤ ΟΡΓΗC CΥΝΛΥΠΟΥΜΕΝΟC
CVM IRA INDIGNATIONIS,

where a word seems to have dropped after *indignationis*, in which case we should have a double rendering, in true African style, of *ὀργῆς*.

So in Luke xvi. 24, we have *τῇ φλογὶ ταύτῃ* rendered by *in ustione ignis hujus*.

In Mark vi. 43,

ΚΑΙ ΗΡΑΝ ΚΛΑCΜΑΤΩΝ
ΙΒ̄ • ΚΟΦΙΝΟΥC ΠΛΗΡΕΙC
ET SVSTVLERVNT FRAGMENTORVM
XII • COFINOS PLENOS.

Here, as we may see by reference to the other Old Latin texts (*a f ff*^{2} *g*^{1} *g*^{2} *i l*), the original *κλάσματα* was translated by *reliquias fragmentorum*. Our text erases the first word (as also do *b c q*) and then changes the Greek of the second.

Other forms of pleonasm are current in African writers, such as the use of a synonymous adjective with a substantive, or of synonymous substantives or adjectives with no conjunction. In examining such cases in the Codex Bezae, the same uncertainty attaches to the matter as we have pointed out above; we are not able without a close study of documents to distinguish a pleonasm from a conflate translation. We shall content ourselves with pointing out a few scattered instances in the MS., leaving the reader to draw the conclusion.

John xvii. 23,

ΪΝΑ ΩCΙΝ ΤΕΤΕΛΙΩΜΕΝΟΙ
VT SINT PERFECTI CONSVMMATI.

John v. 2,

ΕΝ ΤΗ ΠΡΟΒΑΤΙΚΗ ΚΟΛΥΜΒΗΘΡΑ
IN NATATORIA PISCINA,

where a word seems to have been dropped before *natatoria.* (Cf. *Actus Petri cum Simone* c. xiii. *piscinae adjacenti natatoriae.*)

Luke xx. 24,

figuram cuius habet imaginem et superinscriptionem.

Mark x. 18,

nisi solus unus deus,

where the pleonasm has coloured the Greek.

Luke viii. 8,

cecidit super terram bonam et uberam,

which goes back into the Greek as

ἔπεσεν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν καλὴν καὶ ἀγαθήν,

where *ἀγαθήν* is usually said to result from assimilation to the parallel gospels.

In Mark vi. 51 we have an original text *καὶ λίαν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς* rendered by *et plus magis inter se,* and the effect of the pleonasm is to throw back an additional *περισσῶς* on the Greek text. In the Bezan text we find only *περισσῶς* extant; in ℵBLΔ we have *λίαν* only, which seems to be the original reading, but the Latin texts keep the pleonasm with much constancy (cf. *a f* g^1 g^2 *i q* which read *plus magis,* and *e* which has *magis plus*). But perhaps the best proof of the correctness of this theory of pleonastic African renderings with subsequent reflexion on the Greek text, will be to take a case which has hitherto baffled all explanation, and to indicate the progressive degeneration of the Western text.

Few passages have caused me so much perplexity as Luke xiii. 8,

ΣΚΑΨΩ ΠΕΡΙ ΑΥΤΗΝ ΚΑΙ ΒΑΛΩ ΚΟΦΙΝΟΝ
ΚΟΠΡΙΩΝ
FODIAM CIRCA ILLAM ET MITTAM QVALVM
STERCORIS.

The word used by D (*qualum*) means a wicker-basket, and has

been changed in the other Western texts into *cofinum* agreeably to the Greek in Cod. Bezae; thus we find

cofinum stercoris

in *a b c f ff*^{2} *i l* and *q*.

Now in such cases, if the Bezan Latin shews a different word from the other Latin codices, it will generally be found that the Bezan word is the older form; but how in the present case are we to explain either of the forms? We suspect, by long experience, that *κόφινον* in the Greek is merely a reflexion from the Latin, but why should the Western translator render *κόπρια* by *qualum stercoris?*

The answer is that he used the pleonastic form

squalem stercoris,

and the word *squalem* early became corrupted into *qualum*[1].

Another verification of the theory may be found in the fact that where the primitive Latin rendering is suspected to be pleonastic we find the oldest Latin texts divide on the reading, one half of the reading being preserved in one group of texts and the other half of the reading being preserved in another; so that, while at first sight it seems as if we had two independent translations, a closer examination shews the *disjecta membra* of a single rendering. A good instance for study will be found in the translations of *κληρονομέω*, *κληρονομία*. In Matt. v. 4 we have in *d hereditabunt*, and in *b possidebunt*, while the original pleonasm is preserved in *a, hereditate possidebunt*. Or take the case of Mark x. 22, where an original translation of *κτήματα* in the sense of 'real and personal estate' appears in the versions as follows: *b* has *multas pecunias et agros; k* the nearly equivalent *multas divitias et agros;* while *d* only shews *multas pecunias*, but has in its Greek a reflected *χρήματα*, which has displaced the original *κτήματα*.

This bifurcation of the Latin versions is very noticeable with the adverbs and conjunctions[2] which, as Sittl points out, are often used pleonastically in the African dialect. For example, Sittl quotes

licet et

[1] Curiously Tischendorf quotes the MS. as actually reading *squalum*, but there is no trace of an 's' in the text.

[2] The simplest case of the kind is perhaps Acts xvii. 23, inveni *etiam et* aram.

from Tert. *De Virg. Vel.* § 6 where we have perhaps the remains of a primitive

licet etsi;

and from the African Latin of the commentary of Theodore of Mopsuestia on the Pauline epistles, he quotes

licet si (p. 202, 18),

and

licet si et (p. 197, 12),

which are cases, certainly of pleonasm, and probably of the tautological form

licet etsi.

What shall we say then of Mark vi. 23 which in the Codex Bezae reads

licet dimidium regni mei,

where *licet* is supported also by *a i q vg;* while, on the other hand, the MSS. *b c ff*[2] give

etiamsi,

and *g*[1] has preserved

licet etsi,

which has a suspicious appearance of being the primitive pleonasm?

Three verses lower down in the same chapter, we find again a curious bifurcation in the testimony, for *d*, supported by *i*, reads

et contristatus est rex
mox audiit,

but *c ff*[2] replace *mox* by *ut*.

The earliest form of the gloss (for it is a gloss, though it has been carried over into the Beza Greek as ὡς ἤκουσεν) was probably

mox ut audiit,

and in fact the codex *g*[2] has preserved the double reading[1].

We say, then, that both the Acts and the Gospels arouse suspicions of African pleonasm[2].

[1] These minute pleonasms meet us at all points in African documents and give rise to much confusion: there is a curious case in the Muratorian Canon, where *se publicare vero* arises out of a pleonastic *sed publicari vero*.

[2] Compare also what has been said above, p. 199, of the double renderings of ἐκπλήττεσθαι.

In the use of the degrees of comparison Sittl points out many peculiarities in African writers, though he is careful not to commit himself to the theory that the forms are exclusively African.

Such are the intensification of a comparative by *magis* and *plus;* the unsymmetrical use of connected adjectives in different degrees of comparison; the use of the genetive of comparison; comparatives constructed with *a* and *ab*; the use of comparatives and superlatives in the place of adjectives of the positive degree etc. For my own part, I cannot think that we are yet in a position to speak of such things positively as Africanisms, though they look very like it; yet there are many instances in the Codex Bezae which would fall under one or other of Sittl's classifications.

For example, Matt. xii. 42, *plus ionae* is a genetive of comparison, taken over from the Greek.

Matt. xii. 45 *peiora prioribus* shews a comparative where we should expect a positive in a literal translation (*τῶν πρώτων*).

The same verse shews *et generationi huic pessimae,* which is a possible African superlative for *πονηρᾷ.*

Matt. xxii. 36 gives us *quod mandatum in lege maius* (*μεγάλη*).

Matt. xiii. 48 *collegerunt meliora in vasis.*

John xiii. 16 *neque apostolus maior eius qui misit eum.*

Luke vii. 28 *qui minor est eius in regno caelorum.*

Matt. xii. 6 *quia a templo maior est hic.*

The usage of the last case *a templo* may be the direct result of Punic influence: cf. the Hebrew comparative formed by prefixing the preposition מִן.

Two interesting cases of the same kind occur in the Ziegler fragments of the Pauline Epp., viz. 2 Cor. i. 5 *nihil minus...ab his qui valde sunt apostoli,* and Heb. vii. 26 *altiorem a caelis.* These Ziegler texts are to be reckoned as African.

Now let us review the course of the argument as regards the origin of the Western text of the Acts.

The text was Montanized at a very early date, and the Montanist glosses shew a decided use of the African accusative absolute. We, therefore, ascribe the Montanization to an African hand.

Of the other glosses we find some which, while not definitely

Montanistic, are suspiciously Carthaginian. For example, there is the case of Peter flying down to the city from the prison. We have also the case of pleonastic translations which are best explained as Africanisms. One of these, viz. the expansion of the Latin and Greek in Acts xiii. 12, is suspected of being a primitive feature of the Latin text. It is possible, then, that we have to describe the Codex Bezae as a Carthaginian text which has been glossed by (mainly) Carthaginian hands. But if this be so, the text must have passed at a very early period in its history to Rome; for it became diffused (with the major part of its glosses) over the whole of the Western world, to say nothing of Upper Egypt and Syria. Moreover there is one passage in the Acts which seems to imply that the Codex Bezae or one of its ancestors actually passed through Rome. I refer to Acts xviii. 2

χωριζεσθαι παντας ιουδαιους απο της ρωμης
DISCEDERE OMNES IVDAEOS EX VRBEM.

Now in Carthage *ex urbe* does not mean the same thing as *ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥώμης*. We can see this in a variety of ways. For instance, in the Acts of Perpetua *ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως* (if any argument can be drawn from the Greek form: for the words are not in the Latin) probably means simply Carthage. Again, if Haussleiter's theory of the African origin of the Palatine version of Hermas be correct, the opening words of the book shew us the rendering of *εἰς Ῥώμην* by *in urbe Roma*. A Roman translator would probably have simply said *in urbe*. We might also refer to the Muratorian Canon for similar renderings, but this we will not do, because it is not yet agreed whether the original of the Canon was in prose, nor whether its translation into Latin is of Roman or African origin[1].

We suspect, then, that the first translator of the Acts wrote *ex urbe Roma;* and that *Roma* was afterwards removed, possibly to balance the Greek and Latin texts, but more likely because the text had itself passed to Rome, where *ex urbe* was sufficient. Now, if the Montanized recension of the Acts passed to Rome it is clear from the diffusion of the text that it must have passed

[1] Moreover the Muratorian Canon shews both forms: "profectionem Pauli ab urbe," and "temporibus nostris in urbe Roma," "cathedra urbis Romae."

there very early, and have become the official Latin text. And this would seem to require that it was introduced at Rome when Montanism was in the ascendant there. The most likely period for this is the episcopate of Soter or Eleutherus. Tertullian tells us that when Praxeas came to Rome he persuaded the Roman bishop, who favoured the Montanists of Asia, and acknowledged the prophetic gifts of SS. Montanus, Priscilla and Maximilla, to recede from that position and recall the letters of peace which he had issued. In this way, says Tertullian, Praxeas "put to flight the Paraclete." This means that, historically, Montanism was at its highest point in Rome under a certain bishop, who is unhappily nameless. It is not an easy matter to determine which Roman bishop is meant. The evidence of the early Church would seem to point to Soter; for Praedestinatus tells us that Soter wrote against the Montanists and that Tertullian wrote against Soter[1]. This would place the *maximum* of Roman Montanism between the dates 160 and 170 A.D. Modern opinion, however, has inclined to see the bishop in question in the successor of Soter, Eleutherus, which would bring us to a slightly later date. The reader will, however, see that we cannot well go farther down in date consistently with the belief in the diffusion of the Montanized copy, which was known to Irenaeus when he wrote his treatise on Heresies, which Harvey places between 182 and 188. It seems to be difficult to place the Montanized Roman edition later than 170 A.D., and it may be a decade earlier. And then behind this glossed edition we have the unglossed (probably) Carthaginian text which must be a number of years earlier. How many years shall we say? *Festina lente.*

[1] Praedest. *Haer.* 26 and 86.

CHAPTER XX.

Further attempts at Classification of the Glosses in the Western text of the Acts.

We will now try to carry the classification of the glosses in the Acts a step further: and by means of the unity of the attestations, the similarity of the doctrinal tendencies, and the parallelisms in the Greek or Latin texts of the glosses, we shall be able to reduce all or nearly all of these glosses to their proper groups.

First we will make a list of the principal glosses accompanied by the chief of the attesting authorities as given by Tischendorf, printing them in Latin where there is some good reason to believe them to have originated in that language, and in Greek when the matter is more doubtful. For convenience of reference we number the glosses successively as they occur in the text:

	Acts		
1	i. 2	et praecepit praedicare evangelium	D lux sah Aug Vig-Taps
2	i. 4	de ore meo	D lux aeth Aug Hil
3	i. 5	et eum accipere habetis	D tol Aug Hil Max-Taur
4	i. 5	usque ad pentecosten	D sah Aug
5	i. 12	*τὸ διάστημα ὅσον δυνατὸν Ἰουδαῖον περιπατεῖν*	40 aeth
6	ii. 1	*καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις*	D
7	ii. 33	hoc donum quod	DE tol sah syr^{sch} syr$^{p.txt}$ ar^{c} Iren Did Amb Philast
8	ii. 37	*τότε πάντες οἱ συνελθόντες καὶ*	D syr$^{p.mg}$
9	ii. 37	et quidam ex ipsis	D
10	ii. 37	ostendite nobis	DE tol syr$^{p.mg}$ Aug
11	ii. 41	et credentes	D syr$^{p.mg}$ Aug
12	iii. 1	*ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις*	D
13	iii. 1	*τὸ δειλεινόν*	D

	Acts		
14	iii. 3	*οὗτος ἀτενίσας τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς αὐτοῦ*	D reg
15	iii. 7	stetit et	D reg
16	iii. 11	*ἐκπορευομένου δὲ τοῦ Πέτρου κτέ*	D reg
17	iii. 13	in judicium	DE $syr^{p.mg}$ Iren
18	iii. 17	*πονηρόν*	D $syr^{p.mg}$ Iren Aug Ambrst
19	iii. 22	*πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας ἡμῶν*	DE sah aeth Iren
20	iv. 1	*τὰ ῥήματα ταῦτα*	D reg syr^{sch} $syr^{p.mg}$ ar^{e} Thphyl
21	iv. 9	a vobis	DE reg syr^{utr} $aeth^{pp}$ ar^{e} Iren Cyp
22	iv. 14	*ποιῆσαι ἤ*	D reg
23	iv. 18	*συγκατατιθεμένων δὲ αὐτῶν τῇ γνώμῃ*	D reg $syr^{p.mg}$ Lucif
24	iv. 24	et cognovissent dei virtutem	D
25	iv. 25	per spiritum sanctum	[reading early and attestation confused]
26	iv. 31	omni volenti credere	DE Iren Aug
27	iv. 32	et non erat accusatio in eis ulla	DE Cyp Ambr Zeno
28	v. 8	*ἐπερωτήσω σε· εἰ ἄρα*	D
29	v. 15	et liberabantur ab omne valetudine quem habebat unusquisque eorum	DE Lucif vg
30	v. 18	et abierunt unusquisque in domicilia	D
31	v. 21	exurgentes ante lucem	D
32	v. 22	et aperuissent carcerem	D syr^{p} vg
33	v. 35	ad principes et concilium	D sah
34	v. 36	*αὐτὸς δι᾽ αὐτοῦ*	D
35	v. 38	*ἀδελφοί*	D
36	v. 38	non coinquinatas manus	DE
37	v. 39	nec vos nec imperatores nec reges: discedite ergo ab hominibus istis	DE syr^{p} demid D syr^{p} ðemid 33^{mg} 180
38	v. 41	*ἀπόστολοι*	D syr^{p} 180
39	vi. 1	*ἐν τῇ διακονίᾳ τῶν ἑβραίων*	D
40	vi. 3	*τί οὖν ἔστιν*	D
41	vi. 5	*τῶν μαθητῶν*	D
42	vi. 8	per nomen domini Iesu Christi	DE sah syr^{p} 180
43	vi. 10	quae erat in eo	DE
44	vi. 10	sancto	DE vg
45	vi 10	quoniam probatur illis ab Illo cum omni fiducia	DE $syr^{p.mg}$
46	vi. 10	non potentes autem resistere veritati	DE $syr^{p.mg}$ bohem
47	vi. 13	adversum eum	D aeth

	Acts		
48	vi. 15	*ἑστῶτος ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν*	D
49	vii. 4	*καὶ οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν οἱ πρὸ ἡμῶν*	DE syr^{p} Aug
50	vii. 6	*πρὸς αὐτόν*	D Iren
51	vii. 21	*παρὰ τὸν ποταμόν*	DE syr^{p}
52	vii. 24	*καὶ ἔκρυψεν αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ ἄμμῳ*	D aeth
53	vii. 26	*τί ποιεῖτε*	D
54	vii. 33	*καὶ ἐγένετο φωνὴ πρὸς αὐτόν*	D
55	viii. 1	qui manserunt Hierusalem	D sah Aug
56	viii. 6	*ὡς δὲ ἤκουον*	D syr^{sch} ar^{e} aeth
57	viii. 19	rogando et	D
58	viii. 24	*παρακαλῶ*	D syr^{p} 137 180 Const
59	viii. 24	*τούτων τῶν κακῶν*	DE
60	viii. 24	*ὃς πολλὰ κλαίων οὐ διελύμπανεν*	D syr$^{p.mg}$
61	viii. 37	respondens dixit Philippus: si credis ex toto corde tuo licet: et respondens spado ait: credo filium dei esse Christum Jesum	E vg demid tol arm syr^{p} Iren Cyp Thphyl
62	ix. 4	*σκληρόν σοι πρὸς κέντρα λακτίζειν*	E syr^{sch} syr^{p} ar^{e}
63	ix. 5	*σκληρόν σοι κτέ*	vg tol syr^{p}
64	ix. 20	cum omni fiducia	Iren
65	ix. 37	quum autem esset Petrus Lyddae	syr^{p}
66	ix. 40	in nomine domini nostri Jesu Christi	sah syr^{p} arm Amb Cyp
67	x. 25	*προσεγγίζοντος δὲ τοῦ Πέτρου κτέ*	D syr$^{p.mg}$
68	x. 28	melius	D Aug
69	x. 33	*παρακαλῶν ἐλθεῖν πρὸς ἡμᾶς*	D syr$^{p.mg}$
70	x. 33	*ἐν τάχει*	D
71	xi. 2	*διὰ ἱκανοῦ χρόνου ἠθέλησεν πορευθῆναι*	D syr^{p}
72	xi. 2	*καὶ προσφωνήσας...χάριν τοῦ Θεοῦ*	D syr^{p}
73	xi. 17	ut non daret eis spiritum sanctum credentibus in eum	D syr^{p} bohem Aug
74	xi. 25	*ἀκούσας δὲ ὅτι Σαῦλος κτέ*	D syr$^{p.mg}$
75	xi. 27	erat autem magna exultatio; revertentibus autem nobis	D Aug
76	xii. 1	*ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ*	D syr^{p}
77	xii. 3	comprehensio ejus	D syr$^{p.mg}$
78	xii. 3	*ἐπὶ τοὺς πιστούς*	D syr$^{p.mg}$
79	xii. 7	Petro	D sah syr^{p} aeth
80	xii. 10	descenderunt septem grados et [processerunt] gradum [unum]	D
81	xii. 15	forsitam	D syr^{sch} ar^{e}
82	xii. 20	*ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν πόλεων*	D syr^{p}
83	xii. 21	*καταλλαγέντος δὲ αὐτοῦ τοῖς Τυρίοις*	D syr^{p}

	Acts		
84	xii. 23	*καταβὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος*	D
85	xii. 23	*ἔτι ζῶν καὶ οὕτως*	D
86	xiii. 8	quoniam libenter audiebat eos	DE syr^{p}
87	xiii. 15	[*λόγου*] *καὶ σοφίας*	D
88	xiii. 19	*τῶν ἀλλοφύλων*	D syr^{p}
89	xiii. 28	*κρίναντες αὐτὸν παρέδωκαν*	D
90	xiii. 41	*καὶ ἐσίγησαν*	D syr^{p}
91	xiii. 44	*ἐγένετο δὲ καθ' ὅλης κτέ*	DE syr^{p}
92	xiii. 44	*πολύν τε λόγον ποιησαμένου περὶ τοῦ κυ*	D[E]
93	xiii. 45	contradicentes et	DEIP syr^{p} Chr
94	xiii. 50	tribulationem magnam	D
95	xiv. 2	*οἱ δὲ ἀρχισυνάγωγοι...δικαίων*	D [syr$^{p.mg}$]
96	xiv. 2	*ὁ δὲ κύριος ἔδωκεν ταχὺ εἰρήνην*	DE demid syr$^{p.mg}$
97	xiv. 4	adherentes propter verbum dei	D syr$^{p.mg}$
98	xiv. 7	[verbum dei.] et commota est omnis multitudo in doctrinis. Paulus autem et Barnabas moras faciebant in Lystris	DE
99	xiv. 9	*ὑπάρχων ἐν φόβῳ*	DE
100	xiv. 9	*ἀτενίσας δὲ ὁ Παῦλος*	DE
101	xiv. 10	*σοὶ λέγω ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ κυ ιηυ χυ*	CDE sah syr^{sch} syr$^{p.mg}$ arm [Iren]
102	xiv. 19	moras facientes eos et docentes	CDE syr$^{p.mg}$ arm ar^{e} etc.
103	xiv. 25	evangelizantes eos	D syr^{p}
104	xiv. 27	*μετὰ τῶν ψυχῶν αὐτῶν*	D
105	xv. 1	*καὶ περιπατῆτε*	D sah syr$^{p.mg}$
106	xv. 2	*ἔλεγεν γὰρ ὁ Παῦλος...ἀπὸ Ἰερουσαλήμ*	D syr$^{p.mg}$
107	xv. 2	*ὅπως κριθῶσιν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς*	D syr^{p} 137
108	xv. 4	*καὶ ὅτι ἤνοιξεν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν θύραν πίστεως*	HL etc. Thphyl
109	xv. 5	*οἱ δὲ παραγγείλαντες...τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους*	D syr$^{p.mg}$
110	xv. 7	*ἐν πνεύματι*	D syr$^{p.mg}$ 137
111	xv. 11	*συγκατατεθεμένων δὲ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ Πέτρου εἰρημένοις*	D syr^{p}
112	xv. 13	surgens	D syr^{sch}
113	xv. 20	*καὶ ὅσα μὴ θέλουσιν...μὴ ποιεῖτε*	D sah aeth Iren
114	xv. 23	*ἐπιστολὴν περιέχουσαν τάδε*	CD sah aeth syr$^{p.mg}$
115	xv. 26	*εἰς πάντα πειρασμόν*	DE syr$^{p.mg}$ 137
116	xv. 29	*καὶ ὅσα μὴ θέλετε κτέ*	D sah syr^{p} aeth Iren Cyp
117	xv. 29	ferentes in sancto spiritu	D Iren Tert
118	xv. 30	*ἐν ἡμέραις ὀλίγαις*	D

	Acts		
119	xv. 32	pleni spiritu sancto	D
120	xv. 34	*ἔδοξε δὲ τῷ Σίλᾳ ἐπιμεῖναι αὐτοῦ*	CD sah aeth cop syr^{p}
121	xv. 34	*μόνος δὲ Ἰούδας ἐπορεύθη*	D tol arm
122	xv. 38	*εἰς ὃ ἐπέμφθησαν, τοῦτον μὴ εἶναι σὺν αὐτοῖς*	D tol
123	xv. 41	*παραδίδους τὰς ἐντολὰς τῶν πρεσβυτέρων*	D tol syr$^{p.mg}$
124	xvi. 1	*διελθὼν δὲ τὰ ἔθνη ταῦτα*	D syr$^{p.mg}$
125	xvi. 4	cum omni fiducia dominum Jesum Christum simul tradentes et	D syr$^{p.mg}$
126	xvi. 9	*κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ*	D syr^{p}
127	xvi. 10	exurgens ergo enarrabit visum nobis et intellegimus quoniam provocavit nos dominus	D sah
128	xvi. 11	*τῇ δὲ ἐπαύριον*	D syr$^{p.mg}$ 137
129	xvi. 16	per hoc	D
130	xvi. 19	*ἧς εἶχαν δι᾽ αὐτῆς*	D
131	xvi. 22	*κράζοντες*	D
132	xvi. 30	*τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀσφαλισάμενος*	D syr^{p}
133	xvi. 35	*συνῆλθον οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν, καὶ ἀναμνησθέντες τὸν σεισμὸν τὸν γεγονότα ἐφοβήθησαν*	D syr$^{p.mg}$
134	xvi. 35	*οὓς ἐχθὲς παρέλαβες*	D syr^{p} 137
135	xvi. 39	*παραγενόμενοι μετὰ φίλων πολλῶν*	D
136	xvi. 39	*ἠγνοήσαμεν τὰ καθ᾽ ὑμᾶς ὅτι ἐστὲ ἄνδρες δίκαιοι κτέ*	D syr^{p} 137
137	xvi. 40	*ἰδόντες τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς διηγήσαντο ὅσα κτέ*	D
138	xvii. 6	et dicentes	D
139	xvii. 12	quidam vero credere noluerunt	D 137
140	xvii. 12	et viri et mulieres pleres crediderunt	D
141	xvii. 13	*οὐ διελίμπανον*	D syr^{sch} ar^{e}
142	xvii. 15	*παρῆλθεν δὲ τὴν Θεσσαλίαν· ἐκωλύθη γὰρ εἰς αὐτοὺς κηρύξαι τὸν λόγον*	D
143	xvii. 19	cogitantes et	D syr^{p} 137
144	xviii. 2	*οἳ καὶ κατῴκησαν εἰς τὴν Ἀχαΐαν*	D syr$^{p.mg}$
145	xviii. 4	et interponens nomen domini Jesu	D syr$^{p.mg}$
146	xviii. 6	*πολλοῦ δὲ λόγου γεινομένου καὶ γραφῶν διερμηνευομένων*	D syr$^{p.mg}$
147	xviii. 8	per nomen dn̄i nostri ih̄u x̄pi	D syr$^{p.mg}$ 137
148	xviii. 11	*ἐν Κορίνθῳ*	D syr^{sch} syr^{p} ar^{e} aeth
149	xviii. 12	*συνλαλήσαντες μεθ᾽ ἑαυτῶν*	D
150	xviii. 12	*καὶ ἐπιθέντες τὰς χεῖρας*	D sah syr^{p}

	Acts		
151	xviii. 13	clamantes et	D
152	xviii. 19	*καὶ τῷ ἐπιόντι σαββάτῳ*	D sah syr$^{p.mg}$ 137
153	xviii. 25	*ἐν τῇ πατρίδι*	D
154	xviii. 26	*ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἐφέσῳ...συνκατανεύσαντος δὲ αὐτοῦ*	D syr$^{p.mg}$
155	xviii. 27	*ἐν Κορίνθῳ*	D syr$^{p.mg}$
156	xviii. 27	*ὅπως ἀποδέξωνται τὸν ἄνδρα*	D syr$^{p.mg}$
157	xviii. 27	*εἰς τὴν Ἀχαΐαν*	D
158	xviii. 28	*διαλεγόμενος καὶ*	D 137
159	xix. 1	volente vero Paulo...reverti in Asiam	D syr$^{p.mg}$
160	xix. 2	[neque spiritum sanctum] accipiunt quidam [audivimus]	D
161	xix. 5	*εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν*	D syr^{p}
162	xix. 6	*ἑτέραις*	D sah syr$^{p.mg}$
163	xix. 6	et sentiebant in seipsis quod et interpretabantur illis hi ipsi : quidam autem [prophetabant]	syr$^{p.mg}$
164	xix. 8	cum fiducia magna	D syr$^{p.mg}$
165	xix. 9	*τινὸς ἀπὸ ὥρας ε΄ ἕως δεκάτης*	D 137 syr$^{p.mg}$
166	xix. 14	et introierunt...coeperunt invocare nomen	D syr$^{p.mg}$
167	xix. 14 (repeated from *v.* 13)	praecipimustibi[per]Jesu[m]quem Paulus praedicat	D syr$^{p.mg}$
168	xix. 20	et fides dei convalescebat	D
169	xix. 25	*συντεχνῖται*	D sah syr^{p}
170	xix. 28	*δραμόντες εἰς τὸ ἄμφοδον*	D syr$^{p.mg}$ 137
171	xx. 3	*εἶπεν δὲ τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτῷ*	D syr$^{p.mg}$
172	xx. 12	*ἀσπαζομένων δὲ αὐτῶν*	D
173	xx. 18	*ὡς τριετίαν ἢ καὶ πλεῖον*	D
174	xx. 24	*τοῦ λόγου*	D tol Lucif Amb
175	xx. 24	*Ἰουδαίοις καὶ Ἕλλησιν*	D sah Lucif
176	xxi. 1	*καὶ Μύρα*	D sah
177	xxi. 5	sequenti autem die ambulavimus viam nostram	D
178	xxi. 16	et cum venerunt in quendam civitatem fuimus	D syr$^{p.mg}$
179	xxii. 28	quam facile civem Romanum te dicis	bohem Beda
180	xxiii. 9	quid est in hoc	syr^{sch} ar^{e}
181	xxiii. 24	*ἐφοβήθη γὰρ μήποτε ἁρπάσαντες αὐτὸν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ἀποκτενῶσι καὶ αὐτὸς μεταξὺ ἔγκλημα ἔχῃ ὡς ἀργύριον εἰληφώς*	syr^{p} 137

	Acts		
182	xxiv. 10	defensionem habere pro se: statum autem assumens divinum dixit ex multis annis es judex	syr$^{p.mg}$
183	xxiv. 27	*τὸν δὲ Παῦλον εἴασεν ἐν τηρήσει διὰ Δρουσίλλαν*	syr$^{p.mg}$ 137
184	xxv. 3	illi qui votum fecerant quomodo obtinerent...ut in manibus suis esset	syr$^{p.mg}$
185	xxv. 25	et hic ut traderem etc. etc.	syr$^{p.mg}$ bohem
186	xxvii. 15	flanti (l. flatui) et collegimus artemonem	syr^{p} 137 c^{scr} Beda
187	xxvii. 41	eo ubi syrtis	syr^{p}
188	xxviii. 30	*Ἰουδαίους τε καὶ Ἕλληνας*	tol syr^{p} 137 c^{scr}
189	xxviii. 31	quoniam hic est Christus	syr^{p} demid tol bohem
190	xxviii. 31	per quem incipiet totus mundus judicari	syr^{p} demid tol

Here then are 190 selected glosses from the Acts, of which probably none will find a defender; so that they are not really various readings at all, but portions of commentary.

Let us now see whether and how far these are reducible to distinct hands, in the manner which has been pointed out previously. We quote the glosses by the numbers prefixed to them, and group them by their peculiarities in doctrine, language, and attestation, the classification being less certain where the number is placed within brackets. For convenience we will attach to the separate glossators a Greek letter.

α. The following glosses are Montanistic.

(*a*) Doctrine of the Reception of the Paraclete emphasized, and other allusions to the influence of the Spirit, as Energy, Sophia &c.:

3. 4. [7] 24. [25] 43. 44. 45. 73. 110. 117. 119. 159. 160. 171

(*b*) Doctrine of prophecy and of the reception of prophetic gifts:

75. 119. 163

(*c*) Doctrine of the power of the sacred Name:

42. 66. 101. 145. 147. [166]

(*d*) Visions and their manner of interpretation:

127

(*e*) Doctrine of *παρρησία*:

37. 45. 64. 125. [164]

Probably gloss 37 carries with it the previous gloss 36.

(*f*) Sharp distinction between believers and unbelievers, and necessity for faith with baptism:

9. 11. 26. 61. 139. 140. [168]

(*g*) Contempt for runaways:

122

(*h*) Glosses to emphasize the fact that the Apostles preached the Gospel, to wit, the Word of the Lord and the Person of the Lord:

1. 92. 97. 98. 125

(*i*) Glosses to get rid of the bareness and unspirituality of the decree of the Council at Jerusalem:

113. 116. 117

(*k*) Similarity of attestation brings together such passages as

1. [2] 3.

β. The following gloss belongs to the person whom I distinguish as the Homerizer:

80.

γ. The following are probably due to double translations, pleonasms, &c. of the first translator:

10. 15. 17. [35] 47. 50. [51] 57. 58. 59. 69. 70. [76] 79. 81. 87. 93. 94. 105. 112. 129. [130] 131. 138. 143. 148. 151. 156. 162

The following pairs of glosses fall together, from the coincidences in language:

δ. 60 and 141 (διαλιμπάνω).

ε. 72 and 92 (multum verbum faciens).

ϛ. The following are likely to be by the same hand, since they involve *obscure* assimilations to the text of the Gospels:

30 (which carries 31 with it). 86. 98

ζ. The two following glosses, which speak of the believers as the just men, probably go together:

95. 136

η. The following involve textual repetitions in the Latin, made necessary in most cases by the interpolation of glosses, and giving rise to two types of Greek:

37. 46. [98] 167

θ. Glosses of the nature of lectionary prefaces, or reader's expansions and connections:

6. [8] 12. 16. 65. [71] 118. 124. 128. [146] 148. 155 and perhaps others.

ι. A group of bold and startling expansions of the narrative, the major part of which certainly proceeded from a common hand:

[32] [33] [59] 60. 74. [82] 83. 84. 85. 96. 106. 109. [120] [121] 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 142. 144. 154. [155] 156. 157. 158. [159] 165. 170. 177. 178. 179. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185

The remainder of the glosses are difficult to classify.

Now let us see whether these ten imagined glossators, whom we have selected from the conceivable 190 hands in the text, can be connected with one another.

If we turn to the group of glosses in Acts vi. 10, we have a natural feeling that they all belong to the same hand, for they occur at the same place, and have a common tendency: it seems reasonable to believe therefore that gloss 46 which is a mere repetition in the Latin belongs with 43, 44, 45 which rendered it necessary. This makes the glossator *η* the same as *α*.

Again a comparison of glosses 97 and 98 shews the common connecting term "the word of God": it is likely then that these are by the same hand; for they are nearly adjacent in the text, and have a common idea. Hence we have placed 97 and 98 under *α*(*h*): but *η* also contains 98 (on suspicion); and this agrees with what has just been deduced that *η* and *α* are the same hand.

But 98 also turns up in *ς* on the ground of its imitation of a sentence in the Gospels.

It may, therefore, be said tentatively that *αςη* are one and the same.

The identity of *η* with *α* would seem to follow also from the fact that it contains the gloss 37, which is one of the very decided cases of the *παρρησία* which so often occurs in our text.

Let us say, then, tentatively that the groups of glosses are not all independent; but that the most important of them are the translator (*γ*), the Montanist (*α* + *ς* + *η*), the Homerizer (*β*), a scribe who has lectionary usage in his mind (*θ*), and a daring commentator (*ι*).

We credit the Montanist now with the glosses

1. [2] 3. 4. [7] 9. 11. 24. [25] 26. 30. 31. 36. 37. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 61. 64. 66. 72. 73. 75. 86. 92. 95. 97. 98. 101. 110. [111] 113. 116. 117. 119. 122. 125. 127. 136. 139. 140. 145. 147. 159. 160. 163. [164] [166] 167. [168] 171. [172]

Now let us see how the attestation of these errors is grouped: we have traces of the Montanizer in

CDE 137 lux tol reg demid sah aeth syr^{sch} ar^{e} $syr^{p.txt}$ $syr^{p.mg}$ bohem Iren Tert Cyp Aug Vig-Taps Hil Did Amb Philastr Max-Taur.

Now the doubtful members in this very Western group are Codex C and the Peshito Syriac with its daughter the Arabic. It is hard to believe in the dependence of their text on the Montanized text when they occur so rarely in support of special readings.

The examination shews that Codex C only attests the gloss 101, and syr^{sch} the two glosses 7, 101, and the Arabic the gloss 7. It would seem then that these two glosses are wrongly included in the body of the Montanist readings. We therefore detach them, and assign them provisionally to some earlier date.

This allows us to make the provisional statement that the Western elements in Cod. C, and the primitive Syriac translation, are earlier than the Western Montanist glosses.

But we can, upon this hypothesis, make the chronological landmarks more conspicuous. For we know that gloss 80 antedates the Syriac translation which took up and transmitted the *νύξας* of the Homerizer: we say then that the chronological order (since the Homerizer is certainly a Latin) is

Latin translation,
Homeric gloss,
Primitive Syriac.

Now let us turn for a moment to the glosses which are attested by Cod. C. We find that they are five in number, viz. 101, 102, 108, 114, 120. And it is possible that these Western elements of Cod. C are antecedent to the Latin rendering, though they belong to the Western text, geographically speaking. They shew no decided traces of Latinism, for the gloss 102, which is the most likely to be primitive Latin, may very likely be a part of the first translation, and have been found in the translator's Greek.

We say then, still in a tentative manner, that the probable order in time is

Western glosses of Cod. C,
Latin translation,
Homeric gloss,
Primitive Syriac,
Montanist glosses.

Now the Sahidic glosses have been shewn to contain a large proportion of the Montanist element: we recognize the Sahidic and its companion the Ethiopic in such a group as

1. [2] 42. 66. 113. 116. 127.

There is no mistaking the significance of this evidence: we cannot easily evade the conclusion that the Sahidic text is later in date than the body of the Montanist glosses. We, therefore, add the Sahidic to the previous list, so as to give

Western glosses of Cod. C,
Latin translation,
Homeric gloss,
Primitive Syriac,
Montanist glosses,
Sahidic version.

It will be remembered that we assign the Montanizer roughly to the date 160 A.D., or a little later. The original Latin rendering must evidently be many years earlier; indeed we suspect that it must have been in existence in the early part of the second century. But the reader will have seen that we have not pretended that our investigation is complete, or that our conclusions are final. We are throwing lines across chasms which we hope to bridge by-and-bye.

CHAPTER XXI.

Local and Temporal Origin of the Primitive Western text of the Gospels.

When we pass to the text of the Gospels, we are discussing very much the same problem as the preceding; for the probability is very high that the translation of the Acts of the Apostles is only a sequel and complement to the rendering of the Gospels into the vulgar tongue. The translation of the Gospels might be perhaps the earlier work, but that is all the difference. Hence there is a presumption that if the Acts of the Apostles in its Latin dress passed from Carthage to Rome, the Gospels had preceded it; or if Rome was the place of publication for the one, it was probably so for the other. We can, if we wish, leave the exact direction of motion of the primitive copy an open question, until a definite conclusion forces itself upon us.

But in approaching the subject on its own merits, apart from such suggestions as have been presented in the previous enquiry, we have a harder problem in some respects in the case of the Gospels than in that of the Acts. For, although there are numerous glosses in the Gospels, they do not shew the same unity of design, nor the same definiteness as to the time and place of production, as do the Montanist glosses in the Acts. There is, indeed, one striking Western reading which is perhaps Montanistic; I mean that beautiful variation of the Lord's prayer which replaced the two clauses

ἁγιασθήτω τὸ ὄνομά σου·
ἐλθέτω ἡ βασιλεία σου·

by the single sentence

ἐλθέτω τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα ἐφ' ἡμᾶς
καὶ καθαρισάτω ἡμᾶς.

Now this variation, which in the form we have given is taken from Gregory of Nyssa (*De Orat. Dom.* § 3), was known both to Tertullian and to the ancestry of Codex Bezae[1]. The former appears by a reference to Tertullian's treatise against Marcion (IV. 26) where, in discussing the successive clauses in the Lord's prayer (and we see no reason to assume that it was Marcion's text rather than his own), he proceeds in the following order "Cui dicam, pater?...A quo spiritum sanctum postulem?...Eius regnum optabo venire, quem numquam regem gloriae audivi?... Quis dabit mihi panem quotidianum...?" Here Tertullian has certainly explained the second clause of the Lord's prayer in harmony with the peculiar form preserved by Gregory of Nyssa. And, as I think Dr Sanday pointed out, there are signs in the text of Cod. Bezae that something of the same kind once stood here: for we have in Luke xi. 2

ΑΓΙΑCΘΗΤΩ ΟΝΟΜΑ COΥ ЄΦ ΗΜΑC
SANCTIFICETVR NOMEN TVVM SVPER NOS.

(The article is omitted, as commonly in D, being unbalanced in the Latin.) We may then, I think, say we have here either a Montanistic or a Marcionite gloss: the former, if it belongs to the text immediately antecedent to the Tertullian text: the latter, if it can be pushed back to an earlier period. Beyond this somewhat obscure instance, I do not know of any definite Montanistic touches in the Gospels. So that the argument will not at first statement move *pari passu* with the case of the Acts: perhaps because the Gospels were well fixed in Latin before Montanus. We can however proceed in another way.

We may affirm that the earliest Western readings of which we have any historical knowledge are exactly like the rest of the Bezan readings in that they have a suspicion of Latinizing attaching to them. For example, what are we to say of the famous dispute in regard to the reading of Matt. xi. 27 (*οὐδεὶς ἔγνω τὸν πατέρα*), which was such a favourite passage from the Gnostic standpoint, and of such antiquity that we can trace it onwards from Justin and Marcion to Irenaeus and Clement and Origen?

[1] It actually occurs in Mr Hoskier's Codex (Ev. 604). A full discussion of this variant will be found in Chase, *The Lord's Prayer in the Early Church*, pp. 25—27.

Does it not look very much as if some one had harmonized the Latin 'novit' (which was a right translation of the Greek γινώσκει or ἐπιγινώσκει) with its bilingual conjugate by means of a new translation? We have had cases enough of this kind to make us speak very confidently on such a point. Nor is there any difficulty in the supposition, for Justin and Marcion are both Roman teachers, and Alexandrian texts can be shewn to inherit directly the earlier peculiarities of the Western bilingual. In dealing then with Western readings we suspect Latinization from the earliest periods of textual history. That is the first position we take.

In the next place we have learnt from our study of the growth of the Western text of the Acts to distrust entirely the assumption that there are no such things as heretical and factional depravations of the text. As far as we are able to judge, one half of the Roman world Montanized its Acts of the Apostles, and the readings thus produced are found from the banks of the Tyne to beyond the Cataracts of the Nile. Hence we find it difficult to believe that Dr Hort can be right when he says[1] that it is his distinct belief "that even among the numerous unquestionably spurious readings of the New Testament there are no signs of deliberate falsification of the text for dogmatic purposes." The statement seems too strong; and while we are willing to admit that the transcription of the New Testament in its successive stages has been accomplished, in the main, with excellent intentions, there are certainly places where a foreign and factional hand can be detected. Surely it is a curious thing that the *Latin* of Codex Bezae shews the reading in Luke xviii. 19

nemo bonus nisi unus $\overline{\text{ds}}$ pater[2].

Has that added word at the end of the sentence no meaning in the controversies of the second century? And if it has any

[1] *Introduction*, p. 282.

[2] From the Marcionite standpoint, Christ was not to be spoken of as either good or bad, but as occupying a middle position: hence Hippolytus sums up the teaching in the words χωρὶς γενέσεως ἔτει πεντεκαιδεκάτῳ τῆς ἡγεμονίας Τιβερίου Καίσαρος κατελληλυθότα αὐτὸν ἄνωθεν, μέσον ὄντα κακοῦ καὶ ἀγαθοῦ, διδάσκειν ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς. *Philos.* VII. 31.

meaning, is it not a dogmatic alteration? Is it not Marcionite in appearance? Does it not occur in the very Gospel of which Marcion gave a new recension, and in view of this is it a mere error that Epiphanius assigns the reading to the authorship of Marcion? Must not the reading go back in date to the days of Marcion, when we find that Irenaeus attacks the Gallican Gnostics for their use of the passage?

Or take another instance; it is the fashion to print Matt. xix. 17 in the form

τί με ἐρωτᾷς περὶ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ;

a text of which we should certainly say *à priori* that it was a Gnostic depravation. Most assuredly this is a Western reading, for it is given by D *a b c e ff*$^{1\cdot2}$ *g*^{1} *h l* and the *vulgate*, a striking piece of unanimity. Further we notice that D, as its custom is, has erased the unbalanced article τοῦ; and it is interesting to observe that of the three cursives which Tischendorf cites in support of the text (1. 22. 251) one has this same peculiarity of dropping the article, while the allusion which Origen makes to the passage shews the very same omission (ὡς περὶ ἀγαθοῦ ἔργου ἐρωτηθέντος). Surely these facts are significant enough to make one believe that the texts in question derive the passage from the Western bilingual.

But it will be said that we have also to deal with ℵBL and certain versions. Well! According to Westcott and Hort ℵ and B were both written in the West, probably at Rome. Did Roman texts never influence one another[1]? But we will simply say in a tentative manner, that if the clause in question be not genuine, it would go far towards proving that the Roman Gospels did not escape altogether from Gnostic glosses in the second century. The advantage of this position is that we may find a series of chronological landmarks by means of which to set in order the different stages of the Greek and Latin texts and the various versions.

One of the best things to attempt, then, is to test the Western

[1] We will admit that the subject demands a more careful consideration, and we remember that it has not really been proved that the two great Uncials are Roman in origin. *Their history remains to be written.*

text generally for Marcionism, and we cannot take a better example than Luke xxiii. 2

> *τοῦτον εὗρον διαστρέφοντα τὸ ἔθνος ἡμῶν,*
> *καὶ κωλύοντα φόρους διδόναι* Καίσαρι.

Here was a tempting passage for those whose anti-Judaic theology had brought them to the necessity of altering all those places where the Gospel of Luke had spoken approvingly of either the Jewish nation, the Jewish law, or the Jewish prophets. Christ himself was accused of hostility to the race! So, without stopping to enquire whether Christ was rightly or wrongly charged with antagonism to the Jews, a Marcionite or Gnostic hand added to the accusation words which Epiphanius gives in the form

> *καὶ καταλύοντα τὸν νόμον καὶ τοὺς προφήτας*[1].

(It was quite natural for a Marcionite to make this addition, for the same sect altered Luke xvi. 17 so as to read

> *εὐκοπώτερον δέ ἐστιν τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν παρελθεῖν, ὡς καὶ ὁ νόμος καὶ οἱ προφῆται ἢ τῶν λόγων τοῦ* Κυρίου *μίαν κεραίαν πεσεῖν.*)

By this means the Marcionite placed himself by the side of the Saviour at the moment of his trial; it was as if he said *Ἐγώ εἰμι Χριστοῦ*. And so successful was the interpolation, and so widely was the Roman Church Marcionized in the middle of the second century, that the reading is found, not indeed in Cod. Bezae, but in

b c e ff^2 *i l q* etc.

Its Greek attestation is zero, except for the passage in Epiphanius: yet we need not doubt that it stood in the ancient Roman bilinguals.

But this is not all; the process of interpolation was carried still further. The Marcionites having made an ally of Christ, as against the reproaches of the orthodox, inserted a second gloss, by means of which another arrow of the orthodox hunter was diverted to the Founder of the Faith. There is a mysterious gloss at the same part of the text which we have quoted above, which has

[1] Epiph. *c. Marc.* 316. Cf. Iren. I. xxvii. 2 (=Mass. 106), Marcion dicit..."Iesum ...in hominis forma manifestatum his qui in Iudaea erant, dissolventem prophetas et legem et omnia opera eius Dei qui mundum fecit."

almost disappeared from current texts. It appears in Epiphanius in connection with the previous gloss, for Epiphanius says that Marcion also added the words,

καὶ ἀποστρέφοντα τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ τέκνα,

at the close of the passage which we have quoted above. And when we turn to the Old Latin texts, we actually find the words in question, in a longer and more significant form, at the end of v. 5. Here Codd. *c e* give us

et filios nostros et uxores avertit a nobis;
non enim baptizantur sicut et nos, nec se mundant.

Now what does this mysterious passage mean? Why should Christ be charged (absurd anachronism!) with erroneous forms of baptism, and with misleading women and children? The answer is that these are heads of the indictment against Marcion and his followers, who do not hold to the perfunctory method of baptism, but demand a severe ascetic preparation for the rite. Let us hear what Tertullian says on the matter:

(*adv. Marc.* I. 29): "Non tinguitur apud illum caro nisi virgo, nisi vidua, nisi coelebs, nisi divortio baptisma mercata, quasi non etiam spadonibus ex nuptiis nata," and again (*adv. Marc.* IV. 11): "nuptias non conjungit, conjunctas non admittit, neminem tingit, nisi caelibem aut spadonem, morti aut repudio baptisma servat."

These passages will, I think, shew conclusively what is meant by the curious gloss in *c e* concerning the alienation of wives and the refusal of baptism. We see, then, two stages of Latin Marcionite corruption in this passage. And although Cod. D has escaped, it is probably only by means of the grace of repentance; such an attestation as we find above must surely have involved the original of the Bezan text. It is sufficiently shewn then that the glosses are demonstrably of a Marcionite character.

And now we begin to stand on firmer ground, for the problem has again become similar to that which we worked out for the Acts; and the hypothesis is invited that the *primitive Western bilingual is earlier than the days of Marcion and shews traces of having passed through a process of Marcionization.* On this hypothesis we shall expect to find traces of Western textual disturbance in

the neighbourhood of those places where Tertullian and Epiphanius accuse Marcion of adulterating the records.

For instance, we are told that Marcion tampered with the text of Luke iv. 16, where Christ comes into the synagogue of His native place and reads from the prophets. We do not exactly know how far the knife of the reviser cut at this point; but we do know that he never called Christ a man of Nazareth, if he could help it, for fear of fulfilling a prophecy; and that, according to his theory and Gospel, Christ had appeared suddenly from heaven ("de caelo in synagogam"). It is generally reckoned, therefore, that Marcion omitted the words

οὗ ἦν τεθραμμένος,

and

κατὰ τὸ εἰωθὸς αὐτῷ.

Now let us see whether these Marcionite omissions have left any mark on the Western Latin text. First take Cod. *e*, and we find that the words κατὰ τὸ εἰωθὸς αὐτῷ are omitted! Then turn to Codex Bezae and examine, first its Greek, and then its Latin:

ελθων δε εις nαzαρεὰ οπου ην
κατα το ειωθος εν τη ημερα των cαββατων
εις την cυναγωγην.

Note the omission of τεθραμμένος and of αὐτῷ after εἰωθὸς, and it will be seen that the text has undergone Marcionite revision. The Lord was not reared in Nazareth, nor is it his custom to visit the Nazarene synagogue, but only there is a custom of visiting the synagogue generally: then turn to the Latin

VENIENS AVTEM IN NAZARED VBI ERAT
NVTRICATVS INTROIBIT • SECVNDVM CONSVETVDINEM
IN SABBATO • IN SYNAGOGAM,

and notice how the colometry, as marked by the inserted points, has been deranged by the restoration of the missing words. Is it not curious that the confusion should occur at the very point where Marcion's history opens?

Why is it that, again, when we find Marcion in his book of Contradictions maintaining that the God of the Old Testament who sent down fire from heaven at the request of Elias could not be the good God who sent his Son (for Christ refused to bring down fire from heaven at the request of his disciples), that the

text of Luke ix. 54, 55, where the latter story is told, has such significant glosses? First we are told by a large company of uncial texts and Western authorities to add the words

ὡς καὶ Ἠλίας ἐποίησεν,

which was just the gloss for a Marcionite exegete to have made, since it kept before the reader's mind one of the main points of the system of Marcion.

Then we find the added sentence

ΚΑΙ ΕΙΠΕΝ
ΟΥΚ ΟΙΔΑΤΕ ΠΟΙΟΥ ΠΝΕΥΜΑΤΟC ΕCΤΕ

ET DIXIT
NESCITIS CVIVS SPIRITVI[1] ESTIS.

Dr Hort says that both these passages are Western; we add that if so they are probably Marcionite, and that the meaning of the latter passage is that the disciples were acting as though they belonged to the Just God rather than to the Good God.

We should say then that Western copies of the Gospels suffered from deliberate Marcionization. But let us take a more simple instance of textual variation, where no dogmatic tendency is involved.

Marcion is charged with having removed the word *αἰώνιον* from Luke x. 25.

The Bezan text is

ΤΙ ΠΟΙΗCΑC ΖΩΗΝ
ΑΙΩΝΙΟΝ ΚΛΗΡΟΝΟΜΗCΩ

QVID FACIENS VITAM
AETERNAM HEREDITABO.

Here there is no sign of any erasure having taken place. But it is extremely likely that such did occur in certain Old Latin texts[2]. We remember the fondness of the old translation for rendering *κληρονομέω, κληρονομία* by two words *possidere, hereditare:* and on turning to the other Old Latin texts as for instance *a b*, we find 'possidebo' in place of 'hereditabo.' Does it not look as if the primitive bilingual had used both words? But if it did, 'aeternam' was very likely to have been ousted in the interests of numerical equivalence. We think it probable, then, that the same

[1] *Spiritui* is a genetive.

[2] The word *aeternam* is in fact missing in Cod. g^2.

mode of reasoning, which we applied to the Montanist glosses in the Acts, applies also to cases of real or reputed Marcionization in the text of the Gospels, and especially of the Gospel of Luke. That is to say, the corruptions are Latinizations, and we believe the primitive translation lies behind Marcion and behind Justin.

The case of Marcion can hardly be distinguished textually, either as to time or locality, from that of Tatian. Now the text of Tatian has been known, for a long while, to be phenomenally Western. We do not believe that these Western readings arose either in Syria or in Asia Minor. Our opinion is that they are Roman and belong to bilingual texts of an early period. The subject demands a special treatment, but there is surely nothing incredible in the supposition. We know that Tatian studied and taught in Rome, and it is therefore reasonable to find him using Roman texts. Much of our perplexity has been cleared away by realizing the textually metropolitan character of the Eternal City. Much more has disappeared by tracing the effect of undoubtedly Latin texts on Egyptian copies and versions. If Rome furnished texts to Alexandria and Upper Egypt, there is not the slightest difficulty in her ministering to the needs of Edessa, especially when a great teacher from that part of the world was discipling and being discipled in the City.

Closely connected with this question is that of the origin of the Curetonian Syriac, which furnishes another landmark for the textual variations. This subject also has to be investigated afresh: we are prepared to believe that the Curetonian text is a translation from a Western bilingual. But whether it is older than Tatian or younger is a point which must be carefully re-examined. On these questions, then, we may reserve our judgments, for it is probable that the life-histories of one or two other codices may have to be written before we can reach a definite conclusion. In the meanwhile we need not hesitate to affirm that every consideration that we know of indicates the antiquity of the Latin Gospels: and, whether they were rendered into the vulgar tongue in Carthage or Rome, their date is far earlier than one would suspect from the language of modern writers, who usually content themselves with saying that the Old Latin was made before the time of Tertullian.

CHAPTER XXII.

Further suggestions for the Solution of the Problem.

Our next step must be to deal with the actual glosses in the Bezan text of the Gospels, in order that we may determine whether they can be classified, and to what periods in the history of the Church they ought to be referred. And we must try to find out in what order the various renderings of the Greek Gospels into other tongues occurred, the problem involving one more term for the Gospels than for the Acts, on account of the existence of the Tatian Harmony in Syriac. It is, however, rendered more simple by the fact that Tatian's name is itself a chronological landmark; and, if we only knew the primitive form of his work a little better, we should rapidly arrive at important conclusions, for we should have identified a body of Western readings that were necessarily anterior to a given date. It is unfortunate, then, that so much is still obscure with regard to the details of the primitive Harmony. Nevertheless, in spite of all difficulties and of our imperfect data, we feel sure that the problem is a soluble one.

But in conducting the investigation we must be prepared for surprises. In the field of New Testament Criticism the unexpected is always happening: hypotheses which have been reckoned outworn reappear, and popular and attractive modern theories have frequently to be discarded. One needs a new conscience in the matter of Church History, and a quickened conscience in the matter of palaeography, and the general history of literary transmission. The foregoing pages will have furnished sufficient instances of what we mean. Who would have supposed from the study of Ecclesiastical History, as usually read and

written, that the Montanist movement and the Marcionite movement which preceded it had so completely swept over the Western Church? We are accustomed, on the contrary, to regard the Roman Church as strained clear of every heresy, as if the successive heresies were a series of gnats which had settled accidentally in the "new wine's foaming flow," and which had merely to be removed by the deft hand of some Defender of the Faith. But Justin would have taught us differently if we had read him aright, for he tells us that Marcion's teaching was diffused amongst every race of men[1]. Tertullian, too, shews what the force of the first Marcionite teaching must have been by his comparison of the later heretics, in his day expelled from the Catholic Church, to swarms of wasps building combs in imitation of the bees[2]. Nor are there wanting other intimations, both literary and epigraphic, of the scope of the movement. When we understand this rightly, we are not so much surprised, as we should otherwise have been, at finding Marcionite readings in the Western text of the New Testament.

Again, as we have intimated above, we may have to allow for some unknown terms in palaeography. It has often been tacitly assumed that the earliest MSS. of the New Testament were faithful representations of the primitive script down to the minutest traces of punctuation and of abbreviation. We have, however, taken pains to shew that all things did not remain unchanged from the first century down to the time of production of the Vatican and Sinaitic Codices. And in particular we can give reasons for believing that the primitive abbreviations were quite different to what we find in the extant Codices; and that the text has in very early times been affected by false reductions and misunderstandings of these abbreviations.

So, also, with regard to the literary influences of the time. At first sight it seems strange that we should affirm that Homeric and metrical glosses crept into Western texts. But this difficulty simply arises from not realizing what a scholarly education was like in the first centuries of the Christian era. Homer was the Bible of the expiring faith, and the staple of pagan education.

[1] *Apol.* I. 26 κατὰ πᾶν γένος ἀνθρώπων.

[2] "Faciunt favos et vespae: faciunt ecclesias et Marcionitae."

It was no more strange that a scribe should gloss from Homer than that a modern writer should give a New Testament turn to his speech. The reader will find this brought out very clearly in Hatch's Hibbert Lectures, from which we give an extract which is peculiarly apposite:

"The main subject-matter of this literary education was the poets. They were read, not only for their literary, but also for their moral value. They were read as we read the Bible. They were committed to memory. The minds of men were saturated by them. A quotation from Homer or from a tragic poet was apposite on all occasions and in every kind of society. Dio Chrysostom, in an account of his travels, tells how he came to the Greek colony of the Borysthenitae, on the farthest borders of the empire, and found that even in those remote settlements almost all the inhabitants knew the Iliad by heart, and that they did not care to hear about anything else."

(*Hibbert Lectures*, p. 30.) Cf. pp. 52, 53.

In the second century we have evidence enough of the way in which the verses of Homer were threaded through all the literature of the time. Tertullian tells us[1] that we must not be so much astonished at the liberties which the heretics take with the Scriptures when we find that secular writings are treated with the same freedom (cum de secularibus quoque scripturis exemplum praesto sit eiusmodi facilitatis). "In our own day, says Tertullian, we have seen the verses of Virgil wrought into an entirely new story. Further, the tale of Medea has been told in Virgilian verse. A relation of my own has Virgilianized the Tablet of Cebes. And are there not persons who are called Homer-Centonists, who by gathering verses far and wide make new compositions of their own?"

It is possible that Tertullian's comparison was due to Irenaeus; for we find the Valentinians compared by Irenaeus to these very Homerizers, and their method of hermeneutic combinations of texts and terms from all parts of the New Testament to the artificial conjunctions of the Homeric Cento. And, to illustrate what he means, Irenaeus (I. ix. 4) gives a specimen, where the subject is the descent of Hercules to fetch the dog Cerberus, and the lines are borrowed from all parts of the Odyssey and Iliad. It is interesting to notice the attempts of the translator

[1] *De Praescript. Haeret.* 39.

of Irenaeus to do the new poem into Latin hexameters[1]. After reading this bit of diversion on the part of Irenaeus and his translator, we can believe anything of the second century; it is no longer strange that metrical glosses should occur, when we find men's minds so full of them; nor is it surprising, when we see the way that the translator of Irenaeus went to work, if we should find a doubtful or disputed quantity in the verse, as in the passage interpolated in the Bezan text.

But it is not merely in the glosses that have crept into the text of the New Testament that we trace the student of Homer; we suspect that there are some of the New Testament writers themselves that have felt his influence and reflected it in their speech. But be that as it may, we must certainly be prepared for such an influence in the accretions which occur so plentifully in Western New Testament texts.

A few concluding remarks may now be made as to the way in which we shall probably find the remainder of the solution of the riddle of the Western texts of the Gospels.

It is important to remember that we are dealing with a chronological problem; we have to determine the dates, or the superior and inferior limits, of certain textual phenomena. This chronology can be approached in three ways:

(1) The actual quotation of aberrant readings by second century Fathers. For instance, a Tatian reading must either have originated with Tatian or be antecedent to him: a Marcionite reading, if it contain definite Marcionite teaching, must have originated with, or be later than Marcion, and probably not much later. Thus we have a scale for the chronology of the readings which is marked with the names of such teachers as

Marcion,
Justin,
Tatian,
Montanus,
Irenaeus,
Tertullian &c.

[1] E.g. "Et senes et pueri et nondum nuptae puellae Plorantes multum ac si mortem iret ad ipsam," but perhaps the verses have suffered in transcription.

(2) We have the chronology of the Versions: where the primitive form of a version can be inferred from the MSS. which constitute its tradition, each version furnishes an inferior limit for the time of origin of a large group of aberrant readings. The order of the versions must be determined; it will probably be found that the three most closely connected versions stand in the order:

Old Latin,
Old Syriac,
Sahidic.

(3) We have to find the times of the separate hands that can be traced in readings and glosses, as the Homerizer, the first Gnostic hand, the Montanizer and the like.

Now, it is probable that no solution would be reached by working with a single scale taken out of the three; to reach success we must keep them all three in mind, and work with them placed side by side. The moment we do this, the burning questions appear; such as these:

Is the Old Latin earlier than Marcion?
Is the Curetonian Syriac older than Tatian?
Does the Homerizer antedate the Curetonian text?

These and similar questions are the crucial points of the enquiry: and we have already given suggestions of the way in which they are to be answered in our study of the body of glosses in the Acts. Probably the best way to proceed would be to deal with the final chapters of Luke where the intrusive glosses are so thick. We must test them and try to find out whether they are by a single hand. One or two of them are suspiciously metrical and Homeric. If we go back five verses from the Homeric gloss in Luke xxiii. 53 we find,

xxiii. 48,

ΤΥΠΤΟΝΤΕϹ ΤΑ ϹΤΗΘΗ ΚΑΙ ΤΑ ΜΕΤΩΠΑ
ΥΠΕϹΤΡΕΦΑΝ
PERCVTIENTES PECTORA ET FRONTES
REVERTEBANTVR.

The man who wrote this expanded sentence seems to have had in his mind a Latin verse

reversi frontes et pectora percutiebant,

describing the wailing of the Trojan women over the death of Hector. But if this were the same hand as before, the attestation ought to shew signs of agreement in the two cases: in Luke xxiii. 53 it was D *c* theb: upon the new case we have no traces in the Egyptian, but the ancestry of Cod. *c* once had the reading, for it has, by a happy fortune, erased *pectora* and left *frontes*. Here then is a second gloss by the same hand as the former.

If we work through the body of glosses we shall ultimately get a clear idea of the attestation of the collection, and be able to fix, with some closeness, the date of the glossator. But the problem is not solved by stating it; and we find that much searching of the extant Copies, Versions and Fathers is necessary before we can give the formal solution. Moreover, I find that it will probably be necessary for me to re-examine and perhaps to re-edit the extant Homeric Centones, and some associated documents which throw great light upon the textual questions of these last chapters of Luke. In our next chapter we shall take up a few points in dialect and palaeography which will help us towards a final settlement of the question.

CHAPTER XXIII.

On the Colometry of the Codex Bezae.

Something ought to be said with regard to the line-division which prevails in the Codex Bezae, for it is certainly very ancient and often constitutes a traditional interpretation of the text, which is of the highest value.

The earliest known Greek texts contained in the famous Uncial mss. of the fourth and fifth centuries are destitute of any but the most rudimentary division of sentences. It is true that a break in the sense is sometimes intimated by a slight space in the text, or the commencement of a new paragraph by a new line, or by thrusting out on the margin of the text the first letter in a new sentence which happens to fall on the margin. Sometimes, too, a catalogue of names, which is particularly hard to read in a continuous text, is found broken up into separate lines, as, for example, the genealogy in St Luke. But, in spite of these and similar attempts at interpunction, the early Uncials cannot be described as anything else than continuous texts.

When, however, the texts of the New Testament became regularly read and divided into sections, and especially when they were read in bilingual congregations, the attempt was made to break up the passage read into the proper limbs or *cola*: and this process so facilitated the translation of the Scripture, and the reading and understanding of what had been translated, that after a while the colometry became conventional, and was propagated from one ms. to another, by interpunction, and from one ms. to its descendants by copying the text line by line.

It is not then surprising that, as we read the text of the Codex Bezae, the conviction forces itself upon us that its colometry is very ancient.

Scrivener points this out (p. xvii.), remarking as follows:

"Now since it will appear clearly hereafter that the manuscript as it stands at present was closely and exactly copied from another, perhaps almost contemporary to itself, similarly divided in respect of στίχοι though not similarly paged, it will follow that the model from which the latter was taken is older still, dating perhaps as early as or earlier than the time of Origen. The reader will not doubt that the ancient στίχοι were being gradually dissolved in course of time by successive transcribers, if he pays any attention to their actual condition in Codex Bezae."

There is no reason to doubt the accuracy of Scrivener's statement, for which the evidence in the shape of dropped and repeated lines is abundantly sufficient. The restoration of the precise primitive colometry is, however, not so easy: though the scribe of the Bezan text has done his best to help us by means of interpunction in cases where his lines do not agree with the primitive model: and in almost every case where there is a dividing point in the middle of a line in the Bezan text, it is because two cola have been run together, or because in some other way the regular colometry has been deserted.

I do not hesitate to say that I believe this primitive colometry to be very early. For it is not confined to Codex Bezae. Take for example Codex *k* and study its interpunction, and we shall find that it is not original nor arbitrary, but that it is in the main the same as existed in the ancestral text from which Codex Bezae is derived. Here is a specimen, taken from a random page of Cod. *k*:

Mark x. 35 et accedunt ad eum iacobus
et iohannes fili zepdaei dicen
tes magister quod petierimus ·
37 dona nobis · et dixerunt illi
da nobis · ut unus a dextram
38 et unus a sinistra · hī^{s} autem
respondens dixit illis · nescitis
quit petatis potestis bibere ca
licem etc.

Here are five points of distinction in the sense of the passage:

how closely they coincide with the structure of the Bezan text may be seen by transcribing the lines of D at the same place:

et accesserunt ad eum iacobus
et iohannes • fili zebedei
et dicunt illi magister
uolumus ut quodcumque petierimus te
praestes nobis
ad ille dixit illis praestabo uobis
et dixerunt ei da nobis
ut unus ad dexteram tuam • et unus ad sinistrā
sedeamus in gloria tua
Et ihs. respondens ait illis
nescitis quid petatis potestis bibere calicem.

Notice that the interpunction of *k* not only agrees closely with the D lines, but that where *k* has dropped portions of the text, it is *whole lines* of D that are missing.

Another instance will perhaps make the point clearer. Let us turn to Mark viii. 35: here the text of D is arranged thus:

animam suam saluam facere • perdet eam •
propter euangelium saluam faciet eam,

and either the first hand or a revising second hand has added, for the missing line, partly at the end of the first line and partly between the lines, the words

qui autem
perdiderit eam.

Now turn to Cod. *k* and we find the passage given thus:

salua
re animam suam perdet illā
propter euangelium autem
saluauit illam,

where it is seen that the line dropped in D and afterwards restored is dropped also in *k* and not restored.

Clearly then, if the Western text could be edited in its primitive colometry, it would be an advantage from the standpoint of criticism, and would assist us in distinguishing between interpolations and omissions.

Moreover, we may strongly suspect that the same colometry underlies the Curetonian Syriac; and that traces of it can still be

seen in the arrangement of that peculiar text. For example, in Matt. xvii. 12, 13 Codex Bezae has transposed two lines of text over two other lines, thus producing the following effect:

ΤΟΤΕ CΥΝΗΚΑΝ ΟΙ ΜΑΘΗΤΑΙ
ΟΤΙ ΠΕΡΙ ΪΩΑΝΝΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΒΑΠΤΙCΤΟΥ ΕΙΠΕΝ ΑΥΤΟΙC
ΟΥΤΩC ΚΑΙ Ο Ÿ̈ΙΟC ΤΟΥ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΥ • ΜΕΛΛΕΙ ΠΑCΧῙ Ÿ̈Π ΑΥΤΩ̄.

Now the Cureton text has restored the right arrangement of the verses, but it betrays heredity from the erroneous arrangement in repeating the word *οὕτως* at the end of the sentence after *εἶπεν αὐτοῖς* ("concerning John the Baptist he spake to them *so*"). Now this awakens our suspicion that the colometry of D is behind the arrangement of the Curetonian text[1].

Such a theory will require a more extended examination than can be given in these pages; but we may easily find some tests and illustrations of it; and first let us open the text at random, say at Luke ix. 32. Let us transcribe a few lines from Codex Bezae, marking by a vertical bar the places where the punctuator's mark occurs in the Syriac.

petrus autem
et qui cum eo erant • erant grauati somno |
euigilantes autem uiderunt gloriam eius |
et duos uiros qui simul stabant cum eo |
et factum est cum separarentur ab eo |
dixit petrus ad ihm̄ | magister
bonum est nobis hic esse | uis
facio hic tria tabernacula | unum tibi |
et unum moysi | et unum heliae
nesciens quid dicit • | haec autem eo dicente |
facta est nubs et obumbrauit eos |

The colometry in the two texts is seen to be closely parallel: in the sixth line, 'magister' makes a slight displacement, and in the seventh, the Syriac does not render 'vis.' The Bezan text has slight spaces for the mention of the three tabernacles, and in the last line but one it has a dividing point where the Cureton text has one, intimating an original line in the words

nesciens quid dicit.

[1] The reader will be interested to know that the displacement is found also in the Old Latin texts *a b c e ff*^{1} *ff*^{2} *g*^{1}, and perhaps in Justin.

We may add a few striking instances of colometric agreement between the texts in question in order to make the point at issue clearer.

In Matt. xxi. 18 the final word in the verse (*esuriit*) is marked in the Cureton text with a point before and a point after, indicating that the word is a colon or line by itself. Turning to the Codex Bezae, where the Western colometry is so well preserved, we find

> mane autem transiens in ciuitatem
> esuriit • et uidens &c.

where again the point that follows *esuriit* shews that it once ended a line.

Next let us turn to John vi. 64, where the Latin is

> qui sunt qui non credunt
> et quis esset etc.

The first line, and by consequence the first word (*et*) of the next line, has been lost in Cod. *e* and in the Curetonian text. Note the agreement in line-omission between the Old Latin and Old Syriac texts: the fact is that Cod. *e* and the Old Syriac are closely related.

Again, let us turn to John vii. 5, where the Greek is

> ΟΙΔΕ ΓΑΡ ΟΙ ΑΔΕΛΦΟΙ ΑΥΤΟΥ
> ΕΠΙΣΤΕΥΣΑΝ ΕΙΣ ΑΥΤΟΝ ΤΟΤΕ
> ΛΕΓΕΙ ΑΥΤΟΙΣ...

Here the inserted τότε is simply a translator's 'tunc,' such as we so often find at the beginning of sentences in the Old Latin: but by mishap it got into the wrong *colon*, and so the effect produced was that the brethren of our Lord did not *at that time* believe on him. So suitable was the insertion, that it becomes a permanent Western addition, and is gradually pushed further and further back into the verse; it is added before *fratres* by *a c ff*^{2} *q*, after *eius* by *e f l*, after *crediderunt* by *b d*. Moreover the error passed into the Curetonian Syriac and into the Tatian Harmony, if we may judge from the Arabic ("ad hoc usque tempus"). It is just from such points as these that we may safely argue, when we are discussing the genealogy of MSS.; and we can see here an undoubted Western error, which in the first instance is due

merely to the colometric arrangement, travelling as far East as it was possible for it to travel.

In John iv. 24 we have a passage in the Curetonian text which Tischendorf rightly describes by the words "mire confusa sunt": he does not, however, notice that the confusion is capable of resolution, and that we can determine its cause. The genesis of the error is as follows: the Western colometry had divided the verse in the following manner:

spiritus deus
et adorantes in spiritu
et ueritate adorare oportet.

i.e. "God is a spirit: and those who worship Him in spirit it behoves also to worship in truth."

The Curetonian text took up the misunderstanding induced by the colometry and gave the sequence "Deus enim spiritus est, et illi qui adorant cum spiritu, etiam oportet eos adorare veritate." Upon this text a corrector went to work, erasing the final *veritate* and suggesting for insertion the correct reading

qui adorant eum spiritu et veritate.

All of this goes into the text, with the following conglomeration as the final result:

"Deus enim spiritus est et illi qui adorant eum spiritu etiam oportet eos adorare qui adorant eum spiritu et veritate."

But, as the comparison of the texts shews, we must regard the Western colometry as the prime cause of the error.

Many more instances may be given of similar phenomena. It is rare for the Curetonian text to do anything without Western assistance, and in most cases the Western bilingual is at the bottom of the matter. If the Cureton text, recklessly and to the damage of the sense, drops a *colon*, the omission will generally be supported or explained by the Old Latin: e.g. in John v. 28 the Curetonian text drops ὅτι ἔρχεται ὥρα. A reference to the Bezan text shews it to be a primitive line. If the Western text repeats a line or two, in its earliest copies, the chances are that the Curetonian text will shew signs of it. Take for instance John v. 39. There is reason to believe that in the early Western Greek there was a repetition of the words ὅτι ὑμεῖς δοκεῖτε ἐν αὐταῖς ζωὴν αἰώνιον

ἔχειν καὶ ἐκεῖναί εἰσιν αἱ μαρτυροῦσαι περὶ ἐμοῦ (probably three lines repeated *ex errore*). Consequent upon the repetition we have a double translation in Cod. *a* and Cod. *b*, so that the passage runs as below: and not only so, but the repeated passage, in *two distinct renderings*, turns up in the Curetonian text. The reader may compare the versions.

Cod. *a*.

in quibus vos existimatis
in illis vitam aeternam habere:
illae sunt quae testimonium dicunt de me.
in quibus putatis vos
vitam habere:
hae sunt quae de me testificantur.

Cod. *b*.

quoniam putatis vos
in ipsis vitam aeternam habere:
et ipsae sunt, quae testimonium perhibent de me.
in quibus putatis vos
vitam habere:
haec sunt quae testificantur de me.

The Curetonian text is substantially the same as these Latin texts, omitting, naturally enough, the words 'sunt quae' in the last line: and the Armenian text has preserved a part of the repetition (probably from a Syriac original), for it reads the repeated part, excepting the last line. Does it not seem reasonable to refer the whole confusion to line-repetition in Western texts? But if the hypothesis of conflate renderings be preferred, we must still say that the Curetonian text owes its version to a Western copy.

Nor is the interest in this primitive colometry confined to textual questions: it has its bearing, as we have seen above, on the interpretation of the text. For a good example, we may take the first verses in St John's Gospel, allowing for the lines in Cod. Bezae and the punctuation in the Curetonian text, and restoring the primitive Western arrangement as follows:

Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος καὶ ὁ λόγος ἦν πρὸς τὸν Θεόν·
καὶ Θεὸς ἦν ὁ λόγος.
οὗτος ἦν ἐν ἀρχῇ πρὸς τὸν Θεόν·

πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο καὶ χωρὶς αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο οὐδὲν
ὃ γέγονεν
ἐν αὐτῷ ζωή ἐστιν.

Here it is clear that ὃ γέγονεν, which is marked by dividing points before and after, is a primitive line, evidently the remaining part of the preceding sentence: but unfortunately the second point became lost in the tradition of the text, and as a result the words became attached to the following line, so producing

ὃ γέγονεν ἐν αὐτῷ ζωή ἐστιν.

The text of Codex Bezae shews that this cannot have been the primitive colometry. Yet the new arrangement of the text has been made the basis of a good deal of exegetical subtlety!

Perhaps we have said enough to shew that there existed an early Western colometry, probably in the first bilingual (i.e. Graeco-Latin) text: that there is reason to believe that this text has by means of its colometric errors, and its actual transmitted line-division, affected the Old Syriac and probably all other Syriac texts: and if this be the case, we have another argument in favour of the derivation of the Curetonian text from an early Roman copy[1].

[1] In a note appended to his edition of the Acts of Perpetua (p. 97) Mr J. A. Robinson has pointed out a number of passages of the New Testament which are quoted in the letter of the Churches of Vienne and Lyons in a form which suggests retranslation from a Latin Bible. Moreover he shews very strong reasons for believing that this Latin text was already divided into *cola;* for the words of the Epistle (§ 22) τῆς πηγῆς τοῦ ὕδατος τῆς ζωῆς ἐξιόντος ἐκ τῆς νηδύος τοῦ χριστοῦ imply that in John vii. 37, 38 the words ὁ πιστεύων εἰς ἐμέ were attached to the previous sentence πρός με καὶ πινέτω. And this is precisely the colometric division and interpretation which we find in Codd. *d e*. If the colometric Latin text was current in the Rhône valley in A.D. 177 we may speak confidently of the antiquity of the Old Latin version.

CHAPTER XXIV.

On the Abbreviations in the text of the Codex Bezae.

The conventional forms of abbreviation of the Greek and Latin sides, respectively, of the Codex Bezae will be found roughly tabulated in Scrivener's account of the text, the Greek forms on p. xviii.: and the Latin on pp. xliii., xliv. There is, therefore, no need to repeat them; but a few remarks may perhaps be made on the subject.

The abbreviations which we find in Greek texts (and the same thing is true of the Latin texts, which shew an early agreement with the Greek) are the result of a tendency of the scribes to represent often-repeated words by a single sign; we may reasonably suppose, then, that the conventional abbreviations have been arrived at gradually, and not *per saltum*. It is more than likely that the word Θεός was abbreviated before the word πνεῦμα, and the word πνεῦμα probably before any one thought of abbreviating Ἰσραήλ or Ἱερουσαλήμ. For example, in the Codex Bezae we do not find any abbreviation at all for such forms as Δαβίδ, Ἱερουσαλήμ, &c. Hence we are entitled to assume that the number of conventional forms has been arrived at gradually.

In the next place we can see that the final form which was conventionally recognized has been arrived at, in many cases, by a number of *separate attempts* at the abbreviation of the repeated word. Thus the Codex Bezae shews us variations of a peculiar character; we find πατήρ sometimes written as $\overline{\pi\alpha\rho}$[1] though the conventional form is $\overline{\pi\eta\rho}$, shewing that two attempts were made to abbreviate, by leaving out the middle consonant

[1] E.g. John xiv. 29; xv. 2.

and one or other of the vowels. In the same way we find Ἰησοῦς shortened into $\overline{\iota\sigma}$, the usual form, and $\overline{\iota\eta\sigma}$, which we recognize at once as very ancient, for it is the same which appears in Latin as $\overline{\text{ihs}}$, where the middle letter is commonly supposed to be an *h*, but is really the Greek H. The misunderstanding is very early, as may be seen from the attempts in early MSS. to write the name as if it contained a Latin *h:* thus Scrivener points out in Codex Laudianus the occurrence of the forms *ihesus* and *hiesum:* where the error is patent enough; the Greek letter having become an aspirate. It is clear, then, that behind the conventional abbreviations found in our early Uncial texts there is an array of earlier forms, attaching themselves to the more commonly repeated words and to the more sacred names.

But this is not all: a study of the Codex Bezae and kindred documents, whether Latin or Greek, will, I think, shew that in the early stages a single sign was employed for all cases of the substantives abbreviated. Now this may be seen in three ways: First, when a scribe finds an abbreviation of this kind, susceptible of misunderstanding or misreading, he frequently writes the word out at length, so as to avoid the misunderstanding; but sometimes he continues to copy the superposed bar or curve which intimates an abbreviation in the text. We may prove this from the Codex Bezae.

In Luke vii. 3 we have

qui erat illi honoratus et audiens de $\overline{\text{ihs}}$,

where we notice that the scribe has given us the nominative case instead of the ablative, clearly because the abbreviation $\overline{ihs}$ stood for all cases.

So in John xvii. 3 we have *quem misisti* $\overline{ihs}$ $\overline{xpm}$, and Acts xiii. 32 *suscitavit* $\overline{dnm}$ $\overline{ihs}$ $\overline{xpm}$. But we often find the word written in full, under the sign of abbreviation, as Scrivener has pointed out: "thus $\overline{dei}$ is met with 122 times (but never in the Acts); $\overline{deo}$ 24 times (in the Acts only vii. 40; x. 4); $\overline{deum}$ only in John vi. 46; x. 33." These instances from the Codex Bezae can be paralleled from other sources.

But the next way in which we see the truth of our hypothesis

as to the existence of an early single sign of abbreviation for all cases of the noun is that it often happens that an ignorant scribe, in attempting to reduce the abbreviation to a more usual form, produces barbarisms. Perhaps the best cases of this kind occur in the old Latin Codex *k*. If we turn to Dr Sanday's account of this MS. in *Old Latin Biblical Texts, No. ii.*, we shall see this clearly enough: we may transcribe a passage (p. clviii.) by way of illustration:

"The usage of the MS. in regard to the sacred names is very peculiar and striking. There is great variety of forms, though some will be found to predominate. Here even more than elsewhere all the rules of grammar appear to be set at defiance: *any form is made to stand for any case.*"

Dr Sanday then collects from the MS. the various abbreviations, viz.:

$\overline{DS}$ = DEUS.

$\overline{DI}$ = DEUS, DEI, $\overline{IHS}$.

$\overline{DE}$ = $\overline{IHS}$.

$\overline{DEI}$ (thus, with the mark of abbreviation).

$\overline{DM}$ = DEUM.

$\overline{DOM}$ = DEI, DEUS (?), $\overline{IHS}$ (?), DEO, DEUM, DOMINUS, DOMINI, DOMINO, DOMINUM, DOMINE.

Also $\overline{DOM}^{s}$, $\overline{DOM}^{o}$, $\overline{DOM}^{m}$, $\overline{DOM}^{e}$.

$\overline{HI}$ = HIESUS, HIESU, HIESUM.

Also $\overline{HI}^{u}$, $\overline{IH}^{u}$, $\overline{HI}^{m}$, $\overline{HI}^{u}$, $\overline{IH}^{n}$.

HI^{s} = HIESUS, HIESU, HIESUM.

$\overline{HIS}$ = HIESUS.

$\overline{HS}^{s}$ = HIESUS.

$\overline{HI}^{i}$ = HIESUS.

$\overline{HS}^{i}$ = HIESUS.

$\overline{HS}$ = HIESUS, HIESUM.

An examination of this list will shew that the early forms of abbreviation were very comprehensive and that much confusion resulted; one way out of the confusion seems to have been to attach a small letter to the abbreviation by which the termination could be indicated.

The third way in which we are confirmed in our belief of the existence of early simple and comprehensive forms of abbreviation is that the earliest MSS. shew signs of textual depravation which

can hardly result from any other cause than this. For instance, it was common in the second century to read John i. 18 in the form

ΜΟΝΟΓΕΝΗC $\overline{\text{θC}}$

in place of the received text

Ο ΜΟΝΟΓΕΝΗC $\overline{\text{ΥC}}$.

It is conceivable that we have here a misunderstanding of a primitive abbreviation which stood for all cases alike, and in this particular instance represents the genetive case (*μονογενὴς θεοῦ*). The variant *θεός* is *not* explicable by the supposition of a misreading of $\overline{\text{ΥC}}$, for it is extremely doubtful whether ΥΙΟC was abbreviated at all in the earliest texts: and it may be suspected that ΥΙΟC is merely an expansion derived from the Latin, *unigenitus filius Dei.*

Perhaps the instance which we have selected by way of illustration is an unfortunate one, in that the explanation may be challenged as falling under the condemnation of what Dr Hort calls "verdicts of oracular instinct[1]"; but whether the illustration be a good one or a bad one, satisfactory or unsatisfactory, I think the point as to the nature of the early abbreviations of the text of the New Testament, and the misunderstandings to which they were liable, can be considered as established by the various instances to which we can draw attention.

In the Codex Bezae there are numerous various readings which have arisen from the confusion of the conventional abbreviations *inter se.* Whatever may have been the primitive abbreviations for the Latin *deus* and *dominus*, it is demonstrable that they were frequently in confusion. We may prove this by some selected cases.

In Acts xiii. 5 we have

adnuntiabant verbum $\overline{\text{di}}$ (*του* $\overline{\text{κυ}}$).

Here the Latin text is certainly right, for there is no variation worth mentioning in the critical apparatus; but the accommodated Greek text has read the Latin as *domini.*

[1] *Two Dissertations*, p. vii.

Turn next to Acts xiii. 43: where we have the opposite form to the preceding; and where the gloss

transire uerbum $\overline{\text{dni}}$

is the equivalent of

διελθεῖν τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ.

Without venturing to say which of these is the correct reading, we may remark their present divergence, and suspect that it is due to the misreading of a sign of abbreviation.

Next turn to Acts xiii. 46, where we have

loqui verbum $\overline{\text{dni}}$ (τοῦ $\overline{\theta\upsilon}$),

in which we see the same confusion: here the Greek is certainly right, and *domini* is a false correction of an abbreviated *dei*.

In Acts xvi. 34 we have

credens in $\overline{\text{dno}}$

as the rendering of

πεπιστευκὼς ἐπὶ τὸν θεὸν.

It is almost certain that θεὸς and not κύριος is the right word in this passage; may we not then say that $\overline{dno}$ is a misreading of the abbreviation for *deo?* Sometimes we may find the two Latin forms confused in almost adjacent passages: in John xx. 13 we have *quia tulerunt* $\overline{dom}$, where the equivalent is certainly κύριον, but in xx. 17 *et* $\overline{dom}$ *meum et* $\overline{dom}$ *uestrum*, where the abbreviation no less certainly stands for θεόν.

Perhaps these instances will suffice (that we be not further tedious) to shew how the Western text has been affected by the transcriptional confusion of its primitive abbreviations.

Can we be wrong in saying further that in any case of variation between the parallel forms of θεὸς and κύριος, the authority of Western texts is the minimum? I know that here we are on difficult ground, and that the reader is already thinking of a famous disputed text, but I do not hesitate to say that I propose to read ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ θεοῦ in Acts xx. 28, regarding the adverse evidence of D, E, Irenaeus, and the general Western company as of very small weight upon the opposite side of the question. And this statement is not made in consequence of any special prejudice in favour of the combination of the two oldest uncials (ℵB), with which the received text happens at this point to agree.

CHAPTER XXV.

On double translations of the Greek text in the Old Latin and Old Syriac versions.

We will first make a table of some of the most remarkable of these double translations in the four Gospels.

Matt. ii. 8	venite renuntiate	Tatian (arab) syr^{cur}
Matt. viii. 5	rogavit...et obsecravit	syr^{cur}
Matt. xiv. 32	cessavit et quievit	Tatian (arm) [cf. *a b d*]
Matt. xv. 23	sequitur et clamat	Tatian (arm) syr^{cur} *b*
Matt. xix. 25	stupebant et timuerunt	*a b* [*d f*] *c e ff*^{2} *g*^{2} syr^{cur}
Matt. xxv. 34	hereditate possidete	*d*
Mark iii. 5	ira indignationis	*d*
Mark v. 13	impetum fecerunt et ceciderunt	*b e* Tatian (arab) Peshito
Mark x. 26	admirabantur...timidi	Tatian (arab)
Mark x. 51	domine rabbi	D *a b ff*^{2} *i* Tatian (arab)
Mark xiv. 38	alacer et promptus	Tatian (arab) (arm)
Luke i. 17	perfectam consummatam	[cf. *d a b*]
Luke ii. 48	dolentes et tristes	*a d e ff*^{2} *g*^{1} *l q* syr^{cur} Tatian (arm)
Luke iv. 20	abiit ac sedit	Tatian (arab)
Luke v. 8	rogo exi	*c d e f* Tatian (arab) Peshito
Luke viii. 8	bonam et uberam	*a c d e* syr^{cur} Tatian (arm)
Luke ix. 61	ire renuntiare	*a g*^{1} syr^{cur} Iren^{lat}
Luke x. 39	venit et sedit	Tatian (arab) syr^{cur}
Luke xii. 13	terram et hereditatem	syr^{cur}
Luke xv. 4	vadit et quaerit	*a d e f* syr^{cur} Tatian (arab)
Luke xvi. 2	veni redde	syr^{cur}
Luke xvi. 24	in ustione ignis	*d*
Luke xviii. 5	vado et devindico	*d*
Luke xxiii. 28	plangere et lugere	[*d*]
John xi. 39	accedite et auferte	Tatian (arm)
John xvii. 23	perfecti consummati	*d*
John xxi. 7	misit se et salibit	*d*
John xx. 16	domine magister	*d*

Now a survey of these peculiar renderings will shew that there is a good deal of internal connection between pairs of them, which cannot be explained away by any theory of assimilation or cross-references. For let us examine some of them closely: the first reference (Matt. ii. 8) shews that Tatian and the Curetonian text agree in the formula *venite renuntiate* as a translation of *ἀπαγγείλατε*. But that it is not merely the trick of the first Syriac translator may be seen from the somewhat similar case where, in Luke ix. 61, we find *ire renuntiare* as a rendering of *ἀποτάξασθαι* in the Old Latin, the Old Syriac and in the translation of Irenaeus. It seems then that the reading of the Curetonian Syriac (ܐܬܐ ܐܚܘܐ) is arrived at by means of a Latin rendering which had translated *ἀποτάξασθαι* by *renuntiare* instead of *abrenuntiare*, and added the expansion *ite*.

Take the next case in the list: we find that the Curetonian Syriac in Matt. viii. 5 has rendered the verb *παρακαλῶ* by *rogo et obsecro*. How thoroughly conventional this is in Latin may be seen not only from Latin inscriptions, but from the text of the Old Latin Gospels. The Bezan text has frequent expansions by means of such a translation, which give rise to subsequent additions in the Greek, or to subtractions in the Latin, and not always to subtractions of the superfluous word, but sometimes some other word in the sentence. The object in such cases is to make the Greek and Latin as nearly as possible equal in the number of words.

For example, in Acts xxi. 39 *δέομαί σου* is rendered by *rogo obsecro:* and our list of selected double readings shews us *ἔξελθε* rendered by *rogo exi* (Luke v. 8) both in the Bezan text and in the Arabic Tatian.

In the next passage, Matt. xiv. 32, which is from the Armenian Tatian, *ἐκόπασεν* has been rendered by two almost synonymous words: this of itself is suspicious, for it looks like a case of African pleonasm; and the suspicion thus awakened is confirmed by noticing that the Codex Vercellensis, the Codex Veronensis, and others have *cessavit*, but the Codex Bezae has *quievit*.

The passage Matt. xv. 23 shews a similar expansion in the Curetonian text, the Armenian Tatian and in the Codex Veronensis. The errors can hardly be independent, and, if that be

admitted, then either the Curetonian text has been drawn from a Western copy, or one of the great Western copies has been touched up by a Syriac hand.

In Matt. xix. 25 we find the translators in a perplexity over the rendering of ἐξεπλήσσοντο. The Bezan translation is certainly peculiar, consisting of an imperfect tense followed by a perfect: Codd. *a, b* read *mirabantur et timebant valde;* Cod. *f mirabantur valde,* as if by the erasure of one word from the combination in *a, b.* We may be sure, then, that there was a primitive double rendering in the Latin.

On turning to Acts xiii. 12, we find a double rendering of ἐκπλησσόμενος by *miratus est stupens,* which is similar in character to the passage in Matthew, and has given rise to a reactionary error in the Greek text. So that we are confirmed in believing the error to be truly Western and Latin. But it appears in the Curetonian text; and not only so, but, on looking at the Tatian Arabic in Mark x. 26 (*admirabantur timidi*), we can see traces and signs of a similar error. In Mark vi. 52 we find ἐξίσταντο translated in a similar manner by *stupebant et mirabantur,* and καὶ ἐθαύμαζον added to the Greek. Is it not the simplest solution to carry all these errors back to a primitive Graeco-Latin text?

Matt. xxv. 34 shews the traces of a primitive Latin pleonastic rendering of κληρονομήσατε: we should be suspicious at once of such a rendering as that in Codex Bezae (*hereditate possidete*): it must be either a conflation, or a primitive African pleonasm: that it is the latter is seen from the fact that in Acts vii. 5 the Bezan text gives us

possessionem heredetatis

as a rendering of κληρονομίαν. We could hardly find a better example of the usage of the early African writers. Codd. *a b* remove the superfluous 'hereditate' in Matthew. But the Curetonian Syriac in Luke xii. 14 shews signs of having had two words in its primitive text, for it reads "terram et hereditatem," where 'terram' seems to stand for 'possessionem.' We suspect then again that the Curetonian pleonastic renderings are not all of them original.

In Mark v. 13 the Arabic Tatian has *et cucurrit grex ad ver-*

ticem et praecipitatus est in mare, which seems to represent the same Syriac as in the Peshito (*cucurrit et cecidit*), the Curetonian text being wanting. But this translation by means of a double verb is in Cod. *b, fecerunt impetu[m] ire...et ceciderunt,* and in Cod. *e, ierunt cum impetu...et ceciderunt.* The Syriac text seems to rest again on a Western bilingual.

Mark x. 51 shews a double translation of *ῥαββουνί* by *domine rabbi.* This reading has coloured some of the oldest of the Western texts: so that it is hardly to be described as a conflation. For we find, on referring to John xx. 16 in the Codex Bezae, that the same word is expounded to mean *domine magister* ("illa dicit ei ebraice rabboni quod dicitur domine magister"). We may be sure, then, that the primitive Latin version had rendered the word pleonastically[1].

What are we to say, then, when we find that the Tatian text has given us in the Arabic just such a double rendering? For in Mark x. 51 we find

Domine mi, et praeceptor, &c.

The primitive rendering of *κατεσκευασμένον* in Luke i. 17 was pleonastic, as we may see by comparing the parallel texts. For, though the text of D says

praeparare domino plebem consummatam,

Cod. *a* prefers to read *perfectum,* and *b perfectam;* we suspect then a primitive rendering

perfectam consummatam,

which would be decidedly African in character.

And our list of double readings shews us that at John xvii. 23 we have a very similar case, where the line

ΪΝΑ ѠCIN ΤΕΤΕΛΙѠΜΕΝΟΙ

is rendered by the Bezan text

VT SINT PERFECTI CONSVMMATI.

Here we have no Syrian confirmation as far as I know, nor is it necessary that all of such compound readings should pass into the Syriac. What we notice is that the Old Latin texts originate

[1] In the passage in John we have *a*, 'domine'; *e*, 'magister et domine'; *ff*^{2}, 'magister, domine'; and of course, in the Greek of D, *κύριε διδάσκαλε.*

such readings freely, and in some cases pass them on to other versions, either directly or by means of a Greek text that has been doctored from its translation.

How wide this influence is may be seen from the gloss in Luke ii. 48, the effects of which are felt in almost all Old Latin texts, as well as in the Curetonian text and in Tatian. There is no reason to believe that this variant has any Greek support, except by accidental reflection from the Latin; and it will be difficult to maintain that it is not a genuine Latin one, although we see that all the Syriac texts have been influenced by it.

So in Luke xv. 4, where the vulgar Latin origin of the gloss is almost evident from the language (with which we may compare the *vado et devindico* in Luke xviii. 5). Yet here also we have the two Old Syriac versions in line.

We conclude, then, that some of the double renderings which we observe in the old so-called Western texts are Latinisms; and that the Syriac versions owe them to Western bilingual influence; and since we observe the same phenomenon in this group of readings which has been so often detected elsewhere, viz. the signs of an internal *nexus* between the Curetonian text and the Tatian Harmony, we are again brought to suspect that both these texts are to be traced ultimately to a Western bilingual origin; and that they are not independent one of the other.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Some peculiar Forms and Spellings in the Codex Bezae.

i. *On a curious African form of the verb 'habeo.'*

Every one who has worked at all at the study of the textual authority of the various versions of the New Testament will know how labyrinthine is the question of the tenses that are used, and how difficult it is to determine in each case the Greek tense which stood in the translator's copy.

Not only is the question affected by the Semitic instincts of the first composers who write Hebrew constructions in Greek, which they leave to later hands to emend and reform; but, as we have shewn abundantly in previous investigations, the fact that the tenses in Greek are not parallel to those in Latin has produced reactions upon the Greek text which are of the nature of the most deep-seated of textual errors.

But this is not all: the primitive Latin translation was not made into the classical tongue but into the tongue of the people, and this tongue is almost a different language to the polite Latin which scholars study. The vulgar not only used different words, but they used the same words differently as far as force and meaning are concerned. Their verbs, for instance, were far gone in the process of decline from full inflection; and, in particular, the future tense had become so like to the present tense in many verbs, partly by the disappearance of the futures in *-bo*, partly by the thinning of the characteristic vowels, that the auxiliary future, in its pre-Romance form, had already been called into service when the first Latin rendering of the New Testament was made. It becomes very important to collect and classify all the colloquial forms which we can find in our Old Latin texts, and to use them

both for the advancement of philological study, and for the interpretation of the texts in which they occur.

In working through the Bezan text, which is the best monument that we have of the Old Latin Gospels, I was struck with the recurrence of a peculiar form of the verb *habeo*. When, for example, one found in Matt. v. 46

quam mercedem habebetis,

the first thought was that it was a simple palaeographical error of a dittographed syllable, so that *habetis* had been made into something very like a future tense, and, as was to be expected, the Greek had been corrected to match the supposed future from ἔχετε to ἕξετε. But as one read through the codex, the error repeated itself so often and so variously that the theory of palaeographical cause broke down under the strain; and although it was perfectly true that the revising hand in the Greek had made the same assumption, viz. that *habebo* was a future tense, the second thought came that, perhaps, after all, it was not a future but an African form of the present. Let us then look at some of the cases where the doubtful word occurs.

In Matt. vi. 2 we have again

mercedem non habebitis,

and here the Greek has not been tampered with; it shews

μισθὸν οὐκ ἔχετε.

Next turn to John vi. 53

non habebitis in uobis uitam,

where the Greek is ἔχετε.

In John xvi. 22

nunc quidem tristitiam habebitis,

the Greek should be ἔχετε, but has been corrected under the influence of the Latin to ἕξετε.

In Acts xviii. 18 we have

habebebat enim orationem,

and I think these five instances will shew, and especially the last, that we are not dealing with a palaeographical blunder, but with an actual verb form.

Now if this be the case, we must look for further traces of the form, on the hypothesis that in many cases it has been corrected away. Are there any such signs that the eccentric form once stood more regularly than it now does in the Old Latin tradition of the New Testament text? Let us examine the Codex Bezae on the point.

In Luke xv. 4 the text is

τις ανθρωπος εξ ὑμων ος εξει
QVIS EX VOBIS HOMO QVI HABET.

Here the true text is not ὃς ἕξει but ἔχων, and it is clear that the Greek is derived from the Latin; we suspect then that there originally stood *habebit* on the Latin side.

In John xiv. 30 the Latin text is

iam non multa
loquar uobiscum uenit enim huius
mundi princeps et in me non habet
nihil [inuenire].

The text of this passage has undergone some peculiar changes: and the attestation of the variants is conflicting: but we can see that correctors have been at work to change the present tenses into futures (*veniet, habebit*): for amongst the Old Latins *f g* we find *veniet;* and the Arabic Tatian has both *veniet* and *habebit.* We suspect then that the trouble began with a reading *habebit* in the Vulgar Latin: and that at a very early period this doubtful word was read as a future.

ii. *On the primitive translation of the word 'disciple' in the Old Latin.*

The first translation which was made of the Gospels and Acts did not render the word μαθητής by the Latin *discipulus* but by the participle *discens.* This has been pointed out by Dr Sanday in his study of the Old Latin Codex *k.* He says[1], "at the back of *k* is an older form of the Version still: a form not much dissimilar from *k,* but with some features of greater antiquity; a form which had systematically *discentes* for *discipuli; felix* for *beatus,* etc."

The same thing might have been suspected from the instances of the use of the word given in Rönsch, *Itala und Vulgata,* p. 107.

[1] *Old Latin Biblical Texts,* II. p. xc.

For Rönsch quotes instances of its use not only from the Codex Bezae, but from Codd. *b c*; and from Irenaeus and Tertullian.

I have a few words to say concerning this form, because it is one of the many little details which so constantly turn up in attestation of the theory of derivation of all Latin copies from a single primitive rendering.

Suppose, for example, we are comparing Codices *d* and *e* in the Acts: we soon find that there is a common root to the two manuscripts; and that much of the earlier common type that underlies the two texts can be recovered. It is interesting to see that the scribe of E also found the form *discens* in his manuscript, and in Acts vi. 5 we catch him altering the Greek to *μανθανόντων*, because he did not realize that *discens* could be a proper rendering of *μαθητής*.

The same form is also found in Cod. *e* of the Gospels, as may be seen from Luke xvi. 8 "dixit autem ad discentes suos."

We will now shew that it must have been in the ancestry of a number of other Old Latin Codices of the Gospels, besides *b c d e k* to which we have referred above.

Suppose we turn to Luke xix. 37, which in the Bezan text stands

> ad discensum montis oliuarum
> coepit omnis multitudo discipulorum
> gaudentes laudare deum etc.

For 'discipulorum' there stood originally 'discentium'; but this, under the influence of the words in the previous line 'ad discensum,' was easily changed into 'descendentium,' so that it read "the whole multitude of those going down the mountain began to praise God, etc." Accordingly *f* g^1 still read 'discentium,' not having fallen into the error: the codex g^2 reads 'descendentium,' so does the Amiatinus: the codex Fuldensis 'discendentium,' etc. There is, therefore, no doubt about the original reading, nor about the genesis of the error. But, as often happens, when a text has been corrupted in some respect, the short and drastic method of dealing with the difficulty is to leave the corrupted word or sentence out, so we find in the present case that the MSS. *a c i l* have omitted the word; and this is tantamount to a proof that they also at some time read 'discendentium,' and therefore

had 'discentes' in their ancestry. We knew this already of Cod. *c*: our list now includes *a b c d e f g*^{1} *g*^{2} *i k l*. Nor is this all, for we find the Curetonian Syriac in the same company, for the omission of the word: and we have one more suggestion of the Latin or Graeco-Latin text that lies behind this venerable translation.

iii. *On a curious phonetic change in the dialect of the translator of the Old Latin Version.*

In the text of the Codex Bezae there are some signs of an interchange between the *m* and *p* sounds, which seems to be incapable of any explanation except a phonetic one.

For example, in Acts xiii. 34 we have

suscitauit eum a portuis,

as if the last word were almost equivalent in sound to 'mortuis.'

In Luke xiv. 1 we have the reverse error,

manducare manem

for 'panem': the equivalence of the sounds being seen from the fact that the errors take place in either direction, *m* for *p* or *p* for *m*.

Now, that this confusion is not due to a later hand working on the Bezan tradition, but to the first hand, may be seen as follows. In John vi. 49 the translator had to render *οἱ πατέρες ὑμῶν ἔφαγον τὸ μάννα ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ*: and just as in the passage in Luke he wrote 'panem' as 'manem,' so here he confounded 'mannam' with 'panem' and gave the latter word. Hence we find in the Bezan text

patres uestri manducauerunt panem
in deserto.

From this the Greek text is then doctored, so as to bring in *τὸν ἄρτον* to match 'panem': and finally 'mannam' gets inserted, probably by a later hand, at the end of the sentence after 'deserto.'

Now, the antiquity of the error can be seen by the fact that 'panem' has been added in the four Latin texts *a b d e*. But further than this, it turns up in the Curetonian text, where it has displaced *τὸ μάννα*, which had not been restored in the text from which the materials of the Curetonian text were derived. If this explanation be correct, we have a decisive instance of the existence of Latin readings in the Curetonian text.

It would be rash to identify on such narrow data the nationality of the translator. But we may point out that, at all events, the circumstances are not adverse to the theory of a Carthaginian hand. For if the two sounds approximated, it must have been by the means of an agreement with the sound of the letter *b*. That the Punic speech, like the modern Arabic, tended to replace the *p* sound by *b* is seen from two inscriptions from Leptis, cited by Schröder[1], where *medicus* is equated to הרבא, which is clearly the Hebrew הרפא. And the occurrence of an element of the *b* sound along with *m*[2] may be seen from the cases cited by Schröder from the *Poenulus* of Plautus where

combal=כי אמלי
alonimb=אלנים
sille mbalim=שלי מעלם
mucomp=מקום.

It is quite possible, then, that the confusion which we have noted as surviving in the Bezan text between *m* and *p* is a trace of the Punic dialect. For in two of the instances quoted the betacized *m* is a final letter, so that the case is quite different from the inserted sound which we find in such a word, say, as Lampsacus, where the change in the consonant is due to the following sibilant.

We leave it, therefore, as a point to be enquired into further, whether the Vulgar Latin of North Africa did not betacize the *m*-sound[3]. If it did, we have something like the same phonetic phenomenon surviving in the Codex Bezae.

iv. *On a confusion between* est *and* venit *in the primitive form of the Old Latin New Testament.*

A study of the various Old Latin texts will bring to light a

[1] *Die Phönizische Sprache*, p. 113.

[2] Cf. the phonetic changes by which Cod. *b* made *medianum* into *pede plano*. Remark also *pedimus* for *pedibus* in *Acta Perpetuae*, c. xi. (Cod. Casinensis).

[3] We may compare an error in the first chapter of Matthew (i. 5) in Cod. *k*, which is held to contain an African text: here *Rachab* is written *Pacham:* the confusion between R and P is due to the bilingualism of the scribe: the error in the last letter is phonetic. The same thing occurs in Cod. Bezae in Matt. i. 13, where we have *eliecib* and *heliacib* for *eliakim*.

number of cases in which there is a very decided confusion between the verb 'to be' and the verb 'to come.' For instance, in Matt. xxv. 6 the S. Germain Codex (g^1) reads

ecce sponsus est uenit,

where Wordsworth remarks "there is a two-fold rendering representing a variation in the Greek text." That is, we have a conflation of translations of two different Greek words, according to the editor of the Codex. The Greek, however, seems not to have any verb; and, if there were no other cases besides this one, we should probably be justified in regarding it as a case where the literal translation

ecce sponsus

which we find in Cod. Bezae had been filled up by two different expansions, one of which may find its motive in the following ἐξέρχεσθε of the text: e.g. Cod. *b* has *venit*, and Cod. Sangallensis has *venit* (ἔρχεται); while the other form *ecce sponsus est* may still be lurking in the Old Latin versions; its existence is, however, sufficiently proved from the S. Germain text.

But there are other similar instances; in Luke xxii. 27 we have

ego autem
sum in medio uestrum ueni etc.

where again we notice the double rendering; and here it seems as if the verb εἰμί really belongs to the text. If so it is curious that it should have a double rendering. Was the word εἰμί originally absent from the text? If not, how did it get changed into *veni*? The whole passage is in great confusion in the Bezan text.

In Acts xxi. 27 we have the Latin

qui ab Asia erant Iudaei uenerant,

which probably represents an original text

οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσίας Ἰουδαῖοι,

though it has been altered in the Bezan text to

οἱ δὲ ἀ[πὸ] τῆς Ἀσίας Ἰουδαῖοι ἐληλυθότες,

so as to represent the Latin more closely.

This case, then, seems to be like the first, where the missing verb had been filled up by *erant* and *venerant* in two renderings,

and the results combined. But the recurrence of the double form in the Bezan Latin makes us suspicious that something primitive is lurking here. Is it possible that we are dealing with a feature of the African Latin in such expressions as *est venit, sum veni, erant venerant*?

Something of a similar character comes to light when we turn to Cod. *k* in Mark xiii. 33,

nescitis enim quando tempus ueniet,

where *d* reads *sit*. Cod. *a* does not shew any verb, being thus in more close harmony with the Greek: but Codd. *d k* are closely related to one another and to the primitive Latin version: how are we then to explain the concurrence of *sit* and *veniet*?

In Luke vii. 12 the Codex Bezae gives

et multus populus
ciuitatis cum ea erat,

and the Greek has taken on the form *συνεληλύθει αὐτῇ* as if to answer to a Latin *venerat* or *convenerat*.

But it seems clear that the Greek text is *ἦν*, which we find in ℵBCΞ and other MSS.: and in fact we have *erat* in the Latin of D. What are we to say to this? If there are two independent alternative translations of the Greek *ἦν*, viz. *erat* and *venerat*, how does it come to pass that traces of both of them are in the Codex Bezae, one of them in the Latin and the other by reflection in the Greek? Does it not look as if there had been a primitive rendering *erat venerat*?

In John xiii. 1 we have again a suspicious variation. Cod. Bezae reads in the Latin

quia uenerat eius hora,

and Codd. *a b* have *uenit* for *uenerat*.

The Greek texts divide over *ἦλθεν* and *ἐλήλυθεν*, but the Greek text of Cod. Bezae offers us a reading *παρῆν*, which is its own invention and therefore probably comes from its Latin. The word is a very good representation of the meaning, but it is suspicious that an attempt should have been made to introduce a verb which was a compound of *εἶμί*.

Now turn to Acts xvii. 6

ΟΤΙ ΟΙ ΤΗΝ ΟΙΚΟΥΜΕΝΗΝ ΑΝΑΣΤΑΤΩΣΑΝΤΕΣ
ΟΥΤΟΙ ΕΙΣΙΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΝΘΑΔΕ ΠΑΡΕΙΣΙΝ

QVIA QVI ORBEM TERRAE INQVITAVERVNT
HI SVNT ET HOC VENERVNT.

The word *εἰσίν* in the Greek is, of course, intrusive and comes from the Latin; and then the question arises as to the insertion of *sunt*. We may, perhaps, say that it was because the translator misunderstood the force of the strong *καὶ* in the Greek, and therefore supposed a verb to be required with *hi*. The explanation may be sufficient, but it is curious that we have the collocation of the same two verbs as before. Is it not conceivable that the sentence

hi sunt et huc uenerunt,

may, after all, be good African Latin for 'are come hither also,' and not need any correction or apology?

If this explanation be correct, we can see the motive for the textual variation in six at least out of the seven cases mentioned above. We suggest, therefore, that the African Latin had a usage, not unlike that of the Syriac, of combining a verb with the auxiliary in the same tense with itself.

If this could be established, it would be natural to refer to such a form of speech for the origin of the French and Italian use of the auxiliary *sum* with *venio*, as in *je suis venu* etc., which form is, I believe, generally explained by Romance philologers by a reference to the Latin *ventum est*.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Concluding Remarks on the Glosses in Luke.

We may now fairly claim to have proved our theory of Latinization as regards the Western text of the New Testament; for the Greek text of Codex Bezae has been shewn to involve a series of re-translations from the Latin, and many of the added glosses are due to second century hands, which tampered with the text in the interests of elucidation and edification.

Of the books of the New Testament which have undergone revision in this way, the two which have suffered the most are the Gospel of Luke and the Acts: in the Gospel the later chapters have suffered most from the interpolator and the commentator.

In reference to the Acts we have already given the solution with sufficient detail, and there are not many interpolations or readings left unexplained. But with the Gospel the problem is more obscure; and the resolution of the difficulties is, as we intimated in a previous chapter, a harder piece of critical work. We shall however conclude our discussion by examining a single page of the Gospel of Luke in Codex Bezae, a page which is as full of errors and corruptions as any in the whole of the Gospel.

Turn, then, to fol. 279 *b* and fol. 280 *a* of the MS., which give respectively the Greek and Latin which stand on the 257th page of Scrivener's edition, and contain the text of Luke from c. xxiii. *v.* 34 to *v.* 45. The text of this page, judged by any imagined standard, is in great confusion. But taking our Ariadne's thread, the proved Latinization of notable passages in the Western text, we see at once how to remove a number of errors.

For example, in *v.* 35 *θεωρῶν* was rendered somewhat thinly by

the Latin *videns:* so the reviser corrected the Greek back to *ὁρῶν*, which was the exact equivalent of the Latin. Hence we have

ΚΑΙ ΕΙCΤΗΚΕΙ Ο ΛΑΟC ΟΡΩΝ
ET STABAT POPVLVS VIDENS.

Again in *v.* 36: the translator rendered the aorist *ἐνέπαιξαν* by the Latin imperfect *deludebant,* and the reviser who harmonized the text and the translation gives us accordingly an imperfect in the Greek,

ΕΝΕΠΕΖΟΝ ΔΕ ΑΥΤΩ ΚΑΙ ΟΙ CΤΡΑΤΙΩΤΑΙ
DELVDEBANT AVTEM EVM ET MILITES.

In *v.* 38 the abrupt Greek *ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων οὗτος* was rendered *rex iudaeorum hic est:* and the added verb of the Latin was restored on the Greek side.

When the translator has varied the order in a construction made up out of a participle and verb, as he often does, and naturally enough, the reviser accommodates the Greek to the rendering: so we find in *v.* 34

διαμεριζόμενοι δὲ τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ ἔβαλον κλήρους

is rendered by

partiebantur autem uestimenta eius mittentes sortem,

and the Greek finally becomes

διεμερίζοντο...βαλόντες (? βάλλοντες).

So in *v.* 40

ἐπιτιμῶν...ἔφη becomes *increpabat...dicens,*

and the final Greek is

ἐπετίμα...λέγων.

These instances will shew that the same general influences are at work on the text at this point as we have detected elsewhere. Now let us turn to errors of a more pronounced kind: *vv.* 43, 44 read in our text as follows:

ΚΑΙ CΤΡΑΦΕΙC
ΠΡΟC ΤΟΝ ΚΝ ΕΙΠΕΝ ΑΥΤΩ ΜΝΗCΘΗΤΙ ΜΟΥ
ΕΝ ΤΗ ΗΜΕΡΑ ΤΗC ΕΛΕΥCΕΩC CΟΥ
ΑΠΟΚΡΙΘΕΙC ΔΕ Ο ΙC ΕΙΠΕΝ ΑΥΤΩ ΤΩ ΕΠΛΗCΟΝΤΙ
ΘΑΡCΕΙ CΗΜΕΡΟΝ ΜΕΤ ΕΜΟΥ ΕCΗ
ΕΝ ΤΩ ΠΑΡΑΔΕΙCΩ

ET CONVERSVS
AD DOM DIXIT ILLI MEMENTO ME
IN DIE ADVENTVS TVI
RESPONDENS AVTEM IHS DIXIT QVI OBIVRGABAT EV
ANIMEQVIOR ESTO HODIE MECVM ERIS
IN PARADISO.

The first thing we notice is that the peculiar *στραφεὶς* has no attestation whatever except in one of the recensions of the *Acta Pilati* (B, c. x.), which gives the singular paraphrase

καὶ στραφεὶς πρὸς τὸν Ἰησοῦν λέγει αὐτῷ· κύριε, ὅταν βασιλεύσῃς, μή μου ἐπιλάθου.

Now let us look at the perplexing addition

τω επλησοντι.

The Latin rendering shews that this stands for

τω επιπλησσοντι,

and that as it stands it means 'the one who rebuked him,' i.e. the robber who rebuked the other robber. Now if we look closely at our text we shall see that this gloss has got into the text at the wrong spot: for there is no difficulty at this place in knowing which robber is in question; and we are inclined to believe that a displacement has occurred and that the original gloss was

ille qui obiurgabat eum,

and was meant to stand two lines higher up: but only the *ille* got into the text at this place where it was promptly changed into *illi* and a corresponding *αὐτῷ* was added in the Greek. We see then that *qui obiurgabat eum* was not meant for a dative as the Greek has taken it, and the gloss must have arisen on the Latin side. We see this, further, from the fact that *obiurgabat* is evidently the equivalent for the *ἐπετίμα* of *v.* 40, so that if the Greek had been the first form we should have had *ἐπιτιμήσαντι* and not *ἐπιπλήσσοντι*. It follows, then, that *obiurgabat* must have been the primitive Latin rendering in *v.* 40, and not *increpabat* which the Codex Bezae now shews. This is verified by turning to the Codex Vercellensis which has actually preserved the *obiurgabat*. So far, then, everything is clear: we are dealing with a misplaced

marginal Latin gloss which stood primitively in the margin as

ille
qui
obiurgabat
eum,

and which finally broke into two, and got into two separate places in the text.

Now let us turn to the *Acta Pilati:* and here we find that several of the chief authorities for the text in recension A read

καὶ εἶπεν ὁ ἐπιτίμησας τὸν ἕτερον αὐτοῦ τῷ Ἰησοῦ· μνήσθητί μου κτέ.

Here then we have the very same gloss occurring at the place where our analysis shewed that it was meant to stand in Codex Bezae. But if this be the case, there is certainly some connection between the two texts. Nor does it seem perfectly clear that the *Acta Pilati* took it from a Western bilingual, for, as we see, the Latin gloss is in the Codex Bezae both wrongly inserted and wrongly translated. We should prefer to believe, if the position were tenable, that the gloss in the early Western text at this point is due to one of the sources of the *Acta Pilati;* but the matter is very obscure.

Now let us turn back to *v.* 37,

ΛΕΓΟΝΤΕϹ • ΧΑΙΡΕ Ο ΒΑϹΙΛΕΥϹ ΤΩΝ ΙΟΥΔΑΙΩΝ
ΠΕΡΙΤΕΘΕΝΤΕϹ ΑΥΤΩ ΚΑΙ ΑΚΑΝΘΙΝΟΝ
ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΝ

DICENTES HABE REX IVDAEORVM
INPONENTES ILLI ET DE SPINIS
CORONAM.

Not a word of this is genuine, except the introductory λέγοντες! Scrivener's remark upon this verse is as follows: "very much out of place, since the scene of this act of mockery, as assigned by the other three evangelists, is Pilate's Praetorium." No doubt it is very much out of place, but then there was a reason for it. The *Acta Pilati* do not refer to the scene in the soldiers' hall, *but place the Coronation with thorns at the time of the Crucifixion.* Accordingly the text of Tischendorf's first recension is as follows:

C. X. *καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐκ τοῦ πραιτωρίου καὶ οἱ δύο κακοῦργοι σὺν αὐτῷ. καὶ ὅτε ἀπῆλθαν ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον, ἐξέδυσαν αὐτὸν τὰ ἱματία αὐτοῦ καὶ περιέζωσαν αὐτὸν λέντιον· καὶ στέφανον ἐξ ἀκανθῶν περιέθηκαν αὐτῷ περὶ τὴν κεφαλήν.*

It will be seen that the *Acta Pilati* definitely assign the proceedings on the part of the soldiers to the place and time of the Crucifixion, exactly as is done in the Bezan text.

Our readers will see how interesting and how difficult the discrimination of the sources here becomes. We might, of course, simply affirm that the *Acta Pilati* had borrowed from a Western copy of the Gospels: but this hardly seems adequate, for what motive can we assign for such a displacement in the Western text of the Gospel, unless perhaps it be found in the fact that no mention was made in Luke of the Crowning? Moreover we find in the same error with the Codex Bezae two other important authorities, viz. Cod. *c* and the Curetonian Syriac, for Cod. *c* reads

aue rex iudaeorum salua temetipsum
imposuerunt autem et de spinis coronam,

and the Cureton text answers to

χαῖρε· εἰ σὺ εἶ ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων σῶσον σεαυτόν. καὶ περιέθηκαν ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ στέφανον ἐξ ἀκανθῶν.

It is clear then that the Western error in question is very ancient: nor is it easy to see from what early document these primitive Western texts could have derived their accretion. The presumption is that the source is Latin, but this carries us only a little way. But perhaps we ought not to expect to solve all these problems at the first statement; and if we have been successful, as we hope we have, in removing in our earlier pages many difficulties from the textual criticism of the New Testament, we may reasonably ask for longer time to discuss questions that resist resolution.

Claudite iam riuos, pueri: sat prata biberunt.

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TEXTS AND STUDIES

CONTRIBUTIONS TO
BIBLICAL AND PATRISTIC LITERATURE

EDITED BY

J. ARMITAGE ROBINSON B.D.

FELLOW OF CHRIST'S COLLEGE CAMBRIDGE

VOL. II.

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THE TESTAMENT OF ABRAHAM

THE GREEK TEXT NOW FIRST EDITED WITH
AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY

MONTAGUE RHODES JAMES M.A.

FELLOW DEAN AND DIVINITY LECTURER OF KING'S COLLEGE
ASSISTANT-DIRECTOR OF THE FITZWILLIAM MUSEUM

WITH AN APPENDIX CONTAINING
EXTRACTS FROM THE ARABIC VERSION OF

THE TESTAMENTS OF ABRAHAM ISAAC AND JACOB

BY

W. E. BARNES B.D.

FELLOW OF PETERHOUSE

CAMBRIDGE
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TO

H. J., M. E. J.,

H. E. L.

PREFACE.

THE ancient writings published in this volume have, it is believed, more than one claim on the interest of students. They belong, in the first place, to a class of literature whose importance in the history of both the Jewish and the Christian religion is now amply recognised; namely, the pseudepigraphic. Within the sphere of that literature, they claim kindred with two important groups of books, the apocalyptic and the ethical. In respect of apocalyptic literature, important information is afforded by the Testament of Abraham as to the relationships subsisting between various Visions of the unseen; in particular, both the origin and the wide-spread popularity of the Apocalypse of Paul are illustrated. The ethical group of pseudepigrapha is enriched by the publication of the Testament of Isaac, the relation of which to the *Didache* and to the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs will, I hope, be recognised and investigated by others more fully than it has been by myself.

Among the more important points which invite discussion in the Testaments, I would call attention to the occurrence of the weighing of Souls as a feature in the process of judgment, to the suggested influence of the Testament of Abraham upon the Vision of Thurchill, and to the description of the Angel of Death.

It has been possible for me to make use of several unpublished documents of an apocryphal nature. These are, the Latin text of the Apocalypse of Paul, and the Apocalypses of the Virgin, of Sedrach, and of Zosimas. I hope to be able to print the full text of these and of several other similar tracts at no distant date.

Among matters which I have not discussed in this volume there are two in particular which need to be mentioned here. The first omission is that of ancient accounts of the death of Abraham outside the Testament. There are very few of these, and I have not come across any which seem to be connected with the tract before us. The most noteworthy is that in the Book of Jubilees. In the second place, I had at one time contemplated adding a section on the later history of the tombs and relics of the Patriarchs. This, however, would have led me further afield than I was justified in going, and I need do no more here than refer my reader to the very interesting narrative of the Invention of the three bodies at Hebron in the 13th century, which is printed in the Bollandist *Acta* for March.

My thanks for help rendered in the production of this book are due in the first place to Mr W. E. Barnes, the writer of the Appendix: he has had a difficult task to perform in translating the corrupt text before him; but his excellent performance has very greatly added to the value of this volume. To the Editor of this series I would render my best thanks for his kindness in transcribing a MS of the Testament of Abraham, and for his patient supervision of all the work. To Mr Rendel Harris, for his generous loan of another transcript, and to Professor W. Robertson Smith, for several suggestions and much help incidentally rendered, I also desire to express my gratitude very warmly.

M. R. J.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE present edition of the Greek text of the Testament of Abraham in its two recensions is made from nine MSS. Two versions of the book, Roumanian and Arabic, have also been consulted. An account of these authorities will be most appropriately placed at the head of this introduction. The MSS of the Greek text divide themselves into two main classes, those of the Longer, and those of the Shorter Recension. All are late, the oldest belonging perhaps to the 13th century.

MSS of the Longer Recension.

A. Paris, Bibl. Nat. Fonds Grec 770, cent. XIV., written in 1315 by a priest named George. This is a 4to. book, of paper, with 268 ff., written in double columns. The contents are miscellaneous, including various lives of Saints for the months November and December, e.g. SS. Andrew, Nicolas, Barbara, and Anastasia.

The Testament of Abraham occupies ff. 225 *b*—241 *a*: it is preceded by S. Chrysostom's Homily on the Expulsion of Adam from Paradise, and followed by the same Father's xiith Homily on Philippians.

Other Apocryphal tracts in the volume are the Gesta Pilati, Story of Joseph of Arimathaea, Anaphora and Paradosis of Pilate, Martyrdom of S. Andrew, S. John's narrative of the Assumption, and Euripus's Narrative of the Martyrdom of S. John Baptist.

The Codex was used by Tischendorf (*Evang. Apocr.* Ed. II. p. lxxxi.). It is the best MS of the Longer Recension which I have used. I collated it in Sept. 1890.

B. Jerusalem, Cod. S. Sepulcri 66, cent. XV(?). For a full account of the contents of this MS see Mr Rendel Harris's *The Rest of the Words of Baruch*, pp. 27—29. To his kindness I owe a transcript of this MS, which I have found of material importance in the constitution of a text. This copy is closely allied to A; where it differs, its readings are seldom to be preferred.

C. Cod. Bodl. Canonicianus Gr. 19, cent. XV. XVI., on paper, ff. 315.

A miscellany, in which are many Homilies of S. Chrysostom, some of S. Ephraem, a few Lives of Saints for Nov. and Dec. and some Apocryphal matter.

The Testament occupies ff. 128 *b*—144 *b*. It is preceded by the Names of the Apostles and Etymology of the Greek letters, and followed by the Revelation of S. Methodius in a form differing from that printed.

Of other Apocryphal matter it contains a fragment of a Narrative of the Assumption (S. John's), Eurippus on S. John Baptist, the Protevangelium, and the Legend of Zosimas. This is, I believe, the only MS of the Testament in England. It seems to be a copy of Cod. E (v. infra). I transcribed it in Nov. 1886.

D. Paris, Bibl. Nat. Fonds Grec 1556, cent. XV. paper, ff. 351, 4to.

It contains Homilies and Lives of Saints, mostly for Nov., Dec. and Jan.

The Testament occupies ff. 22 *a*—32 *b*. It is preceded by a Life of S. Nicolas and followed by S. Ephraem's Homily on Joseph.

Of other Apocryphal matter it has: Acts of SS. Andrew and Matthew and Acts of S. Thomas. The uncial fragments of the Acts of SS. Andrew and Matthew published by Tischendorf (*Apocr.* 139), were at one time bound up in this volume, but seem now to have disappeared.

The text of this MS of the Testament is not very good, and shews a tendency to abridgement. I collated it in Sept. 1890.

E. Vienna, Cod. Theol. Gr. 237 (333 in Nessel p. 443) cent. XIII. (?), vellum 8vo. ff. 151.

Homilies and one or two Lives, of S. Euphrosynus, Marinus or Mary, and Alexius.

The Testament (ff. 34 *a*—57 *a*) intervenes between the Life of S. Euphrosynus, and a Homily of S. Chrysostom on Prayer and Fasting. The MS contains the Apocalypse of the Virgin. It was bought at Venice in 1673 from the Abate Domenico Federici. The MS C also came from Venice with the rest of the Canonici MSS, and may have been copied there direct from E, to which it shews the closest similarity, only differing here and there by accidental omission, and more frequently by an increased tendency to itacism. For my knowledge of the text of this MS I am indebted to a transcript kindly made for me by the Editor of this Series, when he was working at Vienna in September, 1890.

F. Paris, Bibl. Nat. Fonds Grec 1313, cent. XV. XVI. 8vo. paper, ff. 364, in a bad hand.

A Miscellany of Homilies and Lives of Saints connected with the winter months, e.g. SS. Andrew, Xenophon, Nicolas, Barbara.

The Testament occupies ff. 32 *b*—38 *b*. It is a mere fragment, ending in § v, and presents a poor text. I collated it in Sept. 1890.

There are one or two errors in the description of this MS in M. Omont's valuable *Inventaire Sommaire*, which it may be well to notice here. (1) The Testament of Abraham is not mentioned at all. (2) The 'Anonymi fragmentum de Adamo' is Tischendorf's 'Apocalypse of Moses' in an abridged form, but complete. (3) The 'Vita Andreae' is the Acts of SS. Andrew and Matthew, and extends, not to f. 173 but to f. 162 *a*; f. 162 *b* is blank, and the space from f. 163 *a*—172 *a* is occupied by a fragment, mutilated at the beginning, of one of the numerous narratives of the Assumption.

Besides the above apocryphal tracts, the volume contains S. John's narrative of the Assumption.

MSS of the Shorter Recension.

A. Paris, Bibl. Nat. Fonds Grec 1613, cent. XV. 8vo. paper, ff. 191.

It contains Homilies and Lives of Saints, e.g. SS. Xenophon, John Calybita, Mary of Egypt, Thomas the Apostle, and John the Almoner.

The Testament occupies ff. 87 *b*—96 *b*. It is preceded by S. Ephraem on Charity and the Second Advent, and followed by S. Chrysostom on the Vanity of Life. This is the best MS of this recension. I transcribed the text in Sept. 1890.

B. Paris, Bibl. Nat. Supplément Grec 162, cent. XIV. 4to. paper, ff. 212, in double columns.

It contains Homilies and Lives of Saints e.g. SS. Mary of Egypt, John Calybita, the Forty Martyrs, George, Nicolas, Barbara.

The Testament occupies ff. 106 *b*—114 *b*, and is imperfect, ending in § xiii. The old table of contents in this MS has

περὶ τῆς κοιμήσεως τοῦ πατριάρχου ἀβραάμ [mut. at end.]
διήγησις τοῦ Ἐφραὶμ εἰς τὸν παγκάλον Ἰωσήφ [gone.]
(S. Chrysostom) τῷ σαββάτῳ τῆς ἀποκρέω εἰς τοὺς κεκοιμημένους [gone.]
τοῦ χρυσοστόμου τῇ κυριακῇ τῆς ἀποκρέω [beginning gone.]

I collated it in September, 1890.

C. Vienna, Cod. Histor. Gr. 126 (p. 175 Nessel), cent. XV. (?), paper, 4to. ff. 137.

Contains Lives of Saints, e.g. SS. Barbara, the Seven Sleepers, Theodore, Nicolas, Susanna.

The Testament occupies ff. 10 *b*—18 *a*. A leaf is lost towards the end. It is preceded by the Martyrdom of S. Nicetas the Goth, and followed by some Acts of S. John, printed by Tischendorf. The MS also contains the Rest of the Words of Baruch, the Protevangelium, and the Acts of SS. Peter and Paul.

I was enabled by the good offices of Mr Robinson to obtain an excellent transcript of this MS, made by Dr Rudolf Beer. The text is valuable.

Besides the MSS which have been utilised for the present edition there is one which I have not been able to consult. It is at Montpellier, No. 405 (72 in Omont's *MSS Grecs des Bibliothèques des Départements*), of cent. XV.—XVI. on paper, "petit format," ff. 154. On ff. 61—83 is Διήγησις περὶ τῆς ζωῆς καὶ θανάτου καὶ τῆς φιλοξενίας τοῦ δικαίου Ἀβραάμ...ἔζησε δὲ Ἀβραάμ... The opening words indicate that it is a MS of the Longer Recension. It is preceded by the "Apocalypse of Moses" (v. supra Par. Gr. 1313), and followed by Hymns to the Virgin. The MS also contains the

Revelation of Methodius, the opening words being identical with those of the recension in Canon. Gr. 19. The provenance of the volume is Auxerre; the copyist was Noel de La Brõ.

In *Cat. Codd. MSS Angliae*, among Gale's MSS (Pt. iii. p. 187, No. 85) is a *Narratio de Abrahamo*, which may be the Testament. It may, however, also be the Life of S. Abraham the Hermit, which is often described in similar terms, and is a good deal commoner than the Testament, which seems to have given place to it in some collections of lives. Gale's MS did not come to Trinity College; it may be at Leyden. No doubt other copies exist; but at present I have not been able to discover them, nor do I anticipate that very much would be gained by a multiplication of collations.

As to the relations of our available MSS. Those of the Long Recension may be classed as follows: A and B present one and the same form of text, which differs from the others chiefly in its greater fulness. I do not find proof that A is the parent of B. CE shew a rather abbreviated text, and E is obviously very near akin to C. D is still more of an abridgement, but seems to belong to a family not represented by either AB or CE. F is the latest of the MSS, and is quite unimportant.

The text which I have printed of the Long Recension depends more upon A than upon any other single authority. In the *Apparatus Criticus* I have not noted by any means all the variations which occur; those which I have omitted consist in great part of itacisms and of omissions which are obviously accidental. This is more particularly true of the narrative portions of the book: in the Apocalyptic portion I believe my collations to be complete.

The MSS of the Shorter Recension being only three in number do not afford much opportunity of identifying their descent. The Paris MS A gives the fullest and best text here; B shews a tendency to modernise the language and to abridge further, while C takes unwarrantable liberties with the text in at least one place (§ II. III.), which have the effect of confusing the narrative. Their variations are reported with approximate completeness in the *Apparatus Criticus.*

The two Versions of the Testament to which I have had access are not the only ones that exist, nor indeed the only ones

in print. Of the others, however, I can furnish only scanty particulars.

The Roumanian Version was printed, with an English translation, by Dr Michael Gaster in the Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, IX. 195—226 (1887), under the name of the Apocalypse of Abraham. The MSS used by him are three in number, of the XVIIIth and XIXth centuries. The title of the book in this version is the most important point connected with it. It runs thus:

"Vieața și moartea parintelui nostru cel drept Avraam, scrisa dupa *Apocalipsi* cu cuvinte frumoase foarte," i.e. "Life and Death of our Father Abraham the Righteous, written according to the Apocalypse in beautiful words."

This is on the whole an abridged and not very faithful form of the Longer Recension. Such details as the "sons of Masek," § II, are omitted. Δρῦς τῆς Μαμβρῆ is always rendered "Dria the Black" μαύρη being read for Μαμβρῆ. The episode of Abraham's wrath against sinners, and the description of Death are much shortened. On the whole this version shews great similarity to the text of the MSS CE. No detail not contained in them appears here.

Dr Gaster's edition of the Roumanian Version was anticipated, it seems, in part by the publication of a fragment of the version by B. P. Hasdeu in *Cuvente den bătrâni* II. 189—94, Bucharest, 1880. A Slavonic version has been printed by Tihonravov in *Pamjatniki Arechennoj Russkoj literatury*, pp. 79—90, Petersburg, 1863. Of neither of these books have I been able to obtain a sight.

The Ethiopic version I cannot discover in a complete form. A copy of the Three Testaments (of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob) is to be found in MS Eth. 134, of the Bibliothèque Nationale. But here the Testament of Abraham is a mere fragment, beginning in the midst of the trial-scene, where the 'second witness' of the Arabic Version is speaking. From the Arabic Version this in Ethiopic seems to have been made. A copy, which must be much abridged, of all the Three Testaments occupies six leaves in No. 107, of M. D'Abbadie's Ethiopic MSS (*Catalogue raisonné*, p. 119). It is perhaps noteworthy that the MS is a production of the

Falashas. The Testaments are here, as in the Arabic, attributed to S. Athanasius.

Of the Arabic Version it is not my purpose to speak in detail now. An examination of its relation to the other authorities will be best reserved to a special section dealing with the topic. It may be said here, that this version only became accessible to me when, after my Greek text had gone to press, Mr Barnes undertook the task of translating it from the Paris MS 31 *anc. fonds Arabe*, which the French authorities, with their wonted liberality, sent over to the Cambridge University Library. For a complete account of the MS, I would refer the reader to Mr Barnes's Appendix. Its existence was first notified to the world at large by the extract from it printed by M. Zotenberg in his *Cat. des MSS Éth. de la Bibl. Nat.*, à propos of the Ethiopic MS no. 134, of which I have already made mention. These extracts Professor Robertson Smith kindly translated for me, and a further examination of the MS was decided upon.

History of the Book.

Under this head it seems best to include such meagre notices of the existence of our book as are yielded by Patristic Literature. (1) As is often the case when we are dealing with apocryphal books, the bulk of our information consists of a bare mention of the name occurring in lists of such works. There are three principal documents of the kind in Greek, which, though they are not the earliest in date of our available witnesses, we will examine first by way of clearing the ground. Our three documents are (*a*) the Synopsis of Pseudo-Athanasius[1], (*b*) The Stichometry of Nicephorus, (*c*) The List of the Sixty Books. The most recent edition and discussion of these lists is to be found in Zahn's *Gesch. d. NTlichen Kanons* ii. i. 290—318. The Synopsis is, he thinks, a

[1] According to Zahn, the MS from which Montfaucon printed the *Synopsis* has since been lost, and no other is known to exist. I have lately come across a MS in the Library of Eton College (Bl. 5. 13) of cent. XIV. or XV., written by Doukas, the notary of John of Ragusa, Cardinal Bp. of Argos († 1418–19), which contains this Synopsis (*f.* 1 *sqq.*). The MS was from 1685 to 1748 the property of the Mauclercs of Vitry, by one of whom, Joh. Hen. Mauclerc, it was presented to the then Librarian of Eton College, Mr Huggett.

production of cir. 500 A.D.; the Stichometry was drawn up at Jerusalem in cir. 850 A.D.; the List of the Sixty Books dates from cir. 600 A.D. Other writers, e.g. Credner and Schürer, have regarded the Stichometry as earlier in date than the Synopsis. But Zahn's reasoning appears to me convincing, and as regards the List of the Sixty Books, it is, I think, demonstrable from internal evidence that it is based on the Synopsis. I append a copy of the three lists, with the view of shewing in what company the work named after Abraham appears. It should be noted that the text of the Stichometry only differs from that of the Synopsis by the addition of the number of *στίχοι* in each book. It will be remarked further that the List of the Sixty Books omits the item in which we are interested. For this omission I hope to be able to assign a reason. One other note I will add here: Fabricius, *Cod. Pseud. V. T.* i. 402, gives the Stichometry for Abraham as ,ατ' (1300). This variant is, as Zahn points out, merely a clerical error. The true reading (300) gives us a book rather shorter than the Greek Esther, which has 350 *στίχοι*.

Ps.-Ath.	*Nicephorus.*	*Sixty Books.*
α'. Ἐνώχ.	α'. + στίχοι ,δω'.	α'. Ἀδάμ.
β'. Πατριάρχαι.	β'. + στίχ. ,ερ'.	β'. Ἐνώχ.
γ'. Προσευχὴ Ἰωσήφ.	γ'. + στίχ. ,αρ'.	γ'. Λάμεχ.
δ'. Διαθήκη Μωϋσέως.	δ'. + στίχ. ,αρ'.	δ'. Πατριάρχαι.
ε'. Ἀνάληψις Μωϋσέως.	ε'. + στίχ. ,αυ'.	ε'. Ἰωσὴφ προσευχή.
ϛ'. Ἀβραάμ.	ϛ'. + στίχ. τ'.	ϛ'. Ἐλδὰδ καὶ Μωδάδ.
ζ'. Ἐλδὰδ καὶ Μωδάδ.	ζ'. + στίχ. υ'.	ζ'. Διαθήκη Μωσέως.
η'. Ἠλίου προφήτου.	η'. + στίχ. τιϛ'.	η'. Ἀνάληψις Μωσέως.
θ'. Σοφονίου προφήτου.	θ'. + στίχ. χ'.	θ'. Ψαλμοὶ Σολομῶντος.
ι'. Ζαχαρίου πατρὸς Ἰωάννου.	ι'. + στίχ. φ'.	ι'. Ἠλίου ἀποκάλυψις.
ια'. Βαρούχ, Ἀμβακούμ, Ἐζεχιὴλ καὶ Δανιὴλ ψευδεπίγραφα.	ια'. identical.	ια'. Ἡσαΐου ὅρασις.
		ιβ'. Σοφονίου ἀποκάλυψις.
		ιγ'. Ζαχαρίου ἀποκάλυψις.
		ιδ'. Ἔσδρα ἀποκάλυψις.

The entry with which we are especially concerned is the 6th in the first two lists; and the first question which occurs in connexion with it is this: what word are we to supply in order to complete the title? Peter Lambecius, the Vienna librarian quoted by Fabricius *l. c.*, suggested *ἀνάληψις*, repeating it from the preceding entry. Fabricius himself preferred *ψευδεπίγραφα* and was for taking the whole of the list of Ps.-Athanasius as one sentence,

understanding the word ψευδεπίγραφα with every item after the 'Assumption of Moses.' On the other hand, a reference to the List of the Sixty Books, where the titles are more fully given, shews us that in several instances the word to be supplied is ἀποκάλυψις. This is so in the case of the works attributed to Elijah, Zephaniah, and Zechariah (or Zacharias) and less certainly in the case of 'Baruch'; for probably the 'Apocalypse of Baruch' is alluded to in the 11th entry. The idea that in the case of 'Abraham' the word ἀποκάλυψις must be supplied is favoured by the fact that we know that in the time of Epiphanius an 'Apocalypse of Abraham' existed. I believe, then, that 'Αβραὰμ ἀποκάλυψις is the full title of No. 6 in these lists; and the fact that the Greek MSS of the book here published show a predilection for the term διαθήκη need not militate against an identification of the 'Testament of Abraham' with the 'Apocalypse of Abraham,' if further investigation should seem to point in that direction. For the names 'Testament' and 'Apocalypse' are convertible terms. In the case of the Apocalypse of Adam, Moses, and Isaiah[1], we have positive evidence of this fact, and it is well known that most, if not all, extant 'Testaments' have a large Apocalyptic element. The Testaments of Job and of Solomon come nearest to transgressing this rule, but even they do not actually transgress it.

The second question which occurs to us on an examination of these lists is this: why does the List of the Sixty Books omit the work attributed to Abraham? Is its absence an original feature or a mark of later date?

A glance at the list will shew that it contains fourteen items as opposed to eleven; and of these, five are clearly different from any item in the lists of Ps.-Athanasius and Nicephorus. These items are:

No. 1.	Adam.	11.	Vision of Isaiah.
3.	Lamech.	14.	Apocalypse of Esdras.
9.	Psalms of Solomon.		

By 'Adam' we should most probably understand the 'Testament' or 'Apocalypse' of Adam in some form; of 'Lamech' we

[1] The term 'διαθήκη Ἐζεκίου' is applied by Cedrenus (p. 121, ed. Par.) to the 'Ascension of Isaiah.'

never hear elsewhere[1]: the 'Psalms of Solomon' are classed by the other writers among the *Antilegomena* of the Old Testament, which has seemed to me a note of early date. I cannot easily account to myself for their omission of the Vision of Isaiah (= the Ascension of Isaiah) and the Apocalypse of Esdras (= IV. Esdras). I notice, however, in the 'Sixty Books' traces of a rearrangement and corrections of the items in the *Synopsis*, which seems to be distinctly the earlier document of the two. For instance 'Eldad and Medad' is put by the writer of the 'Sixty Books' in a place better suited to the chronological position of the supposed writer, than that assigned to it in the *Synopsis*. Again, the qualifying and probably erroneous words *πατρὸς Ἰωάννου* attached to the name of Zacharias in the *Synopsis*[2], are omitted in the 'Sixty Books,' and the last entry in the *Synopsis* with its bare list of four names, which 'Nicephorus' understood so little as to be unable to add the Stichometry to them, is replaced in the 'Sixty Books' by the fuller title of a well-known book—the Apocalypse of Esdras. Yet it seems plain that the groundwork of both lists is the same. Nine entries are common to both, and the order of these, but for one transposition (that of Eldad and Medad), is identical. If we suppose that the Synoptic list or its original was known to the later writer, how is it that the entry 'Abraham' has disappeared from the latter's work, and been replaced by the 'Psalms of Solomon'? It must be borne in mind that we have here no addition of a forgotten item; the 'Psalms of Solomon' were known to the author of the *Synopsis*. To place them here, away from their legitimate companions, Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus, was to do violence to the current Byzantine tradition. It seems clear that the substitution was a deliberate one. Why then was it

[1] In a very interesting list of Slavonic Apocrypha by E. Kozak (*Jahrb. f. Prot. Theol.* Dec. 1891) a version of the well-known legend of Lamech's murder of Cain occurs as a separate document, under No. 5.

[2] We have very little evidence to go upon in conjecturing the nature of the work attributed to Zechariah. It is not likely to be identical with the writing produced (and possibly written) by the eponymous Zacharias, Abbot of Gerara, on the occasion of the Invention of the body of Zechariah at Eleutheropolis (Sozomen. *Hist. Eccl.* ix. 17). That seems to have been of a haggadic nature. The existence of an Apocalypse of Zephaniah seems to point to the probability that the Zechariah book was an Apocalypse attributed to one of the Old Testament prophets of that name.

made? I answer, first, because the name of Abraham occurs quite out of its chronological place in the *Synopsis;* secondly, because the author of the 'Sixty Books' was very probably not acquainted with any such work; and thirdly, because in his time the 'Psalms of Solomon,' never widely accepted, had come to be regarded as distinctly apocryphal, and could no longer be treated as mere *antilegomena.* Their legitimate chronological place was just that occupied by the entry 'Abraham.' The author of the 'Sixty Books' then had but two easy changes to make. He shifted 'Eldad and Medad' to their proper place, and substituted the 'Psalms of Solomon' for the ill-defined and possibly unknown 'Abraham.'

(2) In connection with these lists we must consider a passage of the Apostolic Constitutions (VI. 16), which, though it does not definitely mention the book before us in so many words, can yet, as it seems to me, be very fairly cited as a witness to its existence when the Constitutions were written. The words—quoted by all writers on pseudepigraphic literature—are these: Καὶ ἐν τοῖς παλαιοῖς δέ τινες συνέγραψαν βιβλία ἀπόκρυφα Μωσέως καὶ Ἐνὼχ καὶ Ἀδὰμ Ἡσαΐου τε καὶ Δαβὶδ καὶ Ἠλία καὶ τῶν τριῶν πατριαρχῶν, φθοροποιὰ καὶ τῆς ἀληθείας ἐχθρά. We are here presented with a list—vaguely expressed and thrown into literary form, but still useful—of O. T. Pseudepigrapha. Some of the items we can recognise at once. We see, for instance, that the Book of Enoch, the Testament (and Assumption) of Moses, the Apocalypse of Elijah, the Ascension of Isaiah, and the Testament or Penitence or Life of Adam must be alluded to. It is not so clear what Apocryphon under David's name is meant: perhaps it was some book resembling the 'History of David' now extant in Carshunic at Paris (Zotenberg, *Cat. MSS Syr.* p. 126).

But there remains one item to be dealt with—τῶν τριῶν πατριαρχῶν. Who are these, and what book was associated with their names? The first question is easily answered. No one but Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob can be meant by the three patriarchs[1], and we are on the way towards answering the second question when we can state that there still exists a book supplying particulars of the last words and the deaths of these three patriarchs, and that one part of this book can be shewn with a great degree of probability to

[1] See for instance *Act. Andr. et Matth.* § 16.

have been known to Origen. A further discussion of the identity of the old book of the Three Patriarchs with the extant Testaments or Apocalypses or Histories of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob must be deferred for the present.

The evidence of these lists and of the Apostolical Constitutions points to the existence of some book such as the one before us; but it is vague.

Two passages of equal or even greater vagueness must be added which may imply a knowledge of the existence of books attributed to Abraham.

(3) The first is that often-quoted phrase of S. Jerome, *adv. Vigilantium*, wherein he tells his victim that he may if he pleases read "fictas revelationes omnium Patriarcharum et Prophetarum." This sentence is merely rhetorical, of course: but it may mean that Vigilantius had appealed to our book among others. It would more suitably apply to the 'Apocalypse of Abraham' than to the 'Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs,' but obviously it is language of a kind which cannot be pressed.

S. Jerome knew and cared little about apocryphal literature. 4 Esdras he had never read; his mention (*ad Pammachium*) of *Apoc. Eliae* and *Ascensio Esaiae* is very likely borrowed from Origen; while the only two Old Testament Pseudepigrapha which he really seems to have read are both of them Hebrew books, the 'Little Genesis' and an apocryphal Prophecy of Jeremiah.

(4) The other passage, which seems to me more decisive, is to be found in one of the newly-discovered tracts of Priscillian, edited by the discoverer, Dr Schepss, from the unique MS (of cent. V. or VI.) at Würzburg (Vienna, 1889).

The third tract in this volume is entitled *Liber de Fide et de Apocryphis:* in it Priscillian pleads for the occasional use of non-canonical books. The tract is most unhappily mutilated at the beginning: but much that is interesting is left. We gather from it that the author certainly knew the Book of Enoch (p. 44), 4 Esdras (p. 52), and the Epistle to the Laodiceans (p. 55). And on pp. 45, 46 occurs the following passage:

Quid est quod Tobi sanctus futurae uitae ad filium praecepta disponens, cum quid custodiret ediceret, ait: *Nos fili prophetarum*

sumus; Noe profeta fuit et Abraham et Isac et Iacob et omnes patres nostri qui ab initio saeculi profetauerunt? (Tob. iv. 13). Quando in canone profetae Noe liber lectus est? quis inter profetas dispositi canonis Abrahae librum legit? quis quod aliquando Isaac profetasset edocuit? quis profetiam Iacob quae in canone poneretur audiuit? Quos si Tobia legit et testimonium prophetiae in canone promeruit, qualiter, quod illi ad testimonium emeritae uirtutis datur, alteris ad occasionem iustae damnationis adscribitur?

The passage from Tobit is here quoted as the canonical authority to establish the claims of non-canonical books. And Priscillian in his comment upon it seems to me to shew that he actually knew books ascribed to some of the authors mentioned in his text. When he says, 'When was a Book of the prophet Noe ever read *as canonical?* who has read a Book of Abraham among the prophets *of the established canon?*...who ever heard of a prophecy of Jacob as being included *in the canon?*' he seems to me distinctly to imply that there were such books existing *outside* the canon, and that he knew them. The existence of Apocryphal books of Noah seems to be indicated by the frequent references to his preaching before the Flood (e.g. in 1 Clement, 2 Peter, and Sib. Orac. i.; cf. also the Noachian fragments in Enoch). The Book of Abraham I take to be our Testament or Apocalypse; and the Prophecy of Jacob to be, not the Testament of Jacob, but the Prayer of Joseph, which, as the extant fragments shew, contained apocalyptic and mystic utterances of Jacob. I take this view, because I gather, from the way in which Priscillian refers to Isaac that he did not know the Testament of Isaac. Of him he simply says, 'Who has taught that Isaac ever prophesied?' There is no qualifying reference to the canon of Scripture. No such writing as a prophecy of Isaac, whether inside or outside the canon, seems to be known to him. And it is very improbable that the Testaments of Abraham and Jacob were in circulation without that of Isaac: whereas in both Greek and Slavonic the Testament of Abraham has been preserved separately.

(5) The evidence of Epiphanius is the next which confronts us. In speaking of the Sethians (*Haer.* xxxix. 5) he says, Βίβλους δέ τινας συγγράφοντες ἐξ ὀνόματος μεγάλων ἀνδρῶν, ἐξ ὀνόματος

μὲν Σὴθ ἑπτὰ λέγοντες εἶναι βίβλους, ἄλλας δὲ βίβλους ἑτέρας ἀλλογενεῖς οὕτω καλοῦσιν, ἄλλην δὲ ἐξ ὀνόματος Ἀβραὰμ, ἣν καὶ ἀποκάλυψιν φάσκουσιν εἶναι, πάσης κακίας ἔμπλεων· ἑτέρας δὲ ἐξ ὀνόματος τοῦ Μωϋσέως, καὶ ἄλλας ἄλλων.

From this we gather the main fact that the Sethians used an Apocalypse of Abraham. What Epiphanius thought of it is of less moment, and we need not attribute much importance to his statement that the book was written in the Sethian interest. That they possessed seven books of Seth and other works, which for some reason they called *ἀλλογενεῖς*, we do not doubt; but the language throughout is vague, recalling in its earlier clauses the passage of the Apostolic Constitutions quoted above; and if we find other evidence for supposing that a non-Sethian Apocalypse of Abraham existed in early times, we need not hesitate to believe that Epiphanius or his authority is here going too far, and is fathering on the Sethians a book which they may well have used, but which they did not manufacture.

(6) The evidence we seek is furnished by Origen. In his Homilies on Luke (xxxv.), he says, speaking of the 'princeps,' 'iudex,' and 'exactor'; 'Legimus—si tamen cui placet huiuscemodi scripturam recipere—iustitiae et iniquitatis angelos super Abrahami salute et interitu disceptantes, dum utraeque turmae suo eum uolunt coetui uindicare. Quod si cui displicet, transeat ad uolumen quod titulo Pastoris scribitur, et inueniet cunctis hominibus duos adesse angelos: malum, qui ad peruersa exhortatur, et bonum, qui ad optima quaeque persuadet. Scribitur alibi, quod assistant homini siue in bonam siue in malam partem, duplices angeli.' (Cf. Hom. in Luc. xii. Unicuique duo assistunt angeli, alter iustitiae, alter iniquitatis.)

The passage of the *Shepherd* to which Origen refers in both Homilies is *Mand.* vi. 2. *δύο εἰσὶν ἄγγελοι μετὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, εἷς τῆς δικαιοσύνης καὶ εἷς τῆς πονηρίας*[1]. Throughout the re-

[1] With this it is apposite to compare the Latin fragment of the Didache, which begins thus:

> Viae duae sunt in seculo, uitae et mortis, lucis et tenebrarum.
> In his constituti sunt Angeli duo, unus aequitatis, alter iniquitatis.

The corresponding words to these last in Barnabas are *ἄγγελοι τοῦ σατανᾶ*.

mainder of this Mandate the phrases ἄγγελος τῆς δικαιοσύνης and ἄγγελος τῆς πονηρίας occur frequently. This fact, coupled with parallels from later Apocalypses, e.g. *Apoc. Pauli* 14 etc., where the word πονηροὶ is uniformly applied to evil angels, would lead us to imagine that here Origen's translator rendered an original πονηρία by 'iniquitas,' although 'malitia,' 'malignus' are commonly the equivalents of πονηρία (-ρός), 'iniquitas' of ἀδικία (or ἀνομία). Further, I cannot as yet discover that the expression ἄγγελος τῆς ἀδικίας is one which occurs in the literature of our subject. The evidence seems to point to the original Greek here having been ἄγγελος τῆς πονηρίας. A word more must be said as to the original form of this passage. The Greek—probably somewhat fuller—does not exist, but similar references are not unfrequent in Origen's works. For the form of quotations 'si cui placet recipere' we may compare the passage in *Tom.* v. *in Joannem* p. 77, εἰ δέ τις προσίεται κ.τ.λ. where the 'Prayer of Joseph' is being quoted. The word 'interitus' is clearly meant to signify 'destruction' or 'perdition,' not merely 'death,' and must be the rendering of an original ἀπώλεια. The words 'turma' and 'coetus' present more difficulty; but I should conjecture that the original of the former was στῖφος, a word which Severus of Antioch uses in a passage often quoted in Catenae on Jude 9, and on Deut. xxxiv, where he describes an exactly similar scene from the 'Assumption of Moses.'

What is the exact amount of information derivable from this passage? Origen had read a book in which angels of good and evil were represented as contending about the salvation or perdition of Abraham's soul. Does anything in extant legends of Abraham's death bear out this assertion, or help us to any knowledge of the book he used? In the extant 'Testament of Abraham' there is an incident which may well have supplied the groundwork of Origen's quotation. We have there described the trial of a soul whose good and evil deeds were found to weigh equally in the balance. There is in the form of the book which we have no relic of a dispute between good and evil angels; but the part of the book which contains the episode bears traces of extensive working over. Ultimately, *owing to the intercession of Abraham*, the soul in question gains eternal life. It was a suggestion of Dr Gaster, the editor and translator of the Roumanian Version of our

book, that Origen had made a mistake in his quotation of the Abraham passage. He was really referring to the soul whose fate has just been described, but, by a simple error of memory, he has made Abraham the hero of the incident. I think that this explanation is probably the right one. It has occurred to me that the mistake might have arisen in the following very simple way. Origen has confused two Apocryphal narratives, one relating to the judgment of souls as seen by Abraham, the other telling of the dispute as to the salvation of Moses; the first was found in the 'Apocalypse of Abraham,' the second in the 'Assumption of Moses.' Were we to substitute the name of Moses for that of Abraham in our passage, we should have an exact statement of the leading subject in the latter part of the 'Assumption of Moses.' We have positive information that Origen knew the book (cf. *de Princ.* iii. 2, *Hom. in Jos.* ii. 2), and we have from another source equally good evidence, which shall be given later, that the book contained the episode in question. Under these circumstances it may be asked why we should not at once substitute 'Moyseos' for 'Abrahami' in the text of Origen and let all reference to the latter go by the board. Fortunately, the MSS give no countenance to such a suggestion; and no reason, Biblical or otherwise, that I can see, can be alleged to make an insertion of Abraham's name probable. The Assumption of Moses was a book far better known than most of the kind, and known down to a fairly late date. Sixtus of Siena in the 16th century seems to have had access either to a text of it or to some account of it not known to us. It was, then, far more likely that 'Moyseos' should have replaced an original 'Abrahami,' than that 'Abrahami' should have supplanted 'Moyseos.'

I must now try to shew that the Assumption of Moses contained an episode of contention over souls, which Origen knew and might easily confuse with something in an apocryphal Abrahamic book. There is plenty of evidence for this.

We start with the well-known passage in Jude (9), where 'Michael contending with the devil disputed about the body of Moses.' This has long been recognised as a quotation from the Assumption of Moses. Many MSS of the Epistle have a marginal note to that effect (e.g. Bodl. Auct. E. 5. 9, *Act. Cath.* 30 in Gregory,

which has Μωϋσέως Ἀποκρύφου), and Origen himself (*de Princ.* iii. 2) tells us that S. Jude made use of the work in his Epistle. Most of our available material comes from Catena-notes on this passage.

Of these I may select one or two: most important, as shewing the provenance of the episode, is a passage attributed to Severus of Antioch, from a letter to Thomas Bp of Germanicia, and preserved in various forms, notably in Cramer's Catena *in loc.*, and in the Catena of Nicetas on Deut. xxxiv.

Ἐνταῦθα διὰ σωματικοῦ τύπου προϋπέδειξεν ὁ θεὸς περὶ τὴν ψυχὴν γενόμενόν τι μυστήριον. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τῆς ψυχῆς χωριζομένης ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος μετὰ τὴν ἔνθενδε ἀπαλλαγὴν προϋπαντῶσιν αὐτῇ καὶ ἀγγελικαὶ δυνάμεις ἀγαθαὶ καὶ δαιμόνων στῖφος πονηρότατον, ὅπως πρὸς τὴν ποιότητα τῶν ἔργων ὧν ἔπραξεν πονηρῶν τε καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς προσφόρους τόπους ἢ οὗτοι ἢ ἐκεῖνοι ταύτην ἀποκομίσωσιν φυλαχθησομένην μέχρι τῆς τελευταίας ἡμέρας, καθ' ἣν εἰς κρίσιν πάντες παραστησόμεθα, καὶ ἢ εἰς τὴν αἰώνιον ζωὴν ἢ εἰς τὴν ἀπέραντον φλόγα ἀπαχθησόμεθα, βουλόμενος ὁ θεὸς τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσραὴλ καὶ τοῦτο ὑποδεῖξαι διὰ σωματικοῦ τύπου τινὸς, παρεσκεύασεν ἐν τῇ τοῦ Μωϋσέως ταφῇ φανῆναι ὑπ' ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτοῖς πρὸς τὴν περιστολὴν τοῦ σώματος καὶ τὴν ἐν τῇ γῇ νενομισμένην κατάθεσιν ἀνθιστάμενον ὥσπερ τὸν πονηρὸν δαίμονα καὶ ἀντιπράττοντα, καὶ τούτῳ τὸν Μιχαὴλ ἀγαθὸν ἄγγελον ὄντα προϋπαντῆσαι καὶ ἀποσοβῆσαι, καὶ μὴ ἐξουσιαστικῶς ἐπιτιμῆσαι, ἀλλὰ τῷ κυρίῳ τῶν ὅλων παραχωρῆσαι τῆς κατ' ἐκείνου κρίσεως καὶ εἰπεῖν Ἐπιτιμήσαι σοι κύριος, ἵνα διὰ τούτων μάθωσιν οἱ παιδαγωγούμενοι ὡς ἐστί τις ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἀγωνία μετὰ τὴν ἔνθενδε ἀπαλλαγὴν, καὶ ὅτι χρὴ διὰ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἔργων παρασκευάζεσθαι πρὸς τὸ τῆς ἀγγελικῆς ἡμᾶς συμμαχίας μεταλαχεῖν, τῶν δαιμόνων καθ' ἡμῶν ἐπιτριζόντων φθονερὸν καὶ πικρόν. He goes on to say that a cloud of light later surrounded the scene of this vision, and (in the passage as given in the Catena on Deut.) gives his authority for all this. Ταῦτα δὲ ἐν ἀποκρύφῳ βιβλίῳ λέγεται κεῖσθαι λεπτοτέραν ἔχοντι τῆς γενέσεως ἤτοι τῆς κτίσεως ἀφήγησιν. This book is of course the 'Leptogenesis' = Book of Jubilees = Διαθήκη Μωϋσέως. As Rönsch (*das Buch der Jubiläen*, 272) has pointed out, and as a glance at the Lists of Apocrypha given above will shew, the two books of the Διαθήκη and Ἀνάληψις Μωϋσέως were uniformly to

be found together, so that Severus might naturally regard the second as an appendix to, or as an integral part of, the first. But this is not the only passage in which Severus treats of the matter; in two other passages, one from the Ἀπολογία τοῦ Φιλαληθοῦς (Nicet. Caten. i. col. 1673) preserved anonymously in Cramer, the other from the συγγράμματα or συντάγματα κατὰ κωδικίλλων Ἀλεξάνδρου, in Nicetas, much of the same phrascology recurs. In the first-named passage a detail is added which serves to fix the 'Assumptio Mosis' as the source. It is said that God shewed the vision τοῖς τότε μικρὰ βλέπουσι καὶ παχύτερον διακειμένοις. Does not this exactly fit what is said of Caleb in the passage of Clement of Alexandria, where he quotes the 'Assumptio' (Strom. vi. p. 679)? Joshua and Caleb see the two forms of Moses, but do not both see alike; ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν καὶ θᾶττον κατῆλθεν, πολὺ τὸ βρῖθον ἐπαγόμενος· ὁ δὲ ἐπικατελθὼν, ὕστερον τὴν δόξαν διηγεῖτο ἣν ἐθεᾶτο, διαθρῆσαι δυνηθεὶς μᾶλλον θατέρου ἅτε καὶ καθαρώτερος γενόμενος.

I will append lastly a scholium on Jude 9—I believe inedited —from a MS referred to above. (Bodl. Auct. E. 5. 9.)

διὰ τούτου δείκνυσιν ὅτι ἡ παλαιὰ συμφωνεῖ τῇ νέᾳ, ὡς ὑφ' ἑνὸς θεοῦ δεδομένα· ὁ γὰρ διάβολος ἀντεῖχεν θέλων ἀπατῆσαι, λέγων ὅτι Ἐμόν ἐστιν τὸ σῶμα, ὡς τῆς ὕλης δεσπόζων· καὶ ἤκουσεν τὸ Ἐπιτιμήσαι [κ.τ.λ.] τούτεστιν, ὁ κύριος ὁ πάντων τῶν πνευμάτων δεσπόζων. ἄλλοι δὲ, ὅτι βουλόμενος ὁ θεὸς δεῖξαι ὅτι μετὰ τὴν ἔνθενδε ἀπαλλαγὴν, ταῖς ἡμετέραις ψυχαῖς ἀνθιστάμενοι δαίμονες πορευομέναις τὴν ἐπὶ τὰ ἄνω πορείαν, τοῦτο οὖν συνεχώρησεν ὁρᾶσθαι ἐπὶ τῆς Μωσέως ταφῆς. ἐβλασφήμει γὰρ καὶ ὁ διάβολος κατὰ Μωσέως, φονέα τοῦτον καλῶν διὰ τὸ πατάξαι τὸν Αἰγύπτιον. ὁ Μιχαὴλ ὁ ἀρχάγγελος, μὴ ἐνεγκὼν τὴν αὐτοῦ βλασφημίαν, εἴρηκεν αὐτῷ ὅτι Ἐπιτιμήσαι σοι κύριος ὁ θεὸς, διάβολε. ἔλεγε δὲ καὶ τοῦτο, ὅτι ἐψεύσατο ὁ θεὸς εἰσαγαγὼν τὸν Μωσῆν ἔνθα ὤμοσεν αὐτὸν μὴ εἰσελθεῖν.

Here a good deal of the matter of Severus is recognisable: and the note seems to me specially interesting as preserving, in Michael's reply, what is probably a literal quotation from the 'Assumptio.' But perhaps enough has been said to shew that at any rate the 'Assumptio' contained some scene of contention between angel and devil, about which language such as that of Origen in

the Homily might well be used. It does however seem to me likely that the contention was not one affecting the salvation of Moses, but only as S. Jude tells us concerning the disposition of his *body*. Satan seems to have claimed that at any rate as his property—a murderer could not look for decent burial, but should be cast out of the camp. To set up a claim to the soul of Moses seems almost too great a height of audacity for even Satan to aspire to.

Be this as it may, we can see in the 'Assumptio' a possible source of confusion with 'Abraham.' Let us now examine a passage of Origen in which a similar topic is discussed (*Hom.* v. *in Psalmos*, Vol. XII. 233, ed. Lommatzsch). "Tunc et adiuuabit eos Dominus in tempore tribulationis et eripiet eos et auferet eos a peccatoribus, non solum ab hominibus peccatoribus sedetiam a contrariis potestatibus, uel certe eo tempore, cum anima separatur a corpore, et occurrunt ei peccatores daemones, aduersae potestates, spiritus aëris huius, qui eam uolunt detinere et reuocare ad se, si quid in ea suorum operum gestorumque cognouerint. uenit enim ad unamquamque animam de hoc mundo exeuntem princeps huius mundi et aëreae potestates, et requirunt si inueniant in ea aliquid suum: si auaritiam inuenerint, suae partis est: si iram, si luxuriam, si inuidiam, et singula quaeque eorum similia si inuenerint, suae partis est; et sibi eam defendunt, et ad se eam trahunt, et ad partem eam peccatorum declinant. si uero aliquis imitatus est illum qui dixit: Ecce ueniet princeps mundi huius, et in me non habet quicquam. si se ita aliquis obseruauit, ueniunt quidem isti peccatores, et requirentes in eo, quae sua sunt, et non inuenientes, tentabunt nihilominus ad suam partem uiolenter eum detorquere, sed Dominus eripiet eum a peccatoribus. et forte propterea iubemur cum quodam mysterio etiam in oratione petere, dicentes 'Sed libera nos a malo.'"

The original Greek of this passage is not known to exist: but we find a very similar thought in a Homily of Macarius of Egypt[1]. The document is a very short one (only 18 lines in Migne), and the important parts run as follows.

"Οταν ἐξέλθῃ ἐκ τοῦ σώματος ψυχὴ ἀνθρώπου, μυστήριόν τι μέγα ἐκεῖ ἐπιτελεῖται. ἐὰν γὰρ ᾖ ὑπεύθυνος ἐν ἁμαρτίαις,

[1] Hom. xxii. ap. Migne, *Patr. Gr.*

ἔρχονται χοροὶ δαιμόνων καὶ ἄγγελοι ἀριστεροὶ, καὶ δυνάμεις σκότους παραλαμβάνουσι τὴν ψυχὴν ἐκείνην καὶ κρατοῦσιν εἰς τὸ ἴδιον μέρος.....καὶ γὰρ τοῖς ἁγίοις δούλοις τοῦ θεοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν εἰσὶν ἄγγελοι παραμένοντες, καὶ πνεύματα ἅγια κυκλοῦντα αὐτοὺς καὶ φυλάττοντα, καὶ ὅταν ἐξέλθωσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος, οἱ χοροὶ τῶν ἀγγέλων παραλαμβάνουσιν αὐτῶν τὰς ψυχὰς εἰς τὸ ἴδιον μέρος, εἰς τὸν καθαρὸν αἰῶνα, καὶ οὕτως αὐτοὺς προσάγουσιν τῷ κυρίῳ.

Compare in this the words *τὸ ἴδιον μέρος*, suae partis, *ἄγγελοι ἀριστεροί*, aduersae potestates; and notice that here as in Origen the case of the wicked soul is touched upon first. Possibly Macarius had the passage of Origen before him; but more probably we should recognise that there was a common source from which both writers drew. What was it? Was it the 'Assumptio'? I think not. In that book it is pretty certain that only the individual case of Moses was related: here the description is couched in general terms; we are told what happens to all souls when they go out of the world. There, it was one isolated act in Moses' past life on which Satan grounded his claim, whether to body or soul. Here the souls are represented as undergoing a searching examination at the hands of the powers of darkness. The guiding conception of the passage before us is altogether more developed and represents a later stage of thought than the 'Assumptio' can have done. The writers of the Severian scholia do indeed generalise on the fate of souls but obviously what they say is in the nature of a comment on a text, and is influenced by other sources besides the 'Assumptio.'

If we could find something in Apocalyptic literature which would furnish us with a source for what Macarius and Origen say, and if we could shew further that this source is connected in some way with an Abrahamic apocryphal book, I think we might fairly claim to have found a good explanation for the passage from Origen's Homilies on Luke which forms the text of the present discussion. We find our answer in that enigmatical work which is called the *Apocalypse of Paul.*

Three main sources furnish us with our knowledge of this book. We have first the original Greek, discovered by Tischendorf and edited in the *Apocalypses Apocryphae* 34—69. Secondly

we have the Syriac Version, of which Tischendorf has reprinted the English version made by the Rev. Justin Perkins. This contains a good deal more matter than the Greek; and has been usually looked upon as interpolated. Thirdly we have a full Latin Version (as well as multitudes of Latin abridgments) contained so far as I know only in one MS (Paris *Nouv. acq. lat.* 1631 f. 2 *b*—25 *b*), of the eighth century. This was one of the MSS stolen by Libri from Orleans, and sold to Lord Ashburnham. It is fully described in Delisle's *Catalogue des MSS des fonds Libri et Barrois*, p. 108. I transcribed it in September 1890, and it proves to be a most valuable authority for the text, confirming the Syriac in every particular, and shewing that in its present form, the Greek is a shortened text.

Now it must be borne in mind that the Apocalypse of Paul is to a large extent a compilation from earlier works. This can be proved to demonstration. We know when the compilation was made from the Latin version: it was discovered by revelation in Paul's house at Tarsus in the consulship of Theodosius the younger and Cynegius, that is, in 388. A comparison of the book with the extant fragments of the Apocalypse of Peter, with the Ascension of Isaiah, with the Sibylline oracles, Bk. II., and with the recently discovered Sahidic Apocalypse of Zephaniah, will satisfy the most exacting critic that the Pseudo-Paul, in the earlier parts of his work more especially, is a plain plagiarist. If this be once granted, we may proceed to details. The passage concerned consists of §§ 11—18 (pp. 40—48) in Tischendorf's text. Here we have a complete view of the exodus of souls. First, Paul is taken beneath the firmament, and sees the destroying angels, and the angels of God waiting for souls. Then he sees the exodus of a righteous soul and the contention over it. In the Syriac version we have the words "and that soul was bound there: and there was a fight between the good angels and the evil spirits." The soul is then presented to God, and delivered over to Michael to be taken to Paradise. Next is shewn the exodus of a wicked soul. I quote the Latin version here, in order to shew the similarity with Origen. "Cum ergo peruenissent ad potestatem, cum iam ingredi celum abiret, labor impositus est ei super alium laborem: obliuio et susurracio obuiauerunt eam, et spiritus fornicacionis et relique

potestates, et dicebant ei 'Vbi perges, misera anima, et audes praecurrere in celo? sustine, ut uideamus si habemus in te peculiaria nostra.'" The soul is presented to God, and delivered to the angel Temeluchus to be tormented. Next is seen a soul which has been in the hands of chastising angels seven days. It denies having sinned, and is confronted with its accusers, convicted and delivered to the angel Tartaruchus, to be kept till the great day.

Here is a defect: in order to be symmetrical and complete, our author should have given us an idea of what happens to a soul which is neither bad nor good. We cannot see any point in the introduction of two wicked souls. The sins of the second and its examination and judgment are more fully dwelt upon, but this gives no clue to the reason for the repetition. Here is a phenomenon which leads us to suspect plagiarism: and when we find later on in the book that Elias and Abraham, Isaac and Jacob are introduced twice over, in different places, our suspicions are confirmed.

This account of the exodus of souls and their judgment is, then, a compilation: and one part of it bears a strong resemblance to the source of Origen and Macarius. Have we any further light, connecting it with Abrahamic books?

The Testament of Abraham is the only Abrahamic apocryph which can help us. It exists in two forms: and both of them help us a little. In the Longer Form we find that Abraham witnessed the trial of a soul whose sins and good deeds were equal, and that by his intercession it was saved. In the Shorter Form we find the same soul introduced; its sins and good deeds weigh equally: but here comes in this extraordinary anomaly, that instead of being prayed for and saved, its sins are investigated and it is condemned: and the accusations against it are those which we find in Pseudo-Paul. This fact can be accounted for very simply. The Shorter Recension has been interpolated from the Apocalypse of Paul. The object of this proceeding was to get rid of some matter which the reviser found objectionable. Full proof of this may be found on a subsequent page (44). That it is the Apocalypse of Paul, and not one of the sources of it which has been used by the reviser, is, I think, clear from the fact that the borrowed phrases

are not confined to any one part of the Apocalypse of Paul. On the other hand there is nothing which tends to shew that the writer of the Longer Form copied the Apocalypse of Paul, and yet there is a very considerable similarity of tone.

Now the conjecture which I am about to advance may seem fanciful, but is, I am sure, not extravagant in its demands on our credit. It involves assent to two propositions, one general, the other particular. First, we must be prepared for any amount of borrowing from earlier documents on the part of apocalyptic writers, and indeed early writers in general. Secondly, we must be prepared to allow that the author of at any rate the apocalyptic portion of the Testament of Abraham was a Christian—a Jewish Christian, there can be little doubt, but still a Christian. For a fuller discussion of this topic I must refer my readers to the special section of this Introduction which is devoted to it (p. 50).

That my first postulate is a reasonable one may be seen by any one who will look into the relations between the Apocalypse of S. John and the Book of Daniel, between the Testaments of the XII. Patriarchs and the Book of Jubilees, between the later and earlier Apocalypses of Esdras, or between the Sibylline books of various dates.

My conjecture is that the matter which appears in the passages cited from Origen and Macarius, and borrowed with different degrees of accuracy or audacity by the authors of the Testament of Abraham and the Apocalypse of Paul, comes ultimately from the lost Apocalypse of Peter. That at some future period I may be able to set forth in full my views as to the contents of that work is my earnest desire: at present I must confine myself to a few points.

And, first, it is plain that this lost Apocalypse was an early book and a popular one. The author of the Muratorian fragment and Clement of Alexandria are among our sources of information concerning it: and in their time it stood on the border-line between canonical and apocryphal literature; while in Sozomen's lifetime it was still read publicly in the churches of Palestine on Good Friday. That such a book would exercise a wide influence over later apocalyptic writings we should expect; that it did so influence them may be at once seen from a comparison of the

meagre scraps which exist with the Apocalypse of Paul (§ 39, p. 58, § 40, p. 61), and that of Esdras (p. 29, l. 25)[1].

We gather with certainty from these extant fragments that a portion of the book was occupied with a vision of the torments of souls in hell; and we find an almost literal borrowing of one of the torments in the Apocalypse of Esdras, and of its accompanying explanation in that of Paul. Further, if we tabulate the scheme of torments which is found in a group of apocalyptic documents, viz. the two apocalypses mentioned above, together with the 2nd book of the Sibylline oracles (l. 252 sqq.), a Vision contained in the acts of Thomas (ed. Bonnet, p. 39), and the late Apocalypses of John and of the Virgin, we find certain constant elements which strongly favour the idea that the Infernos which all the books present to us have one common origin. We know that in one detail the Apocalypse of Peter furnishes matter to two of them. What more natural than the supposition that it is the source of the constant elements alluded to above? So far we have definite evidence to deal with. The purely conjectural part of my theory lies in this: that I would attribute the original of the account of the exodus of souls and of their trial, which is partially represented both in *Test. Abr.* and *Apoc. Pauli*, to the same source.

All Christian visions of a future state anterior to the time of Gregory the Great, with very few exceptions, and many of those which are later, have common features not directly derivable from canonical sources. I do not mean to say that any one or more features are common to the whole number, but that there are certain salient features, each of which will be found common to several documents. There is no original and new conception save in minor details. Different selections from the same materials are presented over and over again by different writers. Yet when we try to lay our hands on the one starting-point of all these converging lines, we find no one extant book whose date is sufficiently early, or whose reputation and influence can have been

[1] The name Temeluchus, quoted above from the Apocalypse of Paul as the name of an angel, is one mark of obligation to the Apocalypse of Peter. Dr Hilgenfeld (*N. T. extz. Can.* p. 73) has recognised that it is the adjective τημελοῦχος misunderstood. This word *only* occurs in a fragment of the Apocalypse of Peter quoted by Clem. Alex. and Methodius.

so considerable as to give any colour to the belief that it was the source of all the later documents. To take an instance: probably the Apocalypse of Zephaniah, now extant in Thebaic, and in a fragmentary condition, is as early as any of our available evidence. It is undoubtedly Christian, and is quoted by Clement of Alexandria (Str. v. p. 586: the passage is not found in the Thebaic fragments): it is, then, certainly Egyptian, and almost certainly a production of the 2nd century. In many details it coincides accurately with the Apocalypse of Paul, especially in its description of the soul's departure. Yet it bears throughout the stamp of a book only written for a limited circle: Clement's quotation is the one reference to it in patristic literature, if we except the mention in the Stichometries, and it is not conceivable that it should ever have been sufficiently widely known to influence later apocalypses to any appreciable extent.

No extant Christian apocalypse ever occupied the position for which we are seeking a claimant; is there any Jewish book which did so? The Book of Enoch undoubtedly set the fashion for all later books which represent the seer as being conducted over unknown regions by angelic guides: but further than this it affords us no help. The Assumption of Moses brings us a step forward: it did indeed, as we have seen, deal with the departure of a soul from the body, but only with a particular instance: there were no general revelations applying to the whole human race. A further step is taken when we come to the Fourth Book of Esdras: here in the 'Missing Fragment' we find some general descriptions of the future state of all souls, descriptions which doubtless did, either mediately or directly, influence later books. But when we seek for an original for our judicial and trial scenes and our Infernos we are still at fault. Moreover when we have got down as far as the Fourth Book of Esdras we have approached a moment when Christian apocalyptic has come into being: when most likely the Apocalypse of John was already written, and when the Apocalypse of Peter, which at one time claimed equal honours with it, had not impossibly been written. It is my belief that in the Apocalypse of Peter alone we have a book which fulfils all the necessary conditions. Received as canonical by more than one Church, mentioned with respect by more than one leading writer,

known in Palestine, in Lycia, at Rome[1] and at Alexandria, it and it alone was in a position to exercise a practically unlimited influence over later imitators.

Why then, it will be asked, if all this matter was contained in the Apocalypse of Peter, did not Origen refer to it instead of to an obscure Abrahamic book? The question is a difficult one. I can hardly believe it possible that Origen had no acquaintance with the Petrine work; on the contrary, I believe him to have used it in the Commentary on the Psalms (see p. 19), but it is certain that he nowhere expressly quotes it; and I believe it will be found, if all his quotations from apocryphal writings are collected, that he shews a decided preference for using Old Testament Apocrypha, and that his references to the New Testament apocryphal literature are comparatively very few in number. It may very well be the case that when he found the same matter both in the Apocalypse of Peter and the Testament of Abraham, he preferred to quote the latter as being ostensibly of more venerable antiquity.

To sum up the result of this long and somewhat desultory investigation, it seems to me likely (1) that Origen had seen our Testament of Abraham; (2) that his quotation from it has been affected by confusion with a similar incident in the Assumption of Moses; (3) that Origen and Macarius employed besides these two books a third, which treated of the same topic, the exodus of souls; (4) that this third book was the Apocalypse of Peter; (5) that the Apocalypse of Peter is the ultimate source of the matter which is common to the Testament of Abraham and the Apocalypse of Paul,—the foundation of this last assertion being that the Apocalypse of Paul is demonstrably under obligation to that of Peter, and that it treats of topics also dealt with in the Testament of Abraham.

[1] This I do not regard as certain, but as almost certain. The reference in the Muratorian fragment is denied by Zahn. But there is something to be said for the view of Bunsen and Hilgenfeld that Hippolytus used the book. And, further, there is in the tract *de aleatoribus*, which may be a Roman production, an apocryphal quotation which would suit the Apocalypse of Peter according to my view. See § 8, ed. Harnack: Et iterum 'in iudicii dei (die) igne rotante torquebitur.'

During the latter part of this discussion, I have been rather assuming that the book referred to by the various ancient authorities who have been cited is identical with the extant *Testament of Abraham.*

Of this I am myself convinced; but perhaps the best way of convincing others will be to put in tabular form the scraps of information derivable from our authorities, and then to test the extant book by comparing it with them.

We are in possession, then, of the following facts:

1. There existed an Apocryphal book of Abraham, 300 στίχοι in length (*Stichom.*).

2. There existed a book, or set of books, connected with the names of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob (*Const. Ap.*).

3. The Abrahamic book was called the 'Apocalypse of Abraham' (*Epiph. Stichom.* ?).

4. The 'Apocalypse of Abraham' was used by the Sethians, and was 'full of wickedness' (*Epiph.*).

5. An Abrahamic Apocryphal book contained something about a contention over the salvation of a soul (*Orig.*).

It will appear that all save one of these statements are true of the extant book. They shall be treated in order with some short explanations.

1. There exists an Apocryphal book about Abraham not differing widely in length from the old one. But this last matter cannot be pressed, for in its present state the book bears traces of abridgment and rough treatment.

2. There exists, in Arabic and Aethiopic, a set of books about Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and the part relating to Abraham is identical with the book just mentioned.

3. A Roumanian version of the Abrahamic book tells us that it is written 'according to' or 'after' the Apocalypse, *sc.* of Abraham. A Slavonic version calls it the 'Apocalypse of Abraham.'

4. This statement, due to Epiphanius, that the Apocalypse of Abraham was used by the Sethians, is the one which we cannot predicate concerning the extant book. The supplementary statement, that it was full of wickedness we may disregard at once: for, if used by the Sethians, any book save the Bible would

be full of wickedness to the mind of a polemical writer. But one piece of evidence does shew us that the extant book was looked upon as an heretical production. The MS which I consider to give on the whole the best text of our book (Par. Gr. 770) has this marginal note of the 15th or 16th century at the beginning.

αὕτη ἡ διαθήκη ἣν λέγουσιν ἀβραὰμ ἔστιν ὑπὸ αἱρετικῶν συντεθεῖσα ἣν οὐκ ὀφείλεις ὁ ἀναγινώσκων πιστεύειν· καὶ γὰρ κελευόμεθα ὑπὸ τῶν ἁγίων ἡμῶν τῆς ἐκκλησίας διδασκάλων· καὶ ἰδὲ εἰς τὸν βλαστάρεα.

The author here mentioned is Matth. Blastares, the compiler of an alphabetical table of the matters contained in the Canons of Councils: I have not found that he mentions the Testament of Abraham, and I have no doubt that what is here thought of is a general injunction against the use of Apocryphal books. But I think the note shews some knowledge on the part of its author that this actual book was not a product of orthodox theology. What the Sethians could have proved from the extant book I do not know; but in it great prominence is assigned to Adam and Abel and Enoch: and Adam and Abel were certainly regarded with veneration by the Sethians. Just this additional point is worth quoting. In the Sethian system Seth apparently was the same as Jesus Christ. In the extant Abraham book Adam is said to resemble either God or Christ (there are various readings) in appearance. Other good reasons (1) that man was made in the image of God, (2) that Christ is the Second Adam, may be assigned, but the fact is worth noting.

5. This is true of the extant book, and a good deal has been already said about it.

As far, therefore, as our ancient external evidence is concerned, we seem to have good reason for believing that the Testament of Abraham as here printed is identical, at any rate in its main outlines, with the book known to Origen and to the author of the Apostolic Constitutions. The very fact of the existence of the work in two recensions and in at least four versions says something in favour of an early date.

And, again, its abrupt transitions from 3rd to 1st person (A § XII) and back again, tell a like story. Corruption and

processes of redaction imply a long previous history for the book which undergoes them. The book before us must have been popular, and must be old.

That its popularity was not due in the first instance to its merits as literature will be readily conceded. But either as a vehicle for some novelty in doctrine, or as an appeal to the universal desire to know something of the sacred past and something of the unknown future, it was sure in early times of a kind reception. And once taken to the hearts of the people in any measure, it could not be readily plucked away. We ought, further, to take into account the extreme improbability that a book once fairly popular, as was the old Apocalypse of Abraham, should have been superseded by an entirely new production which also attained such popularity that its text was current in two distinct forms. No; the least we could reasonably say concerning the identity of the old Apocalypse with the extant Testament would be that the latter was a very much mangled *réchauffé* of the former; and to such a verdict I should not very seriously object; only it seems to me probable that all the main features of the old book are preserved to us in the extant one.

And if I am right in this belief, here is another fragment of early popular Christian literature gathered up,—how early, it seems impossible to settle very definitely; but it is later, probably, than the Apocalypse of Peter and earlier than the time of Origen. That it was written in the second century, that it embodies legends earlier than that century, and that it received its present form perhaps in the ninth or tenth century, seems to myself a sufficiently probable estimate. Of the place of its composition I shall have something to say later; at present it will be enough to note that certain indications, e.g. the mention of the weighing of souls, and partly also the terrific presentment of Death, seem to point to Egypt as its birthplace.

Influence of the Testament on Later Literature.

As to the influence of the Testament of Abraham on later literature I do not find it very easy to pronounce. As has been intimated already, I believe it to have been one of several

Apocalypses used by the author of the Apocalypse of Paul; and it is conceivably responsible for the introduction of the 'psychostasy' into mediaeval visions; possibly also some of the numerous liturgical references (see p. 128) may have been influenced by it.

One passage I do find among the numerous Latin visions of the middle ages which recalls in a striking way an episode in the Testament; that, namely, in A § XI, B § VIII, which describes Adam as seated before the gates of Paradise and alternately weeping and laughing, according as he sees the number of lost or of saved souls in the ascendant. Matthew Paris (*Chronica Majora* ed. Luard, Rolls Series, II. 497—511) has preserved the very interesting vision of Thurchill, an Essex labourer. On p. 509 the following passage occurs:

Thurchill, guided by S. Michael, is shewn a tree bearing all manner of fruits: which grows near a spring whence flow four streams. "Sub hac arbore prope fontem requiescebat homo quidam uenustae formae ac gigantaei corporis, qui a pedibus usque ad pectus indutus erat quodam uestimento uarii coloris et mira pulcritudine contexto; ex uno oculo ridere et lugere ex altero uidebatur. Hic, inquit sanctus Michael, est primus parens generis humani Adam, qui per oculum ridentem innuit laetitiam quam habet de filiorum suorum saluandorum ineffabili glorificatione, et per alium lacrimantem denunciat tristitiam quam habet de quorundam filiorum suorum reprobatione et iusto dei iudicio damnandorum. uestimentum quo tegitur, sed nondum ex toto, stola est immortalitatis et uestis gloriae, qua in primaria praeuaricatione fuerat spoliatus. nam ab Abel iusto filio suo usque nunc coepit hanc uestem recuperare per totam filiorum suorum iustorum successionem. et sicut uariis uirtutibus enituerunt electi, ita haec uestis colore uario picturatur. cum uero completus fuerit electorum numerus filiorum, tunc Adam ex toto stola immortalitatis et gloriae uestietur, et sic mundus finem sortietur." Now this may be a case of coincidence in imagination between two Apocalyptic authors, or it may be a trait borrowed from the Testament of Abraham. It is, no doubt, absurd to suppose that an Essex peasant living in the 13th century could have read a Greek Apocalypse. Yet it is quite possible that in this particular

case there may have been a literary connexion. For, firstly, we may be pretty certain that in Thurchill's Vision we have a good deal more of what the monks of S. Alban's Abbey imagined than of what Thurchill told them, if he told them anything. The whole document is literary in its form. Mr Wright very strikingly and truly pointed out that in an episode which describes the theatre of Hell, the writer has plainly been influenced by the recollection of the ruined Roman amphitheatre at Verulamium[1]. The Vision, as we have it, was plainly written and embellished at S. Alban's Abbey. Now,—and this is the second and most important consideration—it was precisely at S. Alban's Abbey that a certain amount of knowledge of the Greek Apocryphal literature was current. It was by two men connected with that house, John of Basingstoke and Nicholas the Greek, that the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs were translated from Greek into Latin. And I have elsewhere pointed to the very strong probability that the Life of Aseneth was translated into Latin at the same time and place[2]. Certain it is that it first appears in Latin just at the date in question, and that no non-English MS of the full form of the story is known to exist. I have a further suspicion, which I have not yet been able to verify, that the fabulous *Itinerarium Theophili* owes its Latin dress to the same hands. I do not say that the Testament of Abraham was then, or ever, rendered into Latin, but it seems to me a very likely thing that the description of Adam, which seems to occur nowhere else, has made its way into Thurchill's Vision from the Testament, through the medium of some oral report emanating from a Greek scholar at the Monastery.

One Greek mediæval Apocalypse shews undoubted connexion with the Testament, just as one Latin Apocalypse has seemed to do. The document in question is an inedited one: it is only to be found, so far as I know, in one MS, Bodl. Misc. Gr. 56 of cent. XV. f. 92—100, and it is called: *τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ μακαρίου Σεδρὰχ λόγος περὶ ἀγάπης καὶ περὶ μετανοίας καὶ ὀρθοδόξων χριστιανῶν καὶ περὶ δευτέρας παρουσίας τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.*

[1] T. Wright, *Essays on Archaeology* II.
[2] Batiffol, *Studia Patristica*, I. p. 3.

In its present form it is late, corrupt, and confused. The language is full of modern forms, and the whole is a clumsy fusion of two fragments. It begins with a homily on love, *ἀγαπητοὶ, μηδὲν προτιμήσωμεν πλὴν τῆς ἀνυποκρίτου ἀγάπης.* Then in f. 93 *b* of the MS comes a break, thus:—*ὅτι μειζότερον τῆς ἀγάπης οὐδέν ἐστιν ἵνα τις τὴν ψυχὴν θῇ ὑπὲρ τῶν φίλων αὐτοῦ· καὶ φωνὴν ἀοράτως ἐδέξατο ἐν ταῖς ἀκοαῖς αὐτοῦ,* and from this point to the end we have an Apocalypse, very strongly resembling that of Esdras (of whose name I take Sedrach to be a corruption[1]) as published by Tischendorf (*Apoc. Apocr.*). Both books are the work of a late writer who had read 4 Esdras in Greek; and both books are compilations from various sources, made up at a very late date, perhaps the tenth or eleventh century, and each surviving in a single extremely corrupt copy, Esdras at Paris, Sedrach at Oxford.

The course of the book is briefly this. Sedrach expresses a desire to talk with God face to face. He is carried up *ἕως τρίτου οὐρανοῦ* and pleads with God for the pardon of man. God finally asks him to number the drops of the sea and the leaves of the trees and so on, as in 4 Esdras, and with this the first episode breaks off. Next, abruptly, as in *Apoc. Esdrae*, God the Father bids the Son take the soul of Sedrach. This the prophet refuses to give up: and in this refusal lies one strong point of similarity to our Testament. I shall have to quote several passages from this section under another head (see p. 66). Sedrach falls to weeping and utters a long (and very corrupt) lament, addressed to the various parts of his body. The next episode shews us Sedrach interceding with God again for man, and begging that God will accept a repentance of three years, then of one year, then of 40 days, on the part of men (cf. Abraham in Gen. xviii.). In this part of the book is a plagiarism from the Testament A §§ XIV, XVIII, thus; *καὶ λέγει Σεδρὰχ πρὸς τὸν ἀρχάγγελον Μιχαὴλ Ἐπάκουσόν μου, προστάτα δυνατὲ, καὶ βοήθει μοι καὶ πρεσβεύσαι ἵνα ἐλεήσει ὁ θεὸς τὸν κόσμον· καὶ πεσόντες ἐπὶ πρόσωπον παρακαλοῦντες τὸν θεὸν* [*καὶ*] *εἶπον κ.τ.λ.* Michael is never elsewhere mentioned. There follows a short and obscure disquisition on the conditions of

[1] It may be noted, however, that Σεδρὰχ is the LXX. equivalent for Shadrach in the Book of Daniel.

salvation, and a promise of complete immunity from torment to those who will make mention of Sedrach's name, copy his book, or make a *φωταγωγία* to him. The conclusion is *καὶ λέγει ὁ δοῦλος τοῦ θεοῦ Σεδράχ· Ἄρτι λάβε τὴν ψυχήν μου, δέσποτα· καὶ ἔλαβεν αὐτὸν ὁ θεὸς καὶ ἔθηκεν αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ μετὰ τῶν ἁγίων ἁπάντων· ᾧ ἡ δόξα κ.τ.λ.* Besides the clear plagiarism quoted above, and those on p. 66, some shorter passages shew resemblance at least to the Testament. We have for instance *τοῦ θανάτου τὴν μνήμην*, as in A § IV. p. 81, l. 1, and *ἀναμένω αὐτοὺς μετὰ πολλῆς εὐσπλαγχνίας καὶ πολλοὺς ἔτους καὶ πλούτος* (sic) *ἵνα μετανοήσωσιν*, as in A § X. p. 88, l. 21. There is, lastly, an allusion to Abraham; *δέχομαι αὐτοὺς μετὰ τῶν δικαίων μου ἐν κόλποις Ἀβραάμ.*

Another document there is, — one that has exercised no inconsiderable influence over Christian mythology and art,—in which I seem to see traces of the language and thought of the Testament of Abraham. I mean the Greek account of the Assumption of the Virgin which is attributed to S. John (Tischendorf *Apoc. Apocr.* p. 95 sqq.). It is, no doubt, possible that the Marian legend, which was by far the more popular, may have influenced the diction of the Abrahamic, which was no doubt the older; but the resemblances are not in all cases merely resemblances of diction. It will be instructive to note them.

(1) In § 3. The appearance of Gabriel to the Virgin to announce her death and his salutation addressed to her reads like an imitation of the appearance of Michael to Abraham, intentionally assimilated to the account of the Annunciation in S. Luke.

(2) § 3. *καταλιποῦσα τὸν κόσμον.* Abr. A § VII. p. 84, *καταλιπεῖν τὸν κοσμικὸν βίον.*

(3) § 5. *διὰ τὴν ἄκραν ἀγαθότητά σου.* This may be a common phrase, but I am not familiar with it: certainly it recurs in Abr. A XIV. p. 94, l. 29.

Here too the form of the Virgin's prayer to see the Apostles resembles that of Abraham; A § IX. p. 87.

§ 6. *διὰ νεφέλης.* Abr. A XV. p. 96, l. 6. I lay no stress on the recurrence in both books of the idea of conveyance on a cloud, which the Marian book may quite as well have derived from the Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles. Cf. *Acta Petri et Andreae*, § 1.

(§§ 26, 27 should be compared with the 'Apocalypse of Moses' § 33—36, as also § 38 with *Apoc. Mosis* § 38. There is a good deal of similarity.)

(4) In § 40 the Virgin kisses the hand of Christ, and shortly afterwards dies. Compare Abr. A § xx. p. 103, l. 17.

(5) Christ receives the Virgin's soul in His hands, § 44. So Michael, *l. c.* l. 21.

(6) § 48. Hymns are sung at the tomb for three days, till her body is transferred to Paradise. So in the case of Abraham, *l. c.* l. 23 sqq.

I am not convinced that the Testament of Abraham was the principal or the only document which influenced the form of the Assumption legend; but that that legend was largely modelled on earlier Apocrypha, especially on the Assumption of Moses, I have little doubt.

Similarly, the Egyptian Life of Joseph the Carpenter has been influenced by earlier books: and here again we find points of resemblance to our Testament. The hideous form of death, and the reluctance of Joseph to die, and the presence of Michael at the death-bed, carry us into the same cycle of ideas which we meet with in the Testament, while the parallels between the Testament of Isaac and the latter part of the Joseph story are frequent and striking. I should attribute in this case also some importance to the influence of the Assumption of Moses.

The two Recensions of the Testament: their relation to each other, and to the Arabic Version.

The Testament of Abraham has been preserved in Greek in two distinct recensions, as well as in several versions. Of the versions one only, the Arabic, needs to be treated here.

Now, of the two Greek recensions, the first (which I call A) has this characteristic, that it is somewhat full and verbose; while the second (B), though its language is simpler and probably older on the whole, transposes, and in transposing mutilates and confuses, certain incidents in the story. It is moreover considerably

shorter than the other recension. With this second recension the Arabic version (Ar.) will be proved to agree in the main.

The object of this section of the Introduction is to set forth as well as may be the relations which these three documents bear to each other and to the primitive form of the book. And a necessary part of this investigation is a survey of the contents of the three documents. Accordingly a somewhat full analysis is here appended, in which those portions of A are italicised which it has in common with B or Ar.

A.	B.	Ar.
§ I. Abraham is 995 years old. His hospitality is described. *God sends Michael to him to bid him prepare for death.*	(As in A.)	(As in A.)
§ II. *M. finds Abr.* at Mamre, *looking after the ploughing*, with the sons of Masek (=Eliezer) and 12 servants. *Abr. greets M.*, believing him to be a soldier, *and sends for horses for them to ride upon, which M. refuses. They walk to Abr.'s house.*	§ II. M. finds Abr. by the oxen, which are ploughing. Isaac is in his arms. The greeting. Abr. invites M. to lodge with him, lest he be attacked by a wild beast in journeying. M. inquires his name. Abr. tells him how it was changed from Abram to Abraham. M. says he has heard how Abr. entertained angels. The horse is sent for by Abr. and refused. [Here MS C confuses the story by making them ride to the house, when Abr. sends a lad on a horse to fetch some lambs. M. then suggests that they should walk to the fold. See *App. Crit. in loc.*]	M. finds Abr. 'in the sown field.' The greeting. The invitation to lodge, for fear of wild beasts. Eliezer is sent for a horse, which is refused. They walk to the house.
§ III. *On the way they pass a* cypress *tree which speaks. Abr. keeps silence about it.* On their arrival, Isaac notices that the	§ III. The speaking tree is seemingly a tamarisk. The utterance differs from A. It has 300 branches. Arrived at the	The tree is like a tamarisk, with 3 branches. It says, 'Holy, Holy, Holy is He to whom belongs the rule over mankind.'

A.	B.	Ar.
stranger is not a human being, and says so to Sarah. He adores M. and is blessed by him. *Abr. sends Isaac for water to wash M.'s feet.* He is moved, *and weeps, Isaac and M. weep. M.'s tears become precious stones,* which Abr. hides in his bosom.	house, Abr. sends for 3 lambs: and washes M.'s feet. His tears are caused by the foreboding that this is the last time that he will wash any stranger's feet.	The water is sent for, the reason for weeping is as in B. The 'precious stones' are omitted. Three of every sort of cattle are sent for.
§ IV. *Abr. bids Isaac make ready the guest-chamber.* This is done, and a table is set. *M. goes out,* on a pretext, *and goes up to heaven. He tells God that he cannot bear to tell Abr. that he must die. God bids him go back, and promises to reveal the matter in a vision,* which M. is to interpret. M. asks how he, being a spirit, is to eat. God promises to send a devouring spirit which will consume the food as if M. were eating it.	§ IV. Sarah hears the weeping, and asks the cause. Abr. tells her it is nothing. She prepares the food. The sun sets, and M. goes up to heaven to adore God, as all angels do at sunset. (The pretext of A is omitted.) After the other angels have gone, M. begs God to reveal to Abr. concerning his death. God bids him return, promising to reveal it to Isaac.	While food is being prepared, M. goes forth in secret and goes up to heaven and begs God to send a vision to Isaac, of Abr.'s death. After Abr.'s hospitality to M. and Gabriel, M. cannot bear to reveal it to him. God consents.
§ V. *M. returns. After supper,* and prayer, *Isaac begs to be allowed to sleep near them, Abr. refuses and Isaac departs.*	§ V. Abr. bids Isaac prepare a chamber for M. (As in A.)	M. returns. The chamber prepared. Isaac's request refused. At midnight he wakes.....
At the 3rd hour of the night *he awakes, knocks at Abr.'s door, and begs for a last sight of his father. Abr. opens to him. All three weep. Sarah hearing it asks whether M. has brought bad news of Lot. M. tells her that he has not,* and that Isaac's grief is the cause.	§ VI. At the 7th hour of the night...(as in A.) but that God has remembered them.	Rebekah hears the weeping, and asks if Isaac is dead. When reassured, she asks if there is bad news of Lot, and is told by M. that there is not.

A.	B.	Ar.
§ VI. *Sarah recognises from M.'s speech that he is an angel.* She takes Abr. aside and says 'Do you know this man?' Abr. denies it. *Sarah reminds him of the three strangers*, for whom he killed the calf, which, when eaten, came to life again and ran to its dam. This man is one of those strangers. *Abr. agrees and says that he, too, recognised M. when washing his feet.* He then shews the gems which had come from his tears. They agree that some secret thing is to be revealed.	Sarah says, 'Why do you weep when a man of God is here?' Abr. says, 'How know you that he is a man of God?' Sarah answers that she knows him for one of the three strangers. Abr. agrees.	Rebekah, recognising M. from her parents' reports, blesses him and addresses Abr. as in B.
	Abr. asks what the meaning of the matter is and M. refers him to Isaac.	Abr. agrees, and says he recognised M. at the washing of feet. (As in B.)
§ VII. *Abr. bids Isaac relate his dream.* Isaac says '*I saw the sun and moon upon my head, enlightening me. A man* brighter than seven suns *came out of heaven and took the sun.* As I wept, he came again and took the moon. I besought him to leave it. He said 'Let me take them to the Heavenly King, who wishes for them.' But he left the rays upon me.' M. says, '*You, Abr., are the sun*, Sarah the moon. I am the shining man, and I am come to take your soul.' Abr. declares he will not follow M.	§ VII. (As in A.) Isaac says 'I saw the sun and moon upon my head. A shining man came, took the sun and left the moon. I besought him to leave it, and the sun, moon and stars joined me. The man said 'I am taking it from sorrow to joy,' etc. I said 'Take the rays also.' He said, 'When the 12 hours of the day are over, I will take them all.' Now the sun was like you, my father.' M. says, 'You, Abr., are the sun. Your soul will be taken to heaven, your body remain on earth till 7000 ages are past, and the resurrection comes. Now therefore set your house in order, for your time is come.'	Isaac, bidden to relate his dream, says 'I saw the sun, moon, and stars on my head, giving me light. A shining man came down from heaven. This is he of whom thou wouldst say 'He is the father of all lights.' He took the sun. The moon wept and besought him to leave it. So did the stars, and the sun begged for a respite that he might collect his rays and not leave them behind. Then, O my sister Rebekah, I beheld in my right hand the sun, that it was like my father Abr. and (the moon like) my mother Sarah, and the stars like my servants. And I wept, and the Shining One said 'Weep not, for I take him

A.	B.	Ar.
		from sorrow to joy, etc.' And I awoke.' M. said 'It is true,' and all, knowing that Abr. was to die, wept.
§ VIII. M. goes up to heaven, reports the refusal to God. God bids him return to Abr. and remind him of the common lot of men, and of God's mercies to him.		
§ IX. M. reports his message. *Abr. begs him to ask God to allow him, while yet in the body, to see the works of creation.* M. reports the request, and God bids him take Abr. on a cloud, and with angelic chariots, and to shew him the world.	(As in A.)	
	M. promises to ask for permission. § VIII. It is asked and granted.	(As in B.)
§ X. Abr. is shewn the world and the vicissitudes of man's life. *He sees murderers with swords. At his prayer* wild beasts devour them. *He sees adulterers. In like manner, the earth swallows them.* He sees housebreakers: fire consumes them. *God's voice bids M. turn the chariot* and shew Abr. the judgment, *lest he destroy all men, since, never having sinned, he has no pity on sinners.*	(See post, § XII.)	(Entirely omitted.
§ XI. Abr. is taken to the East, to the first gate of Heaven. He sees two ways, narrow and broad, and *two gates, narrow and broad.* Outside, *between these, sits one* like Christ	§ VIII. (contd.). Abr. is taken to the river Oceanus. He sees two gates, narrow and broad.	Abr. is taken to Oceanus. 'And I will speak, even I Abr. I saw two gates,' etc.
	(As in A.)	(As in A.)

A.

on a throne, who alternately weeps and laughs, but weeps 7 times as much as he laughs. Abr. asks M. to explain. He says, 'The gates are those of salvation and perdition. The man is Adam who weeps for the loss of souls, and laughs at their salvation. One soul in 7000 is saved.'

§ XII. 'I saw two fiery *angels driving many souls* and beating them with fiery thongs, *and one soul was held by an angel.* We followed them to see if any would be saved. Inside the gates they saw a shining man on a crystal table on which was a book 6 cubits thick by 10 broad. On each side was an angel recording. In front was a shining angel with a balance and a fiery angel with a trumpet containing fire. These recorded, weighed, and tested the souls. The angel brought the soul which he held, and its sins and good deeds were looked out in the book. *They weighed equally.* The soul was set in the midst.'

§ XIII. *M. explains. The judge is Abel.* All souls are judged (1) by Abel, (2) at the second coming by the 12 tribes (or the tribes by the Apostles), (3) by God. The recording angels write

B.

(As in A.)

§ IX. Abr. weeps because being a broad man he will not be able to pass through the narrow gate. M. consoles him. They see an angel driving 60,000 souls. They follow and find an angel holding one soul of a woman whose good and bad deeds weighed equally. The others were lost. Abr. asks, and M. explains that the angel is Death.

§ X. Abr. asks to see the judgment. He is carried on a cloud to Paradise. The soul which they had seen is brought. It asks for mercy. The judge asked 'Why did you kill your daughter?' 'I did not.' The judge calls for the scribe. Two cherubims bring books, and with them comes a great man with 3 crowns, one higher than the rest, called crowns of witness. He has a gold pen. He finds the sins of that soul in the book. The judge

Ar.

(As in A.)
his weeping exceeded his rejoicing twelve times doubled.

(as in A)

I saw 60,000 souls whom angels drove through the broad gate. M. said, 'Let us follow, and see if any will be saved.' (3rd person). They go, and find one soul whose good and bad deeds were equal, and it was saved. All the rest were lost. (Here the 1st person.) Abr. laments and is consoled, as in B. (He says 'I know not if they will let me enter by the strait gate without suffering torture for 12 years'.) *Abr.* 'Does God, or their angels, or Death bring souls out of their bodies?' *M.* 'Death, and Michael[1].' *Abr.* 'How many die and are born every day?' *M.* '99999.' A soul is brought to the judge. A man comes forth from behind a curtain and begins declaring the sins of the soul. The soul denies all. God, the Judge, calls witnesses. Three witnesses accuse it of murder and adultery, of luxurious living, and of deceit. It is con-

[1] So the text, corruptly.

A.	B.	Ar.
the good and bad deeds respectively. The weighing angel is Dokiel and the fiery angel Puruel.	accuses the soul of murder and adultery. The soul laments, and is given over to the tormentors.	demned. M. explains that the recorder is Enoch.
§ XIV. The soul in the midst needs but one good deed in order to be saved. At Abr.'s instance, he and M. intercede for it. It vanishes, and M. says *it is saved.* They then intercede for those whom Abr. had destroyed by his prayer (§ X.). Their prayer is heard, as God's voice tells them.	§ XI. M. explains. The judge is Abel, the recorder Enoch. At Abr.'s request, M. explains that Enoch was unwilling to record men's sins, but God bade him do so.	
§ XV. *Abr. is now brought back to his house.* Sarah and Isaac and his servants surround him, and M. urges him to make his will and depart. He refuses. M. ascends to heaven, reports the matter to God, and asks for counsel.	§ XII. Abr. is taken into the lower firmament. He sees adulterers. At his prayer they are destroyed by fire. He sees slanderers: they are swallowed up in the earth, and likewise murderers, whom wild beasts devour. God commands that Abr. should be taken home again, seeing he is not long-suffering with sinners. At the 9th hour Abr. returns, and finds that Sarah is dead of grief, and buries her.	Abr. is brought back and laid on his bed that he may die. He summons his servants, frees them and makes them a feast. When his time to die comes, God tells M. that Abr. is not to be alarmed. (It is not said that Death adorned himself. Something has dropped out.)
§ XVI. God summons Death, who arrives in terror. *God bids him assume a lovely form and go and take Abr.'s soul with all gentleness.* Death adorns himself as an Archangel, and comes to Abr. who is sitting, head on hand, under the oak of Mamre. *Death greets him,* and Abr. takes him for M. *Death tells him who he is,* and Abr., when convinced, refuses to follow him.	§ XIII. When Abr.'s time to die comes, God commands M. to adorn Death in a fair form. Death comes and sits by Abr., and greetings are exchanged. Abr. is afraid; he cannot bear the glory of Death. Death explains why he is so glorious, and who he is.	Death comes to Abr. while he is sleeping. Abr. wakes and sees him, and asks who he is, describing his terror and faintness. He calls for Isaac and asks him who the mysterious stranger is. Isaac can see no one. Abr. says he is going to die, and Isaac laments.

A.	B.	Ar.
§ XVII. Abr. goes into his house, and into his chamber. Death follows, and will not leave him. *Abr. asks if he always comes in this form.* '*Only to the just: to the ungodly in a frightful shape.*' *Abr. begs him to shew his true shape,* God will enable him to bear it.	§ XIV. (As in A.)	Death, being asked, reveals his name and explains the cause of his beauty, as in AB. Abr. asks to see his true form. Death says the servants must depart. Abr. asks if any can die before his time. 'Yes, in times of pestilence, I and my son Atarlimos go forth and slay indiscriminately.'
Death puts on his most awful form and shews 7 dragon-heads and 14 faces, fire, darkness, viper, precipice, [asp,] lion, horned-snake, basilisk, fiery sword, [weapons,] lightning, thunder, sea, torrent, three-headed dragon, poison-cup.	Death shews his hideousness. He has two heads, one of a dragon, because men die of snake-bites, the other of a sword, because men die by that.	Death then grows in height and appears with many faces, some of serpents and some fiery.
7000 *servants die* and Abr. faints.	Abr.'s servants die. Abr. prays, and God raises them.	Eighteen servants die, and all present fall down until M. raises them up, and Death and his son depart to their places.
§ XVIII. Abr., revived, begs Death to resume his beauty. Then he asks how the servants could die. '*Can any die before his time?*' 'No; the only marvel is that you survived.' *They intercede for the dead servants, who are restored to life* [*and freed,* MS D].		
§ XIX. Abr. goes up to his chamber. Death follows. Abr., after asking about his authority, demands the interpretation of Death's form. Death says the 7 dragon-heads were the 7 ages of the world. The others stand for different deaths of men.		

A.	B.	Ar.
§ XX. *Abr. asks if there is any untimely death.* Death answers that there are 72 kinds of death, but bids Abr. delay no longer. Abr. asks for delay. Isaac, Sarah, and the servants come to him and Abr. becomes faint. Death bids him kiss his hand, and he will feel better. Abr. kisses his hand, and his soul cleaves thereto, and he dies. *M. and a host of angels come, and wrap the soul in a heaven-spun cloth.* On the 3rd day, the body is buried under the oak, the soul adores God. God orders that the soul be taken to Paradise to be with the saints.	After this, M. takes Abr.'s soul, as in a dream, and takes it to heaven. Isaac buries the body by Sarah.	M. takes Abr.'s soul, wraps it in white robes and carries it away in his fiery chariot. The angels meet it and escort it to Paradise. Abr. died on 28 Misri, aged 175. Isaac bewailed him 60 days, and buried him by Sarah, and returning exhorted the freed servants to lead good lives.
Doxology.		*End.*

It will be seen that, while the main outline of the story remains naturally enough the same, the differences between our three forms of it are neither few nor slight. These differences may be conveniently treated under two heads: (i) those which arise naturally from the process of epitomisation; (ii) those which entail a real alteration of the narrative.

To take them in order, we should first refer to the analysis of § II., where it will be seen that the confusion introduced by one of the MSS of Recension B shews that an unskilful redactor has been at work.

Next, let us examine a passage in which the differences are more important,—the vision of Isaac in § VII. of A and B. In A, the course of their vision is this: the sun and moon are on Isaac's head; the Shining One comes twice, and takes first the sun and then the moon, leaving the rays with Isaac. In the interpretation

the sun is Abraham, the moon Sarah, the Shining One Michael. The rays are not explained.

In B, the sun and moon are on Isaac's head: the Shining One (who is compared to the 'Father of lights') takes the sun and leaves the rays: the sun, moon and stars join in Isaac's remonstrances. Isaac then asks the Shining One to take the rays, but he refuses to do so until the twelve hours of the day are over. The sun resembles Abraham. The interpretation is much shortened in B. The sun is Abraham, the moon and stars are unexplained, and the Shining One is not mentioned again. But there is an explanation of the mysterious rays, though this again has suffered. Abraham's body, says Michael, is to remain on the earth until the end of 7000 ages, when the resurrection will take place. Evidently then, the rays of the vision, which were to be left with Isaac, answer to the body of Abraham, and the twelve hours of the day correspond to the 7000 ages, the traditional period of the duration of the world. Here too Sarah must be the moon, and the children or servants of Abraham must be the stars. The imagery is plainly derived from the dream of Joseph in Genesis (xxxvii. 9).

The Arabic version (Ar.) presents a marked similarity to B. Here the sun, moon and stars are on Isaac's head; and the Shining One is spoken of as resembling the 'Father of all lights.' He takes the sun. The moon and stars lament, and the sun begs for time to collect his rays and take them with him. The sun resembles Abraham, the moon Sarah, and the stars Isaac's servants. Thus four points common to B and Ar. are absent from A: (1) the mention of the stars, (2) the mention of the 'Father of lights,' (3) the lamentation of the moon and stars, (4) the resemblance of the sun to Abraham.

But no one of these accounts taken by itself is quite full or coherent. It seems to me that the passage is one in which each document supplements its fellows. To take a single instance, in A nothing is said of Sarah's death, but the moon, which represents her in the vision, is removed. In B nothing is said of the removal of the moon, but Sarah's death is related in § XII. Here then the combination of A and B will give us a reasonable and complete account. But both A and B are very plainly abridged.

The Arabic is still more curtailed. It may preserve an original trait in making the sun (and not Isaac as in B) ask that his rays may accompany him. But this is its only contribution; and it attempts no explanation of what is meant by the rays.

The reader will readily multiply for himself instances of omissions in B and Ar. of features prominent in A, and such as can hardly be otherwise than original. Such are, the unwillingness of Abraham to die (omitted by B and Ar.) and the employment of the first person in the Vision of Abraham (present in Ar., absent from B). These omissions I would put down to the epitomiser's credit.

Let us pass to the second class of variations.

The first that requires notice is in § IV. of A and B. In A, Michael goes outside the house on a certain pretext and ascends to heaven. In B, the reason given for his exit is quite different. At sunset, it is said, all angels adore God, and Michael first of them all. It is to fulfil this duty that he goes up to heaven.

In Ar. we read that, while Abraham and Isaac were preparing the supper, Michael went out in secret (?). This evades the difficulty and we have to decide between the claims of A and B to originality. The pretext given in A (*ὡς δῆθεν γαστρὸς χρείᾳ ὕδατος χύσιν ποιῆσαι*) is so grotesque that I cannot think it was inserted by a later redactor: it even savours of irreverence. That in B, on the other hand, is quite certainly not original: it may be read, *totidem verbis*, in the Apocalypse of Paul (§ 7, p. 38, ed. Tischdf.) *ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον δύνοντος τοῦ ἡλίου· ἐν αὐτῇ γὰρ τῇ ὥρᾳ πάντες οἱ ἄγγελοι ἔρχονται πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν προσκυνῆσαι αὐτῷ.* Here we have a very natural phenomenon. The author of B has substituted a detail drawn from another book for one which he disliked in his original.

The most considerable discrepancy, however, is in that part of the book which treats of the judgment of souls (§§ X.—XIV. A, VIII.—XII. B).

The course of events in A is briefly this:

Abraham on his voyage through the air sees various malefactors and at his prayer they are destroyed. At God's command he is taken to Heaven, sees the two gates, the two ways, and Adam. Angels are seen driving lost souls; and one soul is seen whose fate is doubtful. A judgment scene is then described,

where Abel is judge, an angel Dokiel weighs souls, another angel Puruel tests them by fire, and two angels act as recorders. The neutral soul is examined and no verdict given. Abraham intercedes for it and subsequently for the sinners whom he had destroyed, and all are saved. It is explained that every soul will be thrice judged, by Abel, by the twelve tribes (or Apostles) and by God. The first person is employed for a moment in this narrative.

In B we have this:

Abraham is taken to the river Oceanus. The two gates and Adam are seen. Abraham is alarmed, and reassured, on the subject of the narrowness of the gate of life. The lost souls are seen, and one soul of a woman whose fate is doubtful. The angel who brings them is Death. The judgment scene, in Paradise, follows. Abel is judge, Enoch is recorder, and two cherubims carry the books of record. The neutral soul is examined and condemned. Abraham is taken to the lower firmament, sees the various sinners, as in A, and destroys them. Then he is taken home. All this narrative is in the third person.

In Ar. we read:

Abraham is taken to the river Oceanus. He sees the two gates and Adam, the lost soul, and the neutral soul, which is saved. Then Abraham's alarm about the gate of life and Michael's reassurance of him are related. A short conversation about Death, and about the number of men who are born and die each day, follows. Next comes the judgment scene. God is the judge, Enoch the recorder, and a soul is examined, confronted with three witnesses, and condemned. Abraham is then taken home. The episode of the sinners destroyed is omitted. The first person is largely employed in this section.

In these three accounts we find certain elements common to all, and certain others common to two of our authorities.

Common to all three are:

1. The two gates and the mention of Adam alternately weeping and laughing.

2. The soul whose sins and good deeds were equal.

Common to two are:

1. Abraham taken to Oceanus (B, Ar.).

2. The introduction of the first person (A, Ar.).
3. The introduction of Death (B, Ar.).
4. Abel as judge of souls (A, B).
5. Enoch as recorder (B, Ar.).
6. A neutral soul is saved (A, Ar.).
7. The examination and condemnation of a soul (B, Ar.).
8. Abraham destroying sinners (A, B).
9. Abraham's alarm about the gate of life (B, Ar.).

In three out of five features, common to B, Ar., we find that they are influenced by a common source, not the original, namely, the Apocalypse of Paul.

(1) Compare Abr. B § VIII., and Ar. *ἀνήνεγκεν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸν ὠκεανὸν ποταμόν* with *Apoc. Pauli* § 31, p. 57 *ἔστησέν με ἐπάνω τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ ὠκεανοῦ*, and also § 21, p. 50.

(5) Compare Abr. B § XI. (Cod. B) *ὁ ἕτερος...ἐστὶν Ἐνὼχ ὁ μάρτυς τῆς ἐσχάτης ἡμέρας* with *Apoc. Pauli* § 20, p. 50 *οὗτός ἐστιν Ἐνὼχ ὁ μάρτυς τῆς ἐσχάτης ἡμέρας*. This is a marked coincidence of language: but Enoch in *Apoc. Pauli* is not a recorder. This function, however, belongs to him in Jewish tradition.

(7) Compare Abr. B §§ X., XI. with *Apoc. Pauli* §§ 17, 18. In this scene, the Arabic, which substitutes God for Abel as judge of souls, shews a closer likeness to *Apoc. Pauli* than B does.

In the other two traits common to B, Ar., one, the introduction of Death, introduces a plain inconsistency with the latter part of the book, which represents Death not as an ordinary angel but as a terrific being sometimes taking the form of an angel of light. The other, Abraham's alarm about the gate of life, is very probably an original feature, suppressed in A because it seemed ludicrous, just as in B a grotesque trait in § IV. was suppressed.

The two coincidences between A and B are both important, and likely to be original. The defection of the Arabic is to be explained in the first case (Abel as judge) by a reference to the Apocalypse of Paul; in the second case (the destruction of sinners) the episode is merely omitted, having become meaningless in its altered position.

Of the two coincidences between A and Ar. one, the introduction of the first person, is a fresh proof of the originality of A

as compared with B; and in the case of the Arabic shews its independence of B in B's present form. The other two Testaments[1] both employ the first person in the sections corresponding to this. The other coincidence, the saving of the neutral soul, is also important. Plainly B must be wrong in condemning it; and not less plainly Ar. must be wrong in its bare and unexplained mention of its salvation, while A gives a good and intelligible motive for the latter, in attributing it to Abraham's intercession.

The most considerable liberty taken with the text is perhaps the shifting of the episode of the destruction of sinners. I cannot but feel that the place assigned to it in A is the only reasonable one. The sinless Abraham is inflamed with righteous indignation at the sight of the wickedness of men, and would at once rid the earth of them. But when he has seen the judgments of God and has realised the exceeding fewness of those that are saved, the reaction takes place, and he does his best to undo the harm he has brought about. That is the reasonable and consistent story in A. In B, after seeing the judgments and the infinitesimal number of the saved, he is none the less ready to swell the numbers of the lost, and is only deterred by God's express command. The story is not a reasonable one: but we can even see why it took its present form in B. The author of that recension thought that the moral of his original was a dangerous one: it seemed imprudent to tell men that, though cut off in the blossom of their sin, they might yet escape punishment through the intercession whether of Abraham or of other righteous men.

It was a better course to omit the whole episode, as Ar. does, than to keep half of it in a wrong place.

Another variation between the documents relates to Sarah.

In A Sarah is alive at the time of Abraham's death.

In B Abraham finds her dead of grief on his return home.

In Ar. Rebekah is substituted for her throughout: but she appears in Isaac's vision as the moon.

A's account disagrees entirely with that in Genesis: and so does that of B, for Sarah died many years before Abraham, and he married Keturah, who seems to have been living at his death. There is, however, in B's view of the matter, a certain similarity

[1] Sc. of Isaac and Jacob; see Appendix.

to the Rabbinic tradition that Sarah almost died of grief when Abraham was away with Isaac on the expedition to Mount Moriah, and that she actually died of joy on suddenly hearing the news of Isaac's rescue from being sacrificed, which was broken to her suddenly by Samael[1]. The substitution of Rebekah for Sarah in Ar. is clumsily done, and is obviously an attempt to harmonise with Genesis.

The concluding sections of the book are much shortened in B and Ar. It is no doubt the case that these same sections are unduly expanded in A, particularly in the description of Death: but the account in A forms a homogeneous whole, while that in B and Ar. is so disproportionately short and so jejune as at once to convey a strong suspicion that something is wanting. In A the death of Abraham is finally brought about by his kissing the hand of Death. To the last he has refused to give up his soul voluntarily: this unwillingness to die will be treated in detail under a separate head; but all that need be noticed here is that the refusal to obey, which constantly recurs in A and finds its climax in Abraham's death, is entirely absent from B and Ar. In this case again I believe that the trait is an original one, and that B and Ar. omit it as being derogatory to Abraham's character. Proof of the antiquity and popularity of the notion will be adduced in the section above alluded to.

In B and Ar. it will be seen that the actual death of Abraham forms a mere appendix to the narrative, and that the purpose of Death's being sent to the patriarch is lost sight of: whereas Abraham's refusal to give up his soul to Michael forms in A the reasonable motive for having recourse to Death.

A word must be said of the matter peculiar to Ar. The desire to harmonise with Genesis is seen in the introduction of Eliezer in § II., as well as in the substitution of Rebekah for Sarah. The additions are: the conversation between Michael and Abraham about the number of deaths and births which take place daily; the introduction of three witnesses in the judgment-scene; Abraham's freeing his servants (occurring also notably in one MS (D) of A); the arrival of Death and the conversation thereon between Abraham and Isaac; the introduction of the son of Death—Atar-

[1] Beer, *Leben Abrahams*, 73.

limos or Pestilence; some details of Isaac's burying of Abraham, and his exhortation to the servants.

Of these, the conversation about Death, and the introduction of Atarlimos may be very likely drawn from current popular mythology: with regard to the latter of the two, it seems to describe the true Egyptian plague[1], and to be an insertion original to this version. The freeing of the servants has, as we see, a slight support in the Greek. The introduction of three witnesses may be referred to the Apocalypse of Paul; the account of the arrival of Death, if original, would shew that both A and B have here been a good deal shortened.

The evidence points to the following conclusions:

A presents us with what is on the whole the fullest, clearest, and most consistent narrative. Its language, however, has been to some extent mediaevalised.

B is an abridgment whose language is on the whole more simple and original than that of A. It omits much, and in several places adulterates the narrative with insertions from the Apocalypse of Paul. It is not an abridgment made from A.

Ar. is an independent abridgment, not made from either A or B, though as a rule more nearly related to B than to A. It, too, shews similarity to the Apocalypse of Paul[2]. It inserts matter not found in A or B, and is shorter than either.

In order to reconstruct the original Testament, we should probably do right in following A in the main, with supplements from B in the Vision of Isaac, and in the account of Abraham's terror at the narrow gate; and we must suppose that something is wanting in all our documents in the account of the judgment-scene in the shape of some dispute over the neutral soul between 'angels of righteousness and angels of iniquity.'

[1] So Professor W. Robertson Smith has suggested to me.

[2] This fact implies that the contamination with the Apocalypse of Paul is due to a common ancestor of B and Ar.

The Christian element in the Testament of Abraham.

In order to determine the extent of the Christian influence which is undoubtedly present in the book, we may begin by collecting such phrases as are unmistakably Christian.

A § I. One MS reads *φιλόχριστος* for *φιλόστοργος*.

§ IV. *ἀπεχόμενον ἀπὸ παντὸς πονηροῦ* (1 Thess. v. 22).
ἐπιβαλῶ τὸ πνεῦμά μου τὸ ἅγιον.

§ VI. *δόξα καὶ εὐλογία παρὰ θεοῦ καὶ πατρός.*

§ VII. *ἐγώ εἰμι* Μιχαὴλ *ὁ ἀρχιστρ. ὁ παρεστηκὼς ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ* (Luke i. 19, cf. Tobit xii. 14 in *Cod. Sin.* and Rev. viii. 2).

§ X. *κλέψαι καὶ θῦσαι καὶ ἀπολέσαι* (John x. 10).

§ XI. *ἡ μία ὁδὸς στενὴ καὶ τεθλιμμένη καὶ ἡ ἑτέρα πλατεῖα καὶ εὐρύχωρος* (Matt. vii. 13).
ἰδέα...ὁμοία τοῦ δεσπότου (v.l. *κυρίου ἡμῶν* Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ).
ἀπάγουσα εἰς τὴν ζωήν...εἰς τὴν ἀπώλειαν (Matt. vii. 14).
πολλοί...ὀλίγοι (*ibid.*).

§ XII. *τοῖς βασανισταῖς ἐξέδωκεν* (Matt. xviii. 34).
τοῖς σωζομένοις (Acts ii. 4).

§ XIII. *ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ παρουσίᾳ κριθήσονται* (all but one MS *ὑπὸ τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων αἱ δώδεκα φυλαὶ τοῦ* Ἰσραὴλ) *καὶ πᾶσα πνοὴ καὶ πᾶσα κτίσις* (Luke xxii. 30).
ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ πυρὸς ἔχων τὴν ἐξουσίαν (Rev. xiv. 18).
εἴ τινος τὸ ἔργον κατακαύσει τὸ πῦρ (1 Cor. iii. 13—15).

§ XIV. A various reading *κύριον ἡμῶν* Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν.

§ XVI. *ἀοράτου πατρός.*

§ XX. *τρισάγιον ὕμνον τῷ δεσπότῃ τῶν ὅλων θεῷ,*
as well as the doxology and several phrases at the extreme end of the book.

Besides the phrases in this list, which are unmistakably Christian, if not actual quotations from the N. T., there is in A a good deal of what may be called mediaeval matter. The introductory sentences come under this head, and so does much of the speech of God to Michael in § VIII., and the speech of Death to Abraham, and the description of Death. Further, the elaborate greetings which pass between Abraham and Michael, and Abraham and Death, together with the epithets constantly applied to these personages and to God, savour of a late date. All this is what we expect a redactor to furnish, and to a redactor I attribute it.

Next, the vocabulary and grammar contain a certain amount of late forms and constructions. We have *εἰπεῖν τινὰ* without *πρὸς* in § I. etc., *ἀπὸ* with an Accusative in § VIII. Of late words we find *χαρζαναί* § XII., *δουλίδες* § XVII., *ἀνύπαρκτος* § XIX, and plenty of the epithets referred to above, *ἡλιόρατος ἡλιόμορφος πανιερός* and so on.

Again, no MS of A known to me is older than cent. XIII. We cannot reasonably put it in its present form much before cent. IX. or X. though, as I have tried to shew, the groundwork of it, preserved faithfully, I believe, in all its main features, was a book known to Origen and therefore not later than cent. III.; probably as old as cent. II.

How does B compare with A in respect of the features we have noticed? Only one of the expressions quoted from A has a place in B: in § VIII. we read *αὗταί εἰσιν αἱ ἀπάγουσαι εἰς τὴν ζωὴν καὶ εἰς τὴν ἀπώλειαν.* B has, it is true, one or two N. T. phrases which A has not; e.g. in § XIII. *οὐκ ἔστιν ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου τούτου* (John xviii. 36), § XII. *σπλαγχνίζομαι ἐπὶ* (Mark viii. 2). But on the whole B is far freer from Christianisms of language than A. The language of the narrative throughout is, moreover, simpler and more antique than that of A. In one or two places in B one MS (B) uses the neo-Greek particle *ἄς* (§ V. p. 109, l. 21 *App. Crit.*) and there are some eccentricities of vocabulary, the most noteworthy being the word *ζεῦμα* on p. 110, l. 14; but these are exceptions. My impression of the relation of B to A, as elsewhere stated, is broadly this; that B preserves the greatest proportion of the original language, A the greatest proportion of the original story.

To return to the N. T. quotations in A. It will be noticed that they are especially frequent in the Apocalyptic section of the book (§§ X.—XIV.), and that the one in which A and B agree occurs in this same portion. Moreover, it is only in this section that any of the phrases in question form an integral and inseparable part of the text. They can be removed without injury to the sense from every other part of the book: not so can all in the Apocalyptic section. The conception of the two gates and two ways, of the few saved and many lost, appearing in both recensions and greatly emphasised, cannot be divorced from its context. It would seem then, at first sight, that this Apocalyptic section is to some extent Christian or Christianised. And this section is doubtless the kernel of the whole book. The chief object of the original author of it was to give publicity to his views on the judgment of souls. They are peculiar views, and so the redactors of the book have felt: the author of the B-text has revised them so much that he has left little of what we find in A. That the author of the A-text must have removed some glaring heterodoxies we feel almost certain, but cannot so clearly shew.

How far does this presumed Christian influence in the Apocalyptic section extend? Is that section, as it stands in A, a consistent whole? There can be little doubt that the episode of the two gates is founded on the passage of S. Matthew referred to. The actual language of the Gospel is used in both recensions, and it would be doing violence to all probability to look elsewhere for the source of it.

On the two phrases quoted from § XII. little stress can be laid, but with the contents and language of § XIII. we shall do well to acquaint ourselves. The scheme of the judgment of souls there set forth is as follows. Every soul undergoes three judgments. It is first judged by Abel, in virtue of the relation of all men to the father of Abel. Next, at the *Second Coming*, it will be judged by the twelve tribes of Israel (v. l. the twelve Apostles); lastly, at the end of all things, it will be judged by God.

The instruments employed in the first judgment are three: the written records of good and evil actions, the balance which weighs the souls (or actions), and the trumpet full of fire which tests the souls (or actions).

There are certain difficulties here. The greatest lies in the description of the second judgment of souls. All the MSS save one tell us in this place that the twelve Apostles are to be the judges either of the twelve tribes *and* of all the world (BCERo), or simply of all the world (D). When we remember that in Matt. xix. 28 and Luke xxii. 30 the promise is made to the Apostles that they shall in the regeneration sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel, it seems at first sight as if this *must* be the right reading. There is still however something to be said on the other side. The MS evidence is this:

(1) *καὶ ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ παρουσίᾳ κριθήσονται ὑπὸ τῶν δώδεκα φυλῶν τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ, καὶ πᾶσα πνοὴ καὶ πᾶσα κτίσις.* *A*.

(2) *καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν δευτέραν παρουσίαν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων κριθήσονται αἱ δώδεκα φυλαὶ τοῦ Ἰσρ. καὶ πάσης πνοῆς καὶ πάσης ἀνοις.* B.

(3) *καὶ ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ παρουσίᾳ ὑπὸ τῶν ιβ′ ἀποστ. κριθήσονται αἱ ιβ′ φυλαὶ τοῦ Ἰσρ. κ. πᾶσα πνοὴ κ. πᾶσ[α] ἄνθρωπος.* CE.

(4) *καὶ ἐν τῇ δ. π. ὑπὸ τῶν ιβ′ ἀποστ. κριθήσεται πᾶσα ἡ οἰκουμένη.* D.

Now it seems at once obvious that the reading of *A* may be an instance of omission by homoeoteleuton. An ancestor of *A* might have had

κριθήσονται ὑπὸ τῶν δώδεκα [ἀποστ. αἱ δώδεκα] φυλαί.

At some stage in the transmission the words which I have placed in brackets dropped out and the next scribe altered the senseless *ὑπὸ τῶν δώδεκα φυλαί* into—*φυλῶν*. This gives the reading of *A*.

On the other hand, all the remaining MSS agree in placing the verb (*κριθήσονται*) between *ἀποστ.* and *φυλαί*. We are justified in regarding that as its proper place. In that case it disappeared along with the bracketed words from the supposed ancestor of *A*. How came the scribe of *A* to replace it unquestioningly while he allowed the astounding statement about the twelve tribes to stand? Another matter must be remembered, that *A* is easily first in excellence of our MSS.

But is the reading of *A* quite out of the question on internal grounds? It seems to me not so. For first, the mention of the twelve Apostles introduces an anachronism into the story such as our writer is not elsewhere guilty of. That Abraham should be supposed to know who the twelve tribes of Israel were, is no great demand on our faith. But this allusion to the Apostles has no parallel in the rest of the book. Secondly, the idea of the twelve tribes judging the world would be, I believe, no unfamiliar one to the mind of many Jewish Christians. What would the simple reader of the Apocalypse of S. John gather from that book as to the position of Israel in the future? Are not twelve thousand of each tribe sealed? Do they not dwell on Mount Sion with the Lamb? Are not the "nations" and the "kings of the earth" tributaries to them when the New Jerusalem is established upon earth? The belief that Israel is to rule over the Gentiles is well known and wide-spread. That the Apostles to a certain extent stood for or represented the twelve tribes in the minds of Jewish Christians is no doubt probable. But yet, in the view of the texts already quoted from the Gospels of SS. Matthew and Luke, the interpolation of the Apostles in the case before us would be most obvious and inviting. And to the belief that the mention of them is an interpolation I very strongly incline. The fact that the passage has quite disappeared in B and Ar. seems to me to indicate that their common ancestor has here been maltreating his original because there was something heterodox which had to be got rid of.

But I suspect that further interpolation has taken place in this part of A. In § XII., where the scene is laid before us, we are told shortly the functions of the various personages. The angels on the right and left, it is said, are the recorders of good and evil deeds; the angel with the balance weighs souls; the angel with the fire tests souls. In § XIII. we have first the explanation of Abel and the statement about the triple judgment, all of which is new; and thereon follows a second edition of the explanation of the four angels. The two recording angels are described again as such, in identical terms. Then we read that the angel with the balance is Dokiel, who weighs deeds (not souls), and that the angel with the fire is Puruel, who tests deeds (not souls). Now

there is more than one suspicious feature in this passage. First, the angels have punning names, Dokiel from δοκιμάζω, Puruel from πῦρ: secondly, their description is inconsistent with the one previously given: thirdly, there are two most literal quotations from the N. T. close together, one from Rev. xiv. 18, the other from 1 Cor. iii. 15: fourthly, the paragraph from οἱ δὲ δύο ἄγγελοι (p. 92, l. 24) to δοκιμάζονται (p. 93, l. 18) is quite superfluous, though the removal would necessitate the removal of part of Abraham's question at the beginning of § XIII. Some at least of these reasons merit consideration. I do not lay much stress on the matter, but if any part of the judgment scene is non-original, I think it is this.

To conclude: my own deduction from the facts and theories stated in this Introduction is that the Testament was originally put together in the second century by a Jewish Christian: that for the narrative portions he employed existing Jewish legends, and for the apocalyptic, he drew largely on his own imagination. A parallel to this mode of composition is ready to our hand in the Ascension of Isaiah, where the groundwork of the portion which relates the Martyrdom is no doubt Jewish, while the "Vision," as well as other smaller portions of the book, is as clearly Christian. The original compilation was re-edited perhaps in the IXth or Xth century by two different people, and the result of their labours is before us, one being responsible for Recension A, the other for the common original of Recension B and the Arabic Version.

Thanatos; and the Angelology and Demonology of the Testament of Abraham.

Two principal figures from the spiritual world appear in our book, Michael and Thanatos. The functions of the first may be very shortly dismissed. The story of his visit in human form to Abraham, modelled originally perhaps on Gen. xviii., finds its closest parallel in the book of Tobit, to which, be it noted in passing, some modern critics assign an Egyptian origin. In that book, Raphael accompanies the young Tobias on his journey

unrecognised, and, when he finally reveals his identity, tells his hosts that during his sojourn with them he had only eaten and drunk in appearance (cf. § v. of the Testament). It is, of course, a mark of God's special favour to Abraham that Michael and not Death is sent in the first instance to take his soul. The figure of Death in our book is far more unusual and striking. Recension B and the Arabic Version introduce him twice, once in the Apocalyptic section where he appears as an angel, and again at the end of the book. In Recension A he figures only in the latter place. This first and incidental mention in B and Ar. I am inclined to regard as an interpolation. It is pointless and abrupt, and the description is inconsistent with what follows. Death, as he appears in the celestial regions, is not distinguishable, it would seem, from other angels, whereas later on in the book, he has to be disguised as an angel before he can approach Abraham. Moreover B and Ar. have, as has been seen (p. 48), dealt most freely with the original document just at this point. But, genuine or not genuine, this first reference to Death is not in any way remarkable. It is his final appearance which throws light on our author's views of him. And they may be shortly stated in these terms. Death is not a good angel; when summoned to appear before God he trembles and quakes. His natural form is a hideous one. When he approaches the righteous this form is modified and becomes beautiful in proportion to the righteousness of the dying man; and in like manner his terrors are intensified by the wickedness of the sinner whose soul he is taking. His natural hideous form is described at length by our writer. The groundwork appears to be the dragon or serpent, with seven heads, which stands for the seven ages of the world, and upon this are heaped all the characteristics of the various violent deaths by which men perish, so that the picture presented to us is that of a constantly changing Protean figure, turning from serpent to wild beast, and again into fire, water, sword, poison-cup, and so forth.

Now, what origin can we most plausibly assign to this tremendous apparition? It is not classical. The winged Thanatos of Greek art and literature, of whom we read in the Alcestis and whom we occasionally see in vase-paintings, has nothing monstrous about him save his wings. The Charon of the Etruscan tomb-

paintings is little more than a coarser and more terrific edition of the Greek Death. He too is winged, and in addition is armed with a hammer, and his countenance is frightful; but this is not the monstrous composite form of which we are in search. Lastly, the skeleton, which appears in Graeco-Roman art, takes us no further in the desired direction.

Next, the figure is not of Jewish invention. Only one personage, to my knowledge, at all resembles it. This is the demon Bedargon (Eisenmenger, II. 436), of whom it is said in the *Little Jalkut Rubeni* 116, that he is a hand-breadth broad and has fifty heads and fifty-six hearts. If he strikes a man, the man dies, and if a man strikes him, he dies. This however is an isolated and probably very late fiction. The Jewish Angel of Death has no monstrous characteristics.

But in certain Egyptian Apocrypha we do find resemblances to our Thanatos which are more or less striking. For example, in the *History of Joseph the Carpenter*. The Sahidic version of this (translated by Zoëga and Dulaurier) is fuller than the Arabic. Other Coptic versions may be found in Lagarde's *Aegyptiaca* and Revillout's *Apocryphes Coptes du N. T.* Zoëga and Dulaurier, quoted by Tischendorf in c. xxi., render as follows, "Then I looked to the direction of the southern gate, and saw Death accompanied by Hell as his counsellor, and the Devil, the deceiver from the beginning, and a multitude of monstrous 'Decani' clothed with fire and breathing forth sulphur and flames from their mouths. ...My father Joseph...saw that they were terrible, as when excited by anger and fury against a soul which has just left its body, especially if it be that of a sinner wherein they have found the mark of their own seal." Jesus advanced and routed these spectres, and Death fled and hid behind the door. In the passage corresponding to c. xxiii. Jesus addresses Death thus: "'O thou that comest from the south, enter in and do that which my Father hath commanded thee; but keep Joseph as the apple of thine eyes; for he is my father according to the flesh.' Then Abbaton (=Abaddon) entered in and took the soul of my father Joseph and parted it from the body." Then, as in our book, Michael and Gabriel wrap the soul in a silken cloth and escort it to the heavens.

Again, in the Coptic narrative of the Assumption of the Virgin attributed to S. Evodius (Revillout, op. cit. p. 75—112), we find very much the same ideas. There is, however, no elaborate description of Death. The Apostles are bidden by our Lord to leave the room lest they should see the terrible figure, and as it seems the mere sight of him causes the Virgin's death. She also speaks of his many *μορφαί* (p. 96).

Some spiritual beings of composite form also appear in the later pages of the *Pistis Sophia*, and noticeably the seven-headed serpent (Lat. transl. p. 99). It is easily intelligible that Egypt should be the quarter from which most of the monstrous shapes of the kind we are discussing made their way into Christian mythology. We can see the tendency plainly enough in art. The country which produced the forms of Thoth and Anubis produced also the Gnostic 'grylli.' In view of the parallels cited from Egyptian Apocrypha, I regard it as in the highest degree probable that Egypt is responsible for the production of the Testament of Abraham, and therefore for the representation of Death which is a prominent feature in it. But in that representation it is possible to recognise another element, the Jewish. The Angel of Death in Jewish mythology, Samael, occupies a very similar position to that of Thanatos in our book. He is an adversary of the race of men, and is practically identified in most cases with Satan. He first brought sin into the world, and delights in inflicting death, the consequence of sin. Yet he is God's minister in this, and is uniformly spoken of as an angel, though an angel hostile to the human race. It may be noted that his name, Samael, which is usually said to mean the 'poison of God,' is well represented in our book by the recurring expression *τὸ πικρὸν ποτήριον τοῦ θανάτου*.

Of other angels or demons little needs to be said. Of hostile angels we have the recorder of evil and the fiery angels who drive souls; of others the angels Dokiel and Puruel and the recorder of good deeds. Of devils properly so called we hear nothing. This last named feature to my mind is a mark of early date.

The Legend of the Speaking Tree (A § III. B § III.).

This story will be noticed at once as being the most *bizarre* and characteristic episode in the narrative portion of the Testament of Abraham. It will be remembered that the Editor of this series has already made use of it to elucidate and confirm his convincing substitution in the *Passion of S. Perpetua* (c. XI. p. 78), of 'canebant' for 'cadebant' or 'ardebant' of the MSS. The passage to which this emendation applies is in the vision of Saturus, and is a description of the trees in Paradise. The words in question must be quoted here; 'factum est nobis spatium grande, quod tale fuit quasi uiridarium, arbores habens rosae et omne genus flores: altitudo arborum erat in modum cypressi, quarum folia canebant sine cessatione.'

By way of illustration[1], Mr Robinson quotes (Introd. p. 38) the following passages from various sources; (1) a Vision in the History of Barlaam and Josaphat (Boissonade, p. 280) where it is said of the trees of Paradise, *τά τε φύλλα τῶν δένδρων λιγυρὸν ὑπήχει αὔρᾳ τινὶ λεπτοτάτῃ*: (2) parallels from the Old Testament 1 Chr. xvi. 33, 'Then shall all the trees of the wood sing out at the presence of the Lord': Is. xxxv. 1, 2, 'The desert shall rejoice and blossom as the rose; it shall blossom abundantly, and rejoice even with joy and singing': Is. xliv. 23, 'Break forth into singing, ye mountains, O forest, and every tree therein': (3) the passage under consideration: (4) a phrase from the prayer of Jeremiah in the 'Rest of the words of Baruch' (c. IX., Rendel Harris, p. 62), *ηὔξατο εὐχὴν, λέγων· Ἅγιος, ἅγιος, ἅγιος· τὸ θυμίαμα τῶν δένδρων τῶν ζώντων.* The phrase 'sine cessatione' is later on coupled with the *Ter Sanctus*, where it plainly refers to the singing: and the Editor's note on the text gives liturgical parallels. The general drift of Mr Robinson's remarks in this place is to shew that the trees in Paradise were believed to be singing a continual

[1] Mr Robinson has called my attention to the following comment of Primasius on Rev. xxii. 3. In speaking of the leaves of the Tree of Life, he says 'recte folia perpetuae laudis intelligitur cantus.' And some light is thrown on the phrase 'perpetua laus' by a previous comment, which says in reference to the *Trisagion*, 'manente intellectualis creaturae perpetua in coelestibus laude.' The references are Migne *P. L.* LXVIII. 813 D, 930 A.

hymn of praise. The passage from the Testament of Abraham is only incidentally useful. The words which the tree utters begin with the triple Ἅγιος, and the tree itself resembles those seen by the martyr Saturus in Paradise inasmuch as it is a cypress, and they grew 'in modum cypressi.'

It is desirable to throw more light on this passage in our book: and, with that end in view, we ought first to try and realise what is the exact meaning of the incident; and next we should try and collect parallels to it.

The exact meaning of the episode is, it must be confessed, rather difficult to ascertain: the main lines are plain enough. The tree, which is in Recension A a cypress, and in Recension B an ἐρηκινός, ἐρυκινός, or τρέκινος (probably connected with ἐρείκη, a tamarisk; in Ar. the tree is a tamarisk), utters words, prefaced by Ἅγιος, and referring obscurely to Abraham's approaching departure to God, or in Recension B, to the fulfilment of Michael's errand: in either case the import of the words is the same; they refer to Abraham's death. Why the tree had 300 branches (as in B), or what is the exact import of the sentence uttered by it in A, it is not so easy to see; but some of the obscurity of the incident must, I think, be ascribed to rough handling by redactors. Parallels to the story are not, so far as I can discover, very abundant. In classical literature we have the oaks of Dodona regarded as the source of oracles. It was from one of these oaks that the branch was cut, which was fixed in the stem of the ship Argo, and gave advice to the Minyae in more than one emergency; e.g. Orph. *Argonautica*, 1160.

ἐκ δ' ἄρα κοίλης
νηὸς ἐπιβρομέουσα Τομαριὰς ἔκλαγε φηγός,
ἥν ποθ' ὑπ' Ἀργῴῃσι τομαῖς ἡρμόσσατο Παλλάς·
ὧδε δ' ἔφη, θάμβος δὲ περὶ φρένας ἵκετο πάντας.

In the later literature of the Greek world we meet a very striking parallel, as I think, to our story. A famous episode in the Romances of King Alexander relates how he came to Prasiaca where was a sanctuary of the Sun and Moon, and how there were there two trees, one dedicated to each luminary, a male tree for the Sun and a female tree for the Moon. They both spoke

with human voices, the former at sunset, the latter at moon-set. Alexander asked them what fate was in store for him, and the tree of the sun made answer that he would be poisoned, and that of the moon, that he would die at Babylon. The earliest source for this story is the Greek Romance of Alexander, ascribed to Callisthenes, his companion, and probably written about A.D. 200. Now Pseudo-Callisthenes (III. 17 ed. Müller) states that the trees of the Sun and Moon were '*παραπλήσια κυπαρίσσοις*.' This phrase is a striking reminder of the 'in modum cypressi' of Saturus' vision. The story is then, that trees resembling cypresses prophesied the death of Alexander: and this story originated at a date sufficiently late to admit easily of contamination from Jewish or Christian mythology.

What meaning can be attached to this coincidence? I believe that the explanation is to be sought in the fact that the cypress was for some reason considered to have been one of the special trees of Paradise[1]. Whether because of the 'incorruptible' nature of its wood, or the preserving properties of the oil derived from it, or the pronounced upward growth of its branches, or for some other reason, I should not care to decide; but such seems to have been the belief. For instance, the western legends of the Cross of Christ uniformly represent the wood of which it was made as having come from Paradise: and one of the trees specified is always the cypress. So again in the Cross-legend as given in a Paris MS of Michael Glycas (cited by Fabric. *Cod. Rend. V. T.* I. p. 428), cypress, pine, and cedar are the three trees which Lot was commissioned by Abraham to fetch from the Nile and to plant by the Jordan. These were afterwards made into the Cross. There is, further, distinct evidence to shew that among the Persians, at any rate, the cypress was specially associated with Paradise. Col. Yule (*Book of Ser Marco Polo*, I. 135), in the course of discussion concerning the *Arbre Sec* or *Arbre Sol* of mediaeval romance, has the following paragraph.

"It will be observed that the letter ascribed to Alexander describes the two oracular trees as resembling two cypress-trees. As such the trees of the Sun and Moon are represented on several

[1] On the Assyrian monuments the Tree of Life almost always resembles the cypress in form.

extant ancient medals, *e.g.* on two struck at Perga in Pamphylia in the time of Aurelian. And Eastern story tells us of two vast cypress-trees, sacred among the Magians, which grew in Khorasan one at Kashmar, near Turshiz, and the other at Farmad near Taz, and which were said to have risen from shoots that Zoroaster brought down from Paradise. The former of these was sacrilegiously cut down by the order of the Khalif Motawakkil, in the 9th century. The trunk was despatched to Baghdad on rollers at a vast expense, whilst the branches alone formed a load for 1300 camels. The night that the convoy reached within one stage of the palace, the Khalif was cut in pieces by his own guards. This tree was said to be 1450 years old, and to measure $53\frac{3}{4}$ cubits in girth.....The plane, as well as the cypress, was one of the distinctive trees of the Magian Paradise[1]."

These sentences go far towards establishing the theory that the cypress was in Eastern popular belief a specially celestial tree. It may be suggested, in connexion with them, that the enormous size of the sacred cypress here described, throws some light upon the '300 branches' of the speaking tree in Recension B.

That the trees of Paradise are continually singing seems to be a Mohammedan belief. In the *résumé* of Mohammedan descriptions of Heaven which Sale gives in his Preliminary Discourse to the Koran (section IV.) this is mentioned; 'even the trees themselves will celebrate the divine praises with a harmony exceeding whatever mortals have heard.' In Wolff's *Muhammedanische Eschatologie* (p. 197) this is reported as a tradition of Ali, and therefore probably of Persian origin, according to Professor Robertson Smith. The voice of these trees is not an articulate one.

Not to be omitted in this connexion are the traditions which represent the trees of Eden as being able to speak. The treatise *Aboth d. R. Nathan* (c. i), edited by Dr S. Schechter, to whose kindness I owe this reference, says that when the serpent was about to touch the Tree of Knowledge, in order to prove that

[1] The source of this legend appears to be Firdosi, or Vullers' *Fragmente über die Religion Zoroasters*, 71, 113. At least this last is the book quoted by Spiegel *Erânische Alterthumskunde*, I. 703; who gives the same legend with a few additional details. This reference I owe to the kindness of Professor Robertson Smith.

God's prohibition was unnecessary, the Tree spoke and said, 'Wicked one, touch me not,' at the same time quoting a verse of the 36th Psalm, 'Let not the foot of pride come against me, and let not the hand of the ungodly cast me down.' Again, a Mohammedan legend quoted by Weil (*Biblische Legende d. Muselm.* 19—28) represents the tree Talh (the *mauz*, or the acacia) as crying out against Adam and Eve when they were trying to hide themselves from God in the garden.

The different passages here quoted seem to me to establish the existence of certain beliefs in the East. (*a*) The cypress is a distinctive tree of Paradise. (*b*) Certain cypresses gave oracles, and in one instance prophesied approaching death. (*c*) The trees of Paradise praise God and sometimes speak with human voices. And these beliefs are united in the story before us.

In conclusion, I must notice one or two other instances of speaking trees.

Once again we find such a phenomenon in a legend of Patriarchal times. In the unedited Ethiopic treatise, the 'Book of the Mysteries of Heaven and Earth' by Abba Bahayla Mikhael, which in the 17th century was mistaken for the Book of Enoch, and transcribed by Michael Vansleb, there is mention of the wanderings of Joseph, who, while going to his brethren in Dothan, lost his way. A tree spoke to him and warned him of the plot against his life. (Zotenberg, *Cat. MSS. Éth. Paris*, p. 138.) The function of the tree here is rather like that of the speaking cypress, but until the treatise is better known, we cannot settle whether there has been borrowing from the Testament of Abraham.

Again, in the Targum Sheni on Esther[1], to which Dr Schechter has referred me, a number of trees are made to speak and give their reasons why Haman should not be hanged upon them. Here however we find ourselves nearing the region of poetry. There is no popular belief in the speech of trees implied: the proper parallels to such a passage are Jotham's parable in Judg. vii. and the parable of king Jehoahaz in 2 K. xiv. 9.

It has not been my aim to make any exhaustive list of passages which speak of 'tongues in trees'; these notes are merely intended

[1] See the English translation in Clark's *Foreign Theological Library*, *Comm. on Esther*, by Dr P. Cassel, *Appendix*, p. 336.

to throw light on one particular legend; and in this I hope I have succeeded.

Abraham's unwillingness to die.

This feature, so prominently present throughout Recension A of the Testament, is, very noticeably, quite absent from B and the Arabic. Are we here dealing with an addition on the part of A, or an omission on the part of B? The concurrence of the Arabic with B is not, to my mind, a matter of importance; for I have already adopted the view that the Arabic and B have a common ancestor.

I believe the trait to be original. The omission of it is due, as I think, to motives of reverence. It was thought derogatory to the character of Abraham that he should exhibit an unmanly fear of death. In at least one other place (see p. 44) B is found to have substituted a patch from the Apocalypse of Paul for a detail which seems grotesque and irreverent. It might indeed be argued with some plausibility that the theme of the fear of death is one which very late writers have dwelt upon with relish. The proofs of this will be adduced: but the range of documents which introduce this motive seems to me too considerable to allow of the supposition that in our book the trait is not original. As usual, the citation of parallel instances will form the staple of what I have to say on the subject. To this I will proceed at once.

I find similar episodes in the following documents:

1. *Historia Josephi Fabri Lignarii*, ed. Tischendorf, *Evang. Apocr.* 122.

2. *Apocalypsis Esdrae*, ed. Tischendorf, *Apoc. Apocr.* 24.

3. *Homilia Sedrach* in Cod. Bodl. Misc. Gr. 56, saec xv. f. 92. See above, p. 32.

4. *De Vita et Morte Mosis libri III*, translated from Hebrew into Latin by Gilbert Gaulmyn of Moulins, and reprinted by Fabricius (separately), and by Gfrörer, *Prophetae veteres Pseudepigraphi*, 1840, p. 303.

Two of these three documents deal especially with the death of Moses. Other Hebrew forms of the same legend are to be

found in Jellinek's *Beth-ha-Midrasch.* There is no doubt some connexion between these books and the Assumption of Moses.

5. A modern Greek ballad printed by Sakellarios, Κυπριακά, ed. 2, vol. II.

1. *Historia Josephi.* Joseph's fear of death appears most prominently in c. xiii., where he prays that Michael may assist him at his last hour.

'For great terror and bitter sadness come upon all bodies at the day of their death, whether they be male or female, tame or wild beasts, even all that creepeth upon the earth or flieth in the heaven: in a word, all creatures under heaven wherein is the breath of life are shaken with horror, with great fear and excessive weakness, when their souls depart from their bodies.'

In c. xvi. he pronounces woes upon all the parts of his body for their sins. 'Of a truth,' he adds, 'that same fearful hour is now upon me, which came to my father Jacob, when his soul departed from his body.' However, he does not, like Abraham, refuse to obey the decree of God.

2. *Apocalypsis Esdrae,* p. 31. *τότε ἦλθεν φωνὴ πρός με· Δεῦρο τελεύτα, Ἐσδρὰμ, ἀγαπητέ μου· δὸς τὴν παρακαταθήκην. καὶ εἶπεν ὁ προφήτης· Καὶ πόθεν τὴν ψυχήν μου ἔχετε ἐξενεγκεῖν; καὶ εἶπον οἱ ἄγγελοι· Διὰ τοῦ στόματος ἔχομεν ἐκβαλεῖν αὐτήν. καὶ εἶπεν ὁ προφήτης· Στόμα πρὸς στόμα ἐλάλουν τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ οὐκ ἐξέρχεται ἔνθεν.* The dialogue goes on: *Διὰ ῥινῶν σου...* Esdras; *Αἱ ῥῖνές μου ὠσφράνθησαν τὴν δόξαν τοῦ θεοῦ.* Angels; *Διὰ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν σου...* Esdras; *Οἱ ὀφθαλμοί μου ἴδον τὰ ὀπίσθια τοῦ θεοῦ.* Angels; *Διὰ τὴν κορυφήν σου...* Esdras; *Μετὰ Μωσῆ καὶ ἐν τῷ ὄρει ἐπεριπάτησα, καὶ οὐκ ἐξέρχεται ἔνθεν.* Angels; *Διὰ τῶν ἀκρωνύχων σου...* Esdras; *Καὶ οἱ πόδες μου ἐν τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ περιεπάτησαν.* The angels return unsuccessful. The Son is sent. He says: *Δὸς παρακαταθήκην ἣν παρεθέμην σοι· ὁ στέφανός σοι ἡτοίμασται.* Esdras; *Κύριε, ἐὰν ἄρῃς τὴν ψυχήν μου ἀπ' ἐμοῦ, τίς σοι λείψει δικάζεσθαι (= λοιπὸν δικάσεται) ὑπὲρ τοῦ γένους τῶν ἀνθρώπων;* God says: *Δεῦρο τελεύτα.* Esdras weeps and says: *Οἴμμοι, οἴμμοι, ὅτι ὑπὸ σκωλήκων μέλλω ἀναλίσκεσθαι. κλαύσατέ με, πάντες οἱ ἅγιοι καὶ δίκαιοι... ὅτι εἰς τὸ τρύβλιον τοῦ ᾅδου εἰσῆλθον,* and so forth.

3. *Homilia Sedrach.* In addition to other points of connexion with the Testament, this book, as has been said, contains the episode of a refusal to die. It is introduced quite suddenly: *καὶ εἶπεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ* (so *Esdr.* p. 31) *Ὕπαγε, λάβε τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ ἠγαπημένου μου Σεδρὰχ, καὶ ἀποθοῦ αὐτὴν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ. λέγει ὁ μονογενὴς υἱὸς τὸν Σεδράχ· <Δός μοι τὴν παρακαταθήκην*[1]*> ἣν παρέθετο ὁ πατὴρ ἡμῶν ἐν τῇ κοιλίᾳ τῆς μητρός σου ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ σου σκηνώματι ἐκ βρέφους. λέγει Σεδράχ· Οὐ δίδωμί σοι τὴν ψυχήν μου. λέγει αὐτὸν ὁ θεός· Καὶ διὰ τί ἀπεστάλην ἐγὼ καὶ ἦλθον ὧδε, σὺ δέ μοι προφασίζεις; ἐγὼ γὰρ ἠγγέλθην παρὰ τοῦ πατρός μου μὴ ἀναισχύντως λάβω τὴν ψυχήν σου· εἰ <δὲ> μὴ, δός μοι τὴν ποθεινωτάτην ψυχήν σου. καὶ εἶπεν Σεδρὰχ τὸν θεόν· Καὶ πόθεν μέλλεις λαβεῖν τὴν ψυχήν μου, καὶ ἐκ ποίου μέλους; καὶ λέγει αὐτὸν ὁ θεός· Ἡ ψυχή σου οὐκ οἶδας ὅτι χορηγεῖται ἐν μέσῳ τῶν πνευμόνων σου κ.τ.λ.... καὶ οἵαν ὥραν μέλλει ἐξέρχεσθαι, ἀρχὴν σπάρναται καὶ συνάζεται ἀπὸ τῶν ἀκρωνύχων καὶ ἀπὸ πάντων μελῶν, καὶ ἔστι μεγάλη ἀνάγκη τοῦ χωρισθῆναι ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος καὶ ἀποσπασθῆναι τῆς καρδίας.* Then Sedrach utters a lamentation over the members of his body. As will be noticed, his question whence the soul is to be taken is also that of Esdras; but it is not answered. Some of the conversation here quoted suggests that the Son was not the original *dramatis persona.* *ὁ θεὸς* is far less suitable than *ὁ θάνατος.* But the whole thing is so wretched a patchwork that nothing is too bad to be original.

4. *De Vita et Morte Mosis.* Of these three tracts the *Vita Mosis* contains nothing to the purpose; the other two, *De Morte Mosis,* deal almost entirely with the unwillingness of the prophet to submit to God's decree.

In the first tract, *de Morte,* the following passages seem to be to the point;

(*a*) Gfrörer, p. 318. Igitur cum Mosem mori oportuit, Deus illum sic allocutus est: Appropinquauerunt dies tui ad moriendum. cui Moses: Domine, post tot susceptos labores mihi mortem nuntias: omnino ego uiuam.

(*b*) p. 322. Moses says: Sed quid homines dicent? illi *pedes,* qui coelos calcarunt, *manus* quae legem susceperunt, *os* quod Dei

[1] Supplied from *Esdr.* p. 31.

audire et reddere uoces meruit, misericordiam consequi non poterit; quanto magis aliis difficilem.

(*c*) p. 331. Tunc uero Deus Samaeli mortem Mosis mandauit; ille laetissimus animo ad saeuitiam obfirmato, ensem accinctus, et irarum plenus ad eum contendit... *Samael.* Venit tibi summa dies, da mihi animam tuam. *Moses.* Quis te huc misit? *Sam.* Qui orbem creauit et animas, quas omnes potestati meae ab orbe condito tradidit. Samael returns unsuccessful and is sent again: Moses smites him with his rod and he flees a second time. God eventually takes away the soul of Moses with a kiss.

In the second recension of the story, which differs from the first mainly by its greater wealth of comment on the narrative, we have passages essentially the same as the two last: p. 359, Respondit Deus (Samaeli): Omnes isti similes Mosis non fuerunt; sed quomodo animam eius auferes? an per *faciem?* illa mihi in os locuta est: *Et locutus est Deus ad Mosem a facie in faciem:* an per *manus?* illae leges acceperunt; an per *pedes?* hi caliginem qua obductus sum calcauerunt et usque ad me peruenerunt: *Accessit Moses ad caliginem in qua erat Deus.* nihil in omnia eius membra potes. *Samael.* Permitte tamen ut animam eius auferam. *Deus.* Aufer. Then follows the passage resembling (*c*).

Before I quote the last authority on my list, it seems proper to draw attention to the extreme similarity which exists between these passages of the Moses-legend and the Apocalypses of Esdras and Sedrach. The reader may have noticed that the passage quoted from Esdras on p. 65 is couched in language which is really only appropriate to Moses. Esdras asserts that he has spoken face to face with God, that he has inhaled the perfume of His glory, that he has seen His hinder parts, and has walked in 'the mount.' The words μετὰ Μωσῆ in this clause are a clumsy attempt at verisimilitude.

Again, Esdras asks who will be left to intercede for men if he is taken: Moses repeatedly alludes, in both recensions of the legend, to his intercession for Israel. Further, Moses pronounces a woe against various parts of his body: (p. 330) Vae manibus meis, quae fructus terrae melle et lacte fluentis non decerpent, et palato, quod non gustabit. Cf. p. 357. A similar lamentation

expanded to a great length, occurs in Sedrach, as well as in *Hist. Josephi*, xvi.

Compare, again, the enumeration of the blessings in store for Moses (pp. 324, 328) with the phrase, which occurs more than once in Esdras, *ὁ στέφανός σοι ἡτοίμασται.*

It appears probable to me that both Esdras, Sedrach, and the Moses-legend draw from a common source here; and this source I think was most likely the Assumption of Moses. No other ancient book, or certainly none whose name has survived, treated in detail of the last moments of Moses; and that the Assumption of Moses existed down to a very late date is plain, e.g., from Sixtus Senensis (ap. Fabric. *Cod. Pseud. V. T.* II. 128): possibly it may be extant even now in Slavonic[1].

In the Mohammedan mythology we find an episode resembling that in the Moses and Ezra legends, where the soul refuses to make its exit by the several parts of the body on the ground of their being sanctified in different ways. Wolff, *Muhamm. Eschat.* 30, "When God wishes to summon the soul of a man, the Death-angel comes to his mouth in order to take the soul thence. The praise of God issues from his mouth and says: 'Thou hast no path by way of me for from hence was God praised'... The angel returns to God and reports it. God says, 'Take the soul from another part.' He comes to the hand. Here he is met by the good deeds; and so at the feet; these say, 'We have visited the sick.' The ear says, 'I have hearkened to the Koran.' The eye, 'I have read the scriptures.' God bids the angel write His name on his hand and show it to the man, and the soul leaps forth at sight of the name, and parts without bitterness." This is understood to happen generally in the case of believers, and is not the account of an incident which happened to one particular person. It seems likely that the Mohammedan tradition is here dependent upon Jewish sources.

5. The ballad in question is a Cypriote one (Sakellarios, *Κυπριακά*, ed. 2, vol. II., p. 29). It is in the form of an acrostic, a dialogue between a man and *Χάρος* or Death: the title is *Ἄσμα τὸ Ἀλφάβητον τοῦ Χάρου.*

[1] See *Jahrb. f. Prot. Theol.*, Dec. 1891, No. 14 in Kozak's list of Slavonic Apocrypha.

After an invocatory prayer, the dialogue begins.

In l. 36 the man complains of his sufferings (cf. Abr. A § xx. p. 103).

βάρος πολλύ μ' ἐφόρτωσες, χάροντα, 's τὸ κεφάλι,
καὶ τὴν καργιάν μου κέντησες κὴ ἔχω μεάλην ζάλην.

l. 65. Death says he has the balance of mercy in his hand, wherewith he will weigh the soul.

Ζύϊν (ζυγίον) βαστῶ 's τὸ χέριν μου τῆς ἐλεημοσύνης
γιὰ (διὰ) νὰ ζυάσω τί 'καμες κὴ ἐσοὺ νὰ μὲν (μὴ) 'πομείνῃς.

In l. 99 the man invokes Michael: 'Michael is writing your sentence.' In l. 116 Death says (cf. Abr. A § xx. p. 103), *ὁ κύριος ἐπρόσταξε 'πίσω νὰ μὲν σ' ἀφήσω.* Many other remonstrances and prayers for a little respite follow, and constitute the bulk of the poem. But finally, in l. 173, we read

ὁ ἄγγελος μὲ τὴν ψυχὴν 's τοὺς οὐρανοὺς ἐπῆεν,
κὴ ἐππέσαν προσκυνήσασι Χριστόν μας τὸν σωτῆρα.
ὁ δικαιότατος κριτὴς ὥρισε νὰ τὴν βάλουν
's τὸν τόπον τῆς ἀμανατῶν καὶ πεὸν νὰ μὲν την 'βκάλουν.

'The angel went to heaven with the soul and they fell and worshipped Christ our Saviour. The most just judge ordained that they should put the soul into its place immediately, and remove it no more' until the last day. Cf. the conclusion of Abr. A. But we must refrain from going deeper into the mediaeval and modern literature of the subject. It would not be difficult to find parallels in some of the numerous dialogues between Soul and Body (cf. *Poems of Walter Mapes,* Cam. Soc.). The Dances of Death are founded on the same idea, and so are many old ballads, such as that of 'Death and the Lady' (Chappell's *Popular Music of the Olden Time,* I. 164). It will be understood, I hope, that in these citations of parallels I do not wish to imply that there is in every case a literary connexion with the Testament of Abraham. Such a connexion may very probably exist where the last moments of some individual prophet or saint are being narrated; but where the image is one of general application, I do not seek to press the resemblance. The theme of the fear of death is one which must of necessity occur to men of all nations and in all times. One

particular way of treating it has been my subject in this short excursus.

The weighing of Souls.

The subject of the weighing of souls, or as it may be conveniently called, the *ψυχοστασία*, is one which comes before us in the Testament of Abraham. It is not the fact that such are weighed, actually; but one of the angels who is present at the judgment scene is represented as holding a balance in his hand; and is directed to weigh the righteous and evil acts of one soul in his balance. The subject is an interesting one. It was ably treated by M. Alfred Maury in some articles in the 1st volume of the *Revue Archéologique* (1844), pp. 235, 291; see also p. 647, and Vol. II. p. 707. (See also some remarks in *Archaeologia* XXIII. 315.) Dr Friedr. Wiegand, in his pamphlet *Der Erzengel Michael*, Stuttgart 1886, p. 38 sqq., gives Maury's chief results, and adds something to them. Both these writers dwell mainly on the iconographic side of the matter, on which line, interesting though it is, I do not propose to follow them very far. The point to which I wish to give prominence is that the Testament of Abraham is the first Apocalyptic document which brings the idea of the balance and the weighing of good and evil deeds before us in concrete form. In dealing with a conception of this nature we have usually two alternatives presented to us. We may take the idea to have originated in a metaphor and to have become solidified in the popular mind with a concrete belief, or we may suppose that the popular mind first figured this process of judgment to itself by means of a familiar image, and that subsequently more elevated intelligences ethereal ised the existing belief and treated it merely as a convenient means of expressing abstract truths. Thus the man who first said 'God weighs actions' may have believed that God actually took a pair of scales and weighed them, while subsequent writers treated the words as not literally true, but as conveying a true idea: on the other hand, the originator of the expression may have meant that our actions are known to God and would be judged by Him, while his hearers figured to themselves the existence of a heavenly balance, and a literal weighing of the good against the bad.

Now, as to the particular belief, the first traces of it are found in Egypt: and of Egyptian mythology it may be broadly said that instead of being a spiritual religion in course of decay, it is, as we know it, a savage religion in course of being spiritualised. Such, at least, seems to be the conclusion to which the students of to-day are coming. Probably then in Egypt, this belief arose from the almost inevitable comparison between the two processes of weighing and of judging. In the few passages in the Old Testament which imply the same thought, it is clearly shewn that no more than a metaphor is intended. In other words, the myth is becoming spiritualised. Among the passages alluded to are Job xxxi. 6, Dan. v. 27, Ps. lxii. 9, Prov. xvi. 2. Compare also 4 Esd. iii. 34, and vii. 59, in the first of which passages there is a more overt and less allusive use of the image. The rider on the black horse in Rev. vi. 5, to whom a pair of scales is given, cannot be brought into connexion with this cycle of ideas. He is merely the angel of famine, and carries the scales in token of the scarcity of food.

From the metaphorical language of the Bible we pass to the material ideas of later Apocalypses, and foremost among them stands this of Abraham. A doubtful allusion in the Apocalypse of Paul, for it is hardly more, occurs in that portion of Paul which shews connexion with Abraham. And up to the present I have failed to detect any clear description of the Psychostasy in the Apocalyptic literature proper, save one in a Coptic Apocalypse, of which Oscar von Lemm has given us some scanty particulars in his *Bruchstücke Sahid. Bibelübersetzung*, p. viii. (see also the *Proceedings of the Leyden Oriental Congress*, I. 143[1]).

The chief developments are to be found in isolated Visions of the Middle Ages: on these an excellent essay by Wagner in *Romanische Forschungen* may be consulted; some pertinent passages are quoted in Maury's articles. But in almost all the documents which relate to the matter, one remarkable difference from the presentation in Abraham is to be noticed. The later documents and monuments uniformly introduce the accusing Satan,

[1] He seems to have read a translation of it at the Oriental Congress in Leyden, but it has not been yet published. My attempts to obtain further light upon this book have not been crowned with success as yet.

as a party in the case; he generally tries by foul means to depress the scale in his favour.

In the Mohammedan mythology, as given in Wolff's *Muhamm. Eschatologie* 140, the weighing of souls is a process which takes place at the day of judgment. Each man has his sins recorded on forty-nine enormous rolls. In the case of a believer, a leaf no bigger than an ant's head, inscribed with the confession of faith, will outweigh all these. The tradition, which dwells chiefly upon the enormous size of the heavenly balance, purports to come from Ibn 'Abbâs.

Abraham's bosom: the Patriarchs in Paradise.

There is no mention of Abraham's bosom, save in the concluding lines of Recension A, which are most probably not in their original form. Yet in various parts of the book there are hints of the belief. For instance, it is said (B, IV.) '*σὺ γὰρ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐποίησας αὐτὸν ἐλεεῖν ψυχὰς πάντων ἀνθρώπων.*' This phrase has, I think, its bearing not only on the subsequent intercession of Abraham for sinners, but on the belief that in the next world Abraham would, like Adam, Abel, and Enoch, exercise a distinct function in regard to souls. Moreover the three occasions on which Abraham intercedes for others, namely for a soul under judgment, for the sinners whom he had killed, and for the 7000 servants who died, point in the same direction. The model on which they are drawn is obviously the intercession of Abraham for the Cities of the Plain in Gen. xviii., and this event no doubt had its share in shaping the belief that Abraham cared for righteous souls, and that they dwelt in 'Abraham's bosom.'

Now as to 'Abraham's bosom.' The manner of the mention of it in S. Luke (xvi.) implies the familiarity of the hearers with the idea: but I believe I am right in saying that the Jewish literature of early times throws but little light on the subject. Such writers as Lightfoot, Schoettgen, and Eisenmenger, cite instances of the occurrence of the phrase, but do not give any elaborate explanation of it: and indeed none such seems to be necessary. The passage quoted by most commentators from Josephus (4 Macc. xiii. 16) affords as good a key to the underlying thought as can

be desired. There the Maccabean martyrs are represented as saying '*οὕτως παθόντας ἡμᾶς Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακὼβ ὑποδέξονται εἰς τοὺς κόλπους αὐτῶν, καὶ πάντες οἱ πατέρες ἐπαινέσουσιν.*' And in the parable, Lazarus is received into Abraham's bosom as being a true son of Abraham, alike by descent and by character. We should guard against the interpretation assigned to the words by many, who interpret them as meaning that Lazarus sits with Abraham at the feast of Paradise, reclining on his bosom, much as S. John lay on our Lord's bosom at the Last Supper. No doubt the view referred to is due in part to the recollection of the words, 'they shall *sit down* with Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob in the kingdom of heaven' (Matth. viii. 11).

Jewish views as to Abraham's position and functions in the other world are not without their bearing on this expression. According to the treatises of *Erubhin* (19 *a*) and *Bereshith Rabba* (c. 48) Abraham sits at the gate of Hell and suffers none to enter therein who has in any way proved worthy of his descent from the father of the faithful (Beer, *Leben Abrahams* 89). The position selected for Abraham recalls that of Adam in the Testament of Abraham, and his functions are not dissimilar to those implied in our Lord's Parable. For other not essentially different stories see Eisenmenger, II. 286, 340 etc.

In the very curious Vision of S. Barontus (of Pistoia, cir. 700), edited in the Bollandist Acta, March 25, on p. 570, we have an interesting reference to Abraham's bosom. "Ut autem uenimus inter Paradisum et infernum, uidi ibi uirum senem, pulcherrimum aspectu, habentem barbam prolixam, in alta sede quietum sedentem. Et ego ut uidi coepi ad eum inclinato capite caute interrogare quis esset ipse potens et tam magnificus uir. At illi conuersi ad eum dixerunt: Ipse est Abraham pater noster, et tu Frater oportet te semper Dominum rogare ut cum te a corpore iusserit migrare in sinu ipsius Abrahae te faciat quietum habitare."

In Christian Art 'Abraham's bosom' is not unfrequently represented in two connexions: (*a*) in early compositions illustrating the Last Judgment; e.g. on the West Portal of S. Trophime at Arles (xiith cent.), and on the North Portal of Rheims Cathedral (xiiith cent.); (*b*) in illustrations of the Parable of Dives

and Lazarus; e.g. on the West Front of Lincoln Cathedral (xi—xiith cent.); in a window at Bourges in the North Choir aisle (xiiith cent.); and in a series of engravings by Martin Heemskerck (xvith cent.).

A certain amount of material is still to be collected, regarding the position of the Patriarchs after death. Very important, as shewing the intercessory functions of the Patriarchs, is a passage from the Coptic Apocalypse of Zephaniah.

Apoc. of Zeph. (ed. Stern, *Zeitschr. f. Aegypt. Sprache*, 1886, p. 121). A fragment begins with the end of a prayer for those in torment. It proceeds: 'And when I saw them, I spake to the angel which talked with me, and he answered; "These are Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. At a certain hour every day they come forth with this great Angel. He bloweth his trumpet toward Heaven, and there is an echo upon the earth. All the righteous hear the sound and come hither to the West, while they entreat the Lord Almighty daily for all them that are in these torments."'

Apoc. Pauli. There are two passages in this book which treat of the patriarchs in Paradise: a fact to which I have referred before as shewing the clumsiness of its compilation. I shall quote the passages from the inedited Latin version, for both are shortened in the Greek, and the second does not appear in the Syriac.

(*a*) Cf. § 27 in the Greek. "Iterum adsumpsit me et tulit me ad aquilonem ciuitatis et duxit me ubi erat flumen uini, et uidi illic Abraam, Hisaac, et Iacob, Lot et Iop et alios sanctos, et salutauerunt me: et interrogaui et dixi Quis est hic locus, domine? Respondit angelus et dixit mihi Omnes qui susceptores peregrinorum sunt, cum exierint de mundo, adorant primum dominum[1] deum et traduntur Michaelo et per hanc uiam inducuntur in ciuitatem; et omnes iusti salutant eum sicut filium et fratrem et dicunt ei Quoniam seruasti humanitatem et susceptionem peregrinorum, ueni, aereditatem abe in ciuitatem domini dei nostri: unusquisque iustus secundum proprium hactum accipiet in ciuitate bona dei."

Here is set forth the reward of *φιλοξενία*, which is, as I have said, the key-note of the first part of the Testament of Abraham.

(*b*) § 47 in Greek. Adhuc ea loquente uidi tres uenientes a

[1] See below, p. 126.

longe pulcros ualde speciae Christi, et imagines eorum fulgentes (et *or* sicut) angelos ipsorum, et interrogaui Qui sunt hii, domine? Et dixit mihi Nescis eos? Et dixi Nescio, domine. Et respondit Hii sunt patres populi Abraham, Hysaac, et Iacob. Et uenientes iuxta salutauerunt me et dixerunt Aue Paule dilectissime dei et hominum: beatus est qui uim sustinet propter dominum. Et respondit mihi Abraham (et) dixit Hic est filius meus Hysaac, et Iacob dilectissimus meus, et cognouimus dominum et secuti sumus eum: beati omnes qui crediderunt uerbo tuo ut possint hereditare regnum dei per laborem abrenunciacione et sanctificatione et humilitate et caritate et mansuetudine et recta fide ad dominum: et nos quoque abuimus deuocionem ad dominum quem tu praedicas testamento ut omnes (omni) anime credencium ei adsistamus et ministremus sicut fratres ministrant filiis suis.

speciae Christi recalls the description of Adam (A, XI.) *ὁμοία τοῦ δεσπότου*, which may be not independent of this. The obvious reason for the likeness of the Patriarchs to our Lord is that they were his ancestors.

patres populi, Gk. *οἱ προπάτορες οἱ δίκαιοι.*

After *dilectissime dei* there is a gap in the Greek extending to about eight lines of the Latin.

The concluding lines of the extract shew that the Patriarchs exercised protection over the souls of *believers:* a Christian adaptation of the old Jewish idea.

The *Acta Andreae et Matthiae* (Tisch. *Acta Apocr.* p. 145) contain an account of the temporary resurrection of the 'Three Patriarchs' from their graves at Mamre, when our Lord sent a stone Sphinx to call them in order to confute the Jewish High-priests. In the same book, p. 147, the disciples of Andrew see a vision of Paradise, and the Three Patriarchs are there.

So again they appear with other saints in the fragmentary Coptic Apocalypse of Bartholomew (Tisch. *Apoc. Apocr.* XXV.) at a scene of the pardoning of Adam. And in S. John's Narrative of the Assumption (l. c. p. 111) they are seen by the Apostles.

Provenance of the Book.

The following reasons lead me to believe that our book was written in Egypt:

1. It is first mentioned by Origen. This, though worth noting, cannot be pressed.

2. There is a resemblance in the representation of Michael to the story of Raphael in the Book of Tobit, which is very probably of Egyptian origin.

3. The representation of Death agrees very closely with those found in the Egyptian Apocryphal books (see p. 57).

The same remark applies to

4. The conducting of Abraham round the creation (see p. 122).

5. The wrapping of Abraham's soul in a cloth by Michael (p. 57).

6. The idea of the weighing of souls is found in this book. It is a prominent feature in Egyptian mythology; and the only other Apocalypse belonging to the earlier literature in which it occurs is a Coptic one (see p. 71).

7. The idea of recording angels, prominent in this book, finds very close parallels (*a*) in the Egyptian Book of the Dead, where it is connected with the weighing of souls, (*b*) in the Coptic Apocalypse of Zephaniah (see p. 129).

8. It is the verdict of those who have examined the Arabic Version that this latter was probably made in Egypt.

A.

ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ ΑΒΡΑΑΜ.

I. Ἔζησεν Ἀβραὰμ τὸ μέτρον τῆς ζωῆς αὐτοῦ, ἔτη ἐννακόσια ἐνενήκοντα πέντε, πάντα δὲ τὰ ἔτη τῆς ζωῆς αὐτοῦ ζήσας ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ καὶ πραότητι καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ, πάνυ ὑπῆρχε φιλόξενος ὁ δίκαιος· πήξας γὰρ τὴν σκηνὴν αὐτοῦ ἐν τετραοδίῳ τῆς δρυὸς τῆς Μαμβρῆ, τοὺς πάντας ὑπεδέχετο, πλουσίους καὶ πένητας, βασιλεῖς τε καὶ ἄρχοντας, ἀναπήρους καὶ ἀδυνάτους, φίλους καὶ ξένους, γείτονας καὶ παροδίτας, ἴσον ὑπεδέχετο ὁ ὅσιος καὶ πανίερος καὶ δίκαιος καὶ φιλόξενος Ἀβραάμ. ἔφθασεν δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦτον τὸ κοινὸν καὶ ἀπαραίτητον τοῦ θανάτου πικρὸν ποτήριον, καὶ τὸ ἄδηλον τοῦ βίου πέρας. προσκαλεσάμενος τοίνυν ὁ δεσπότης θεὸς τὸν ἀρχάγγελον αὐτοῦ Μιχαὴλ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτόν· Κάτελθε, Μιχαὴλ ἀρχιστράτηγε, πρὸς Ἀβραὰμ, καὶ εἰπὲ αὐτὸν περὶ τοῦ θανάτου, ἵνα διατάξεται περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων αὐτοῦ· ὅτι ηὐλόγησα αὐτὸν ὡς τοὺς ἀστέρας ABCD EFR

A = Par. Gr. 770. B = Cod. Hierosol. S. Sep. 66. C = Cod. Bodl. Canon. Gr. 19. D = Par. Gr. 1556. E = Cod. Vind. Theol. Gr. 237. F = Par. Gr. 1313. R = Roumanian Version.

Tit. Διαθ. τοῦ ὁσίου πρς ἡμ. δικαίου πατριάρχου Ἀ. Διαλύων δὲ καὶ θανάτου πέραν, τὸ πῶς δεῖ ἕκαστος ἐτελεύτησεν εὐλ. A; Διήγησις καὶ διαθ. τοῦ δικ. καὶ πατριάρχου Ἀ. Δηλοῖ δὲ καὶ τὴν πεῖραν τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ εὐλ. δεσπ. B; Ἡ διαθ. τοῦ ὁσ. πρς ἡμ. καὶ δικ. Ἀ. δυαλύον δὲ καὶ τὴν τοῦ θαν. πειρ. εὐλ. C; λόγος ἐκ τοῦ βίου καὶ τῆς διαθ. τοῦ δικ. καὶ φιλοξένου Ἀ. D; Ἡ—θανάτου πόρον as C + τὸ πῶς δὴ ἕκαστος τελευτᾷ ανος. δεσπ. εὐλ. E; Διήγ. περὶ τῆς ζωῆς καὶ τοῦ θαν. τοῦ δικ. Ἀ., τὸ πός ἐδιετάχθη τῆς ζωῆς καὶ τῆ(s) φυλοξενίας αὐτοῦ καὶ πὸς ἐδιελέγετο μετὰ τοῦ ἀγγέλου καὶ μετὰ τὸν θάνατον εὐλ. δ. F; for R cf. Introd.

2 ἐννακόσ.—πέντε] 999 years A; 95 F; 175 DER 10 ποτήριον] μυστήριον B 14, 15 ἵνα—πραγ.] om B

ABCD EFR τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, καὶ ὡς τὴν ἄμμον τὴν παρὰ τὸ χεῖλος τῆς θαλάσσης· καὶ ἔστιν ἐν εὐπορίᾳ βίου πολλοῦ καὶ πραγμάτων πολλῶν, καὶ ὑπάρχει πλούσιος πάνυ· παρὰ πάντων δὲ δίκαιος ἐν πάσῃ ἀγαθωσύνῃ, φιλόξενος καὶ φιλόστοργος ἕως τέλους τῆς ζωῆς αὐτοῦ· σὺ δὲ, ἀρχάγγελε Μιχαὴλ, ἄπελθε πρὸς τὸν Ἀβραὰμ, τὸν ἠγαπημένον μου φίλον, καὶ ἀνάγγειλον αὐτῷ περὶ τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ, καὶ πληροφόρησον αὐτὸν ὅτι Μέλλεις ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τούτῳ ἐξέρχεσθαι ἐκ τοῦ ματαίου κόσμου τούτου καὶ μέλλεις ἐκδημεῖν ἐκ τοῦ σώματος καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἴδιον δεσπότην ἐλεύσῃ ἐν ἀγαθοῖς.

II. ἐξελθὼν δὲ ὁ ἀρχιστράτηγος ἐκ προσώπου τοῦ θεοῦ κατῆλθεν πρὸς τὸν Ἀβραὰμ ἐπὶ τὴν δρῦν τὴν Μαμβρῆ, καὶ εὗρεν τὸν δίκαιον Ἀβραὰμ ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν ἔγγιστα, ζεύγη βοῶν ἀροτριασμοῦ παρεδρεύοντα μετὰ τοὺς υἱοὺς Μασὲκ καὶ ἑτέροις παισὶν τὸν ἀριθμὸν δώδεκα· καὶ ἰδοὺ ὁ ἀρχιστράτηγος ἤρχετο πρὸς αὐτόν· ἰδὼν δὲ ὁ Ἀβραὰμ τὸν ἀρχιστράτηγον Μιχαὴλ μηκόθεν ἐρχόμενον, δίκην στρατιώτου εὐπρεπεστάτου, ἀναστὰς τοίνυν ὁ Ἀβραὰμ ὑπήντησεν αὐτῷ καθότι καὶ ἔθος εἶχεν, τοῖς ἐπιξένοις πᾶσιν προϋπαντῶν καὶ ὑποδεχόμενος· ὁ δὲ ἀρχιστράτηγος προχαιρετίσας αὐτὸν εἶπεν· Χαῖρε, τιμιώτατε πάτερ, δικαία ψυχὴ ἐκλεκτὴ τοῦ θεοῦ, φίλε γνήσιε τοῦ ἐπουρανίου. εἶπεν δὲ Ἀβραὰμ πρὸς τὸν ἀρχιστράτηγον· Χαῖρε, τιμιώτατε στρατιῶτα, ἡλιόρατε καὶ πανευπρεπέστατε ὑπὲρ πάντας τοὺς υἱοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων· καλῶς ἥκεις· τούτου χάριν αἰτοῦμαι τῆς σῆς παρουσίας πόθεν ἦκεν τὸ νέον τῆς ἡλικίας σου; δίδαξόν με τὸν σὸν ἱκέτην, πόθεν καὶ ἐκ ποίας στρατιᾶς καὶ ἐκ ποίας ὁδοῦ παραγέγονεν τὸ σὸν κάλλος; ὁ δὲ ἀρχιστράτηγος ἔφη· Ἐγὼ, δίκαιε Ἀβραὰμ, ἀπὸ τῆς μεγάλης πόλεως ἔρχομαι· παρὰ τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως ἀπεστάλην διαδοχὴν φίλου αὐτοῦ γνησίου κομιζόμενος, ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ βασιλεὺς προσκαλεῖται. καὶ ὁ Ἀβραὰμ εἶπεν· Δεῦρο, κύριέ μου, πορεύθητι

2 εὐπορίᾳ] ἐμπ. ACDEF 4 φιλόστοργος] φιλόχριστος A 17 μηκόθεν] ἀπὸ μακρόθεν CE 24 ἡλιόρατε—πανευπρ.] om CE 26 ἥκεις] ἔοικας AE; ἔηκας C; ἦκας BDR (?) 27 ἦκεν] ἠκαινὴ B; αἴηκεν (-ας E) CE; ἔοικεν A 31 διαδοχὴν] διὰ δοχὴν C 32 κομιζόμ.] ἀποκομίζομαι AD; ἐπικομίζομαι CE

μετ᾽ ἐμοῦ ἕως τῆς χώρας μου. καὶ φησὶν ὁ ἀρχιστράτηγος· Ἔρχομαι. ἀπελθόντες δὲ ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τοῦ ἀροτριασμοῦ ἐκαθέσθησαν πρὸς ὁμιλίαν. εἶπεν δὲ Ἀβραὰμ τοῖς παισὶν αὐτοῦ τοῖς υἱοῖς Μασέκ· Ἀπέλθατε εἰς τὴν ἀγέλην τῶν ἵππων καὶ ἐνέγκατε δύο ἵππους εὐμενεῖς καὶ ἡμέρους δεδαμασμένους ὅπως ἐγκαθεσθῶμεν ἐγώ τε καὶ ὁ ἄνθρωπος οὗτος ὁ ἐπίξενος. καὶ εἶπεν ὁ ἀρχιστράτηγος· Μὴ, κύριέ μου Ἀβραὰμ, μὴ ἐνέγκωσιν ἵππους, ὅτι ἀπέχομαι τούτου, τοῦ μὴ καθίσαι ἐπὶ ζῴου τετραπόδου ποτέ· μὴ γὰρ ὁ ἐμὸς βασιλεὺς οὐκ ἦν πλούσιος ἐν ἐμπορίᾳ πολλῇ, ἔχων ἐξουσίαν καὶ ἀνθρώποις καὶ κτήνεσιν παντοίοις; ἀλλ᾽ ἐγὼ ἀπέχομαι τούτου, τοῦ μὴ καθίσαι ἐπὶ ζῴου τετραπόδου ποτέ· ἀπέλθωμεν οὖν, δικαία ψυχὴ, πεζεύοντες ἕως τοῦ οἴκου σου μετεωριζόμενοι. καὶ εἶπεν Ἀβραάμ· Ἀμὴν, γένοιτο. ABCD EFR

III. ἀπερχομένων δὲ αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀγροῦ πρὸς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ, κατὰ τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐκείνης ἵστατο δένδρον κυπάρισσος· καὶ κατὰ πρόσταξιν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐβόησεν τὸ δένδρον ἀνθρωπίνῃ φωνῇ, καὶ εἶπεν· Ἅγιος, ἅγιος, ἅγιος κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὁ προσκαλούμενος αὐτὸν τοῖς ἀγαπῶσιν αὐτόν. ἔκρυψεν δὲ Ἀβραὰμ τὸ μυστήριον, νομίσας ὅτι ὁ ἀρχιστράτηγος τὴν φωνὴν τοῦ δένδρου οὐκ ἤκουσεν. ἐλθόντες δὲ πλησίον τοῦ οἴκου ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ ἐκαθέσθησαν· καὶ ἰδὼν ὁ Ἰσαὰκ τὴν πρόσωψιν τοῦ ἀγγέλου εἶπεν πρὸς Σάρραν τὴν μητέρα αὐτοῦ· Κυρία μου μῆτερ, ἰδοὺ ὁ ἄνθρωπος ὁ καθεζόμενος μετὰ τοῦ πατρός μου Ἀβραὰμ υἱὸς οὐκ ἔστιν ἀπὸ τοῦ γένους τῶν κατοικούντων ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. καὶ ἔδραμεν Ἰσαὰκ, καὶ προσεκύνησεν αὐτὸν καὶ προσέπεσεν τοῖς ποσὶν τοῦ ἀσωμάτου· καὶ ὁ ἀσώματος ηὐλόγησεν αὐτὸν καὶ εἶπεν· Χαρίσεταί σοι κύριος ὁ θεὸς τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν αὐτοῦ ἣν ἐπηγγείλατο τῷ πατρί σου Ἀβραὰμ καὶ τῷ σπέρματι αὐτοῦ, καὶ χαρίσεταί σοι καὶ τὴν τιμίαν εὐχὴν τοῦ πατρός σου καὶ τῆς μητρός σου. εἶπεν δὲ Ἀβραὰμ πρὸς Ἰσαὰκ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ· Τέκνον Ἰσαὰκ, ἄντλησον ὕδωρ

4 ἀγέλην] ἀγωγὴν B 6 δεδαμασμ.] δεδεμένους B 8 ἀπέχομαι] ἀπέσχομαι (ἀν- A) AB 9—13 μὴ γὰρ—ποτέ] om CDER 19, 20 κς ὁ θς ὁ προσκ.—ἀγ. αὐτόν] "The Lord God calls thee" R 20 αὐτὸν (pri.)] ἑαυτὸν ACE, om B 22 ἐλθόντες] ἐλθὼν AB 28 αὐτὸν κ. προσέπ.] om B

ABCD EFR ἀπὸ τοῦ φρέατος καὶ ἔνεγκέ μοι ἐπὶ τῆς λεκάνης ἵνα νίψωμεν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τούτου τοῦ ἐπιξένου τοὺς πόδας, ὅτι ἀπὸ μακρᾶς ὁδοῦ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐλθὼν ἐκοπίασεν. δραμὼν δὲ Ἰσαὰκ εἰς τὸ φρέαρ ἤντλησεν ὕδωρ ἐπὶ τῆς λεκάνης καὶ ἤνεγκεν πρὸς αὐτούς· προσελθὼν δὲ Ἀβραὰμ ἔνιψεν τοὺς πόδας τοῦ ἀρχιστρατήγου Μιχαήλ· ἐκινήθησαν δὲ τὰ σπλάγχνα τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ καὶ ἐδάκρυσεν ἐπὶ τὸν ξένον. ἰδὼν δὲ Ἰσαὰκ τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ κλαίοντα, ἔκλαυσεν καὶ αὐτός· ἰδὼν δὲ ὁ ἀρχιστράτηγος αὐτοὺς κλαίοντας συνεδάκρυσεν καὶ αὐτὸς μετ' αὐτῶν, καὶ ἔπιπτον τὰ δάκρυα τοῦ ἀρχιστρατήγου ἐπὶ τῆς λεκάνης εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ τοῦ νιπτῆρος, καὶ ἐγένοντο λίθοι πολύτιμοι· ἰδὼν δὲ ὁ Ἀβραὰμ τὸ θαῦμα καὶ ἐκπλαγεὶς ἔλαβεν τοὺς λίθους κρυφαίως καὶ ἔκρυψεν τὸ μυστήριον, μόνος ἔχων ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ.

IV. εἶπεν δὲ Ἀβραὰμ πρὸς Ἰσαὰκ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ· Ἄπελθε, υἱέ μου ἀγαπητέ, εἰς τὸ ταμεῖον τοῦ τρικλίνου καὶ καλλώπισον αὐτό· στρῶσον δὲ ἡμῖν ἐκεῖ δύο κλινάρια, ἕνα ἐμὸν καὶ ἕνα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τούτου τοῦ ἐπιξενισθέντος ἡμῖν σήμερον· ἑτοίμασον δὲ ἡμῖν ἐκεῖ δίφρον καὶ λυχνίαν καὶ τράπεζαν ἐν ἀφθονίᾳ παντὸς ἀγαθοῦ· καλλώπισον τὸ οἴκημα, τέκνον, καὶ ὑφάπλωσον σινδόνας καὶ πορφύραν καὶ βύσσον· θυμίασον πᾶν τίμιον καὶ ἔνδοξον θυμίαμα, καὶ βοτάνας εὐόσμους ἐκ τοῦ παραδείσου ἐνέγκας πλήρωσον τὸν οἶκον ἡμῶν· ἄναψον λύχνους ἑπτὰ διελαίους ὅπως εὐφρανθῶμεν, ὅτι ὁ ἀνὴρ οὗτος ὁ ἐπιξενισθεὶς ἡμῖν σήμερον ἐνδοξότερος ὑπάρχει βασιλέων καὶ ἀρχόντων, ὅτι καὶ ἡ ὅρασις αὐτοῦ ὑπερφέρει πάντας τοὺς υἱοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων. ὁ δὲ Ἰσαὰκ ἡτοίμασεν πάντα καλῶς· παραλαβὼν δὲ Ἀβραὰμ τὸν ἀρχάγγελον Μιχαὴλ, ἀνῆλθεν ἐν τῷ οἰκήματι τοῦ τρικλίνου, καὶ ἐκαθέσθησαν ἀμφότεροι ἐπὶ τὰ κλινάρια, μέσον δὲ αὐτῶν προῆγε τράπεζαν ἐν ἀφθονίᾳ παντὸς ἀγαθοῦ. ἐγερθεὶς οὖν ὁ ἀρχιστράτηγος ἐξῆλθεν ἔξω, ὡς δῆθεν γαστρὸς χρείᾳ ὕδατος χύσιν ποιῆσαι, καὶ ἀνῆλθεν εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐν ῥιπῇ ὀφθαλμοῦ καὶ ἔστη ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτόν· Δέσποτα κύριε, ἵνα

12 πολυτ.] ἀτίμητοι ἦγουν πολύτιμοι B 18 ἐπιξενισθ.] ἐπιξενωθέντος B 20 ἀφθονίᾳ] εὐθυνία CE 23 ἐνέγκας] ναύκας CE 33 χρείᾳ ὕδατος χύσιν] χρείαν ποιήσασθαι CE

γινώσκῃ τὸ σὸν κράτος ὅτι ἐγὼ τὴν μνήμην τοῦ θανάτου πρὸς τὸν δίκαιον ἄνδρα ἐκεῖνον ἀναγγεῖλαι οὐ δύναμαι, ὅτι οὐκ εἶδον ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἄνθρωπον ὅμοιον αὐτοῦ, ἐλεήμονα, φιλόξενον, δίκαιον, ἀληθινὸν, θεοσεβῆ, ἀπεχόμενον ἀπὸ παντὸς πονηροῦ πράγματος· καὶ νῦν γίνωσκε, κύριε, ὅτι ἐγὼ τὴν μνείαν τοῦ θανάτου ἀναγγεῖλαι οὐ δύναμαι. ὁ δὲ κύριος εἶπεν· Κάτελθε, Μιχαὴλ ἀρχιστράτηγε, πρὸς τὸν φίλον μου Ἀβραὰμ, καὶ ὅτι ἐὰν λέγῃ σοι, τοῦτο καὶ ποίει. καὶ ὅτι ἐὰν ἐσθίῃ, ἔσθιε καὶ σὺ μετ' αὐτοῦ· ἐγὼ δὲ ἐπιβαλῶ τὸ πνεῦμά μου τὸ ἅγιον ἐπὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Ἰσαὰκ, καὶ ῥίψω τὴν μνήμην τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν καρδίαν τοῦ Ἰσαὰκ, ἵνα καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν ὀνείρῳ θεάσηται τὸν θάνατον τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ, καὶ Ἰσαὰκ δὲ ἀναγγελεῖ τὸ ὅραμα, σὺ δὲ διακρινεῖς· καὶ αὐτὸς γνώσεται τὸ τέλος αὐτοῦ. καὶ ὁ ἀρχιστράτηγος εἶπεν· Κύριε, πάντα τὰ ἐπουράνια πνεύματα ὑπάρχουσιν ἀσώματα, καὶ οὔτε ἐσθίουσιν οὔτε πίνουσιν· καὶ οὗτος δὲ ἐμοὶ τράπεζαν παρέθετο ἐν ἀφθονίᾳ πάντων ἀγαθῶν τῶν ἐπιγείων καὶ φθαρτῶν· καὶ νῦν, κύριε, τί ποιήσω; πῶς διαλάθωμαι τοῦτον, καθήμενος ἐν μιᾷ τραπέζῃ μετ' αὐτοῦ; ὁ δὲ κύριος εἶπεν· Κάτελθε πρὸς αὐτὸν, καὶ περὶ τούτου μή σοι μελείτω· καθεζομένου γὰρ σοῦ μετ' αὐτοῦ ἐγὼ ἀποστελῶ ἐπί σε πνεῦμα παμφάγον, καὶ ἀναλίσκει ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν σου καὶ διὰ τοῦ στόματός σου πάντα τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης· καὶ συνευφράνθητι μετ' αὐτοῦ ἐν πᾶσιν· μόνον τὰ τοῦ ὁράματος διακρινεῖς καλῶς ὅπως ἂν γνώσεται Ἀβραὰμ τὴν τοῦ θανάτου δρεπάνην, καὶ τὸ τοῦ βίου ἄδηλον πέρας, καὶ ἵνα ποιήσῃ διάταξιν περὶ πάντων τῶν ὑπαρχόντων αὐτοῦ, ὅτι ηὐλόγησα αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ ἄμμον θαλάσσης, καὶ ὡς τοὺς ἀστέρας τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. ABCD EFR

V. τότε ὁ ἀρχιστράτηγος κατῆλθεν εἰς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ καὶ ἐκαθέσθη μετ' αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ τραπέζῃ, Ἰσαὰκ δὲ ὑπηρέτει αὐτοῖς· τελεσθέντος δὲ τοῦ δείπνου ἐποίησεν Ἀβραὰμ τὴν κατὰ ἔθος εὐχὴν, καὶ ὁ ἀρχάγγελος ηὔχετο μετ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἀνεπαύσαντο ἕκαστος εἰς τὴν κλίνην ABCDER F def.

2—6 ὅτι οὐκ—δύναμαι] om AB by homœoteleuton 18 ἐπιγ. κ. φθ.] ἐπιγείων παρέχουσι B; ἐπιφθαρτῶν C; ἐπιγ. φθαρτῶν ADE (A ἀφθάρτων) 33 καὶ ὁ ἄγγελος ὁμίος F ends thus 34 ἀνεπαύσαντο] AD (-ατο D); ἀνέπεσεν CE; ἔπεσεν B

ABCDER F def. αὐτοῦ. εἶπεν δὲ Ἰσαὰκ πρὸς τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ· Πάτερ, ἤθελα κἀγὼ ἀναπαῆναι μεθ' ὑμῶν ἐν τῷ τρικλίνῳ τούτῳ, ἵνα ἀκούσω κἀγὼ τὰ διαλεγόμενα ὑμῶν· ἀγαπῶ γὰρ ἀκούειν τὴν διαφορὰν τῆς ὁμιλίας τοῦ παναρέτου ἀνδρὸς τούτου. εἶπεν δὲ Ἀβραάμ· Οὐχί, τέκνον, ἀλλὰ ἄπελθε ἐν τῷ σῷ τρικλίνῳ καὶ ἀναπαύσαι ἐν τῇ κλίνῃ σου, ἵνα μὴ γινώμεθα ἐπιβαρεῖς τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τούτῳ. τότε Ἰσαὰκ λαβὼν τὴν εὐχὴν παρ' αὐτῶν, καὶ εὐλογήσας, ἀπῆλθεν ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ τρικλίνῳ καὶ ἀνέπεσεν ἐπὶ τὴν κλινὴν αὐτοῦ· ἔρριψεν δὲ ὁ θεὸς τὴν μνήμην τοῦ θανάτου εἰς τὴν καρδίαν τοῦ Ἰσαὰκ ὡς ἐν ὀνείροις· καὶ περὶ ὥραν τρίτην τῆς νυκτὸς διυπνισθεὶς Ἰσαὰκ ἀνέστη ἀπὸ τῆς κλίνης αὐτοῦ καὶ ἦλθεν δρομαίως ἕως τοῦ τρικλίνου ἔνθα ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ ἦν κοιμώμενος μετὰ τοῦ ἀρχαγγέλου. φθάσας οὖν Ἰσαὰκ πρὸς τὴν θύραν ἔκραζεν λέγων· Πάτερ Ἀβραάμ, ἀναστὰς ἄνοιξόν μοι ταχέως, ὅπως εἰσέλθω καὶ κρεμασθῶ ἐν τῷ τραχήλῳ σου καὶ ἀσπάσωμαί σε πρὶν ἢ σε ἀροῦσιν ἀπ' ἐμοῦ. ἀναστὰς οὖν Ἀβραὰμ ἤνοιξεν αὐτῷ· εἰσελθὼν δὲ Ἰσαὰκ ἐκρεμάσθη ἐπὶ τὸν τράχηλον αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἤρξατο κλαίειν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ. συγκινηθεὶς οὖν τὰ σπλάγχνα ὁ Ἀβραὰμ ἔκλαυσεν καὶ αὐτὸς μετ' αὐτοῦ φωνῇ μεγάλῃ· ἰδὼν δὲ ὁ ἀρχιστράτηγος αὐτοὺς κλαίοντας, ἔκλαυσεν καὶ αὐτός· Σάρρα δὲ ὑπάρχουσα ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ αὐτῆς ἤκουσεν τοῦ κλαυθμοῦ αὐτῶν καὶ ἦλθεν δρομαία ἐπ' αὐτούς, καὶ εὗρεν αὐτοὺς περιπλακομένους καὶ κλαίοντας· καὶ εἶπεν Σάρρα μετὰ κλαυθμοῦ· Κύριέ μου Ἀβραάμ, τί ἐστιν τοῦτο ὅτι κλαίετε; ἀνάγγειλόν μοι, κύριέ μου, μὴ οὗτος ὁ ἀδελφὸς ὁ ἐπιξενισθεὶς ἡμῖν σήμερον φάσιν ἤνεγκέν σοι περὶ τοῦ ἀδελφιδοῦ σου Λὼτ, ὅτι ἀπέθανεν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πενθεῖτε οὕτως; ὑπολαβὼν δὲ ὁ ἀρχιστράτηγος εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτήν· Οὐχί, ἀδελφὴ Σάρρα, οὐκ ἔστιν οὕτως ὡς σὺ λέγεις· ἀλλὰ ὁ υἱός σου Ἰσαὰκ, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, ὄνειρον ἐθεάσατο,

7 ἐπιβ. τῷ ἀνθρ.] ἐπιβαρὺς τοῦ A; παρενοχλεῖς τὸν B; ὑποβαρεῖς τοῦ CDE 8 καὶ εὐλ.] om ACDER 20 Here a long section is omitted by CDER but contained in AB. The text of CDER is as follows: τράχηλον τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ ἤρξατο κλαίειν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ· καὶ ἔκλαυσεν Ἀβραάμ· ἰδὼν δὲ ὁ ἀρχιστρ. κλαίοντας ἔκλαυσεν καὶ αὐτὸς μετ' αὐτῶν· καταλιπὼν δὲ Α. λέγει (see p. 83, l. 30).

καὶ ἦλθεν πρὸς ἡμᾶς κλαίων, καὶ ἡμεῖς τοῦτον ἰδόντες τὰ ABCDER
σπλάγχνα συνεκινήθημεν, καὶ ἐκλαύσαμεν.

VI. ἀκούσασα δὲ Σάρρα τὴν διαφορὰν τῆς ὁμιλίας τοῦ ἀρχιστρατήγου, εὐθὺς ἐγνώρισεν ὅτι ἄγγελος κυρίου ἐστὶν ὁ λαλῶν· συννεύει οὖν ἡ Σάρρα τὸν Ἀβραὰμ τὰ πρὸς τὴν θύραν ἔξω ἐλθεῖν, καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ· Κύριέ μου Ἀβραὰμ, σὺ γινώσκεις τίς ἐστιν οὗτος ὁ ἀνήρ; εἶπεν δὲ Ἀβραάμ· Οὐ γινώσκω. εἶπεν δὲ Σάρρα· Ἐπίστασαι, κύριέ μου, τοὺς τρεῖς ἄνδρας τοὺς ἐπουρανίους τοὺς ἐπιξενισθέντας ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ ἡμῶν παρὰ τὴν δρῦν τὴν Μαμβρῆ ὅτε ἔσφαξας τὸν μόσχον τὸν ἄμωμον καὶ παρέθηκας αὐτοῖς τράπεζαν· δαπανηθέντων δὲ τῶν κρεάτων, ἠγέρθη πάλιν ὁ μόσχος καὶ ἐθήλαζεν τὴν μητέρα αὐτοῦ ἐν ἀγαλλιάσει· οὐκ οἶδας, κύριέ μου Ἀβραὰμ, ὅτι καὶ καρπὸν κοιλίας ἐξ ἐπαγγελίας ἡμῖν ἐδωρήσαντο τὸν Ἰσαάκ; ἐκ γὰρ τῶν τριῶν ἁγίων ἀνδρῶν ἐκείνων οὗτος ἐστὶν ὁ εἷς ἐξ αὐτῶν. εἶπεν δὲ Ἀβραάμ· Ὦ Σάρρα, τοῦτο ἀληθὲς εἴρηκας· δόξα καὶ εὐλογία παρὰ θεοῦ καὶ πατρός· καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ τῇ ὀψὲ βραδείᾳ, ὅτε ἔνιπτον τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ λεκάνῃ τοῦ νιπτῆρος εἶπον ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ μου· Οὗτοι οἱ πόδες ἐκ τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν εἰσὶν οὓς ἔνιψα τότε. καὶ τὰ δάκρυα αὐτοῦ ὀψὲ ἐν τῷ νιπτῆρι πίπτοντα ἐγένοντο λίθοι τίμιοι. καὶ ἐκβαλὼν ἐκ τοῦ κόλπου αὐτοῦ δέδωκεν αὐτὰ τῇ Σάρρᾳ, λέγων· Εἰ ἀπιστεῖς μοι, νῦν θέασαι ταῦτα. λαβοῦσα δὲ αὐτὰ ἡ Σάρρα προσεκύνησεν καὶ ἠσπάσατο καὶ εἶπεν· Δόξα τῷ θεῷ τῷ δεικνύοντι ἡμῖν θαυμάσια· καὶ νῦν γίνωσκε, κύριέ μου Ἀβραὰμ, ὅτι ἀποκάλυψίς τινος ἔργου ἐστὶν ἐν ἡμῖν, κἂν τε πονηρὸν κἂν τε ἀγαθόν.

VII. καταλιπὼν δὲ Ἀβραὰμ τὴν Σάρραν εἰσῆλθεν ἐν τῷ τρικλίνῳ καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς Ἰσαάκ· Δεῦρο υἱέ μου ἀγαπητέ, ἀνάγγειλόν μοι τὴν ἀλήθειαν, τί τὰ ὁραθέντα καὶ τί πέπονθας ὅτι οὕτω δρομαίως εἰσῆλθες πρὸς ἡμᾶς; ὑπολαβὼν δὲ Ἰσαὰκ ἤρξατο λέγειν· Εἶδον ἐγὼ, κύριέ μου, τῇ νυκτὶ ταύτῃ τὸν ἥλιον καὶ τὴν σελήνην ὑπεράνω τῆς

11 ὅτε—παρέθ.] θήσαντες ὑμεῖς παρέθ. A 12 ἠγέρθη] εἰσῆλθεν A 14 ἴδες A 18 εὐλογ.] δόξα εἰ καὶ κρίνει B 19 ὀψὲ βραδὺ B; ὄψει βραδείᾳ A 27 ἀποκάλυψις—ἡμῖν] ἀποκάλυψιν τινὸς ἔργου ὑμῖν A

ABCDER κεφαλῆς μου, καὶ τὰς ἀκτῖνας αὐτοῦ κυκλοῦντα καὶ φωταγωγοῦντά με· καὶ ταῦτα οὕτως ἐμοῦ θεωροῦντος καὶ ἀγαλλιωμένου, εἶδον τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνεῳγότα, καὶ εἶδον ἄνδρα φωτοφόρον ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κατελθόντα ὑπὲρ ἑπτὰ ἡλίους ἀστράπτοντα· καὶ ἐλθὼν ὁ ἀνὴρ ὁ ἡλιόμορφος ἐκεῖνος ἔλαβεν τὸν ἥλιον ἀπὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς μου, καὶ ἀνῆλθεν εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς ὅθεν καὶ ἐξῆλθεν· ἐγὼ δὲ ἐλυπήθην μεγάλως ὅτι ἔλαβεν τὸν ἥλιον ἀπ' ἐμοῦ· καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον ὡς ἔτι ἐμοῦ λυπουμένου καὶ ἀδημονοῦντος, εἶδον τὸν ἄνδρα ἐκεῖνον ἐκ δευτέρου ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἐξελθόντα· καὶ ἔλαβεν ἀπ' ἐμοῦ καὶ τὴν σελήνην ἐκ τῆς κεφαλῆς μου· ἔκλαυσα δὲ μεγάλως καὶ παρεκάλεσα τὸν ἄνδρα ἐκεῖνον τὸν φωτοφόρον καὶ εἶπον· Μή, κύριέ μου, μὴ ἄρῃς τὴν δόξαν μου ἀπ' ἐμοῦ, ἐλέησόν με καὶ εἰσάκουσόν μου· καὶ κἂν τὸν ἥλιον ἄρας ἀπ' ἐμοῦ, κἂν τὴν σελήνην ἔασον ἐπ' ἐμέ. αὐτὸς δὲ εἶπεν· Ἄφες ἀναληφθῆναι αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὸν ἄνω βασιλέα, ὅτι θέλει αὐτοὺς ἐκεῖ. καὶ ἦρεν αὐτοὺς ἀπ' ἐμοῦ, τὰς δὲ ἀκτῖνας ἔασεν ἐπ' ἐμέ. εἶπεν δὲ ὁ ἀρχιστράτηγος· Ἄκουσον, δίκαιε Ἀβραάμ· ὁ ἥλιος ὃν ἑώρακεν ὁ παῖς σου, σὺ εἶ, ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ· καὶ ἡ σελήνη ὁμοίως ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ Σάρρα ὑπάρχουσα· ὁ δὲ ἀνὴρ ὁ φωτοφόρος ὁ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καταβὰς, οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ ἀποσταλεὶς, ὁ μέλλων λαβεῖν τὴν δικαίαν σου ψυχὴν ἀπό σου. καὶ νῦν γίνωσκε, τιμιώτατε Ἀβραάμ, ὅτι μέλλεις ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τούτῳ καταλιπεῖν τὸν κοσμικὸν βίον καὶ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἐκδημεῖν. εἶπεν δὲ Ἀβραὰμ πρὸς τὸν ἀρχιστράτηγον· Ὦ θαῦμα θαυμάτων καινότερον! καὶ λοιπὸν σὺ εἶ ὁ μέλλων λαβεῖν τὴν ψυχήν μου ἀπ' ἐμοῦ; λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ ἀρχιστράτηγος· Ἐγώ εἰμι Μιχαὴλ ὁ ἀρχιστράτηγος ὁ παρεστηκὼς ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ ἀπεστάλην πρός σε ὅπως ἀναγγείλω

1 κυκλ. κ. φωτ.] κλητὰς καὶ φωταγουγοῦντας CE 4 ὑπὲρ ἑπτὰ ἡλ.] ὑπὲρ ἑξ ηλιου A; ὑπὲρ πάσας ἡλίους B 6—11 καὶ ἀνῆλθεν—κεφαλῆς μου] om B by homœot. 14 ἐλέησον—εἰσάκ. μου] om A 16—18 ἄφες—ἐπ' ἐμέ] ἄφες ἀρτίως ἀναληφθέντος αὐτοῦ ἀπ' ἐμοῦ τοὺς δὲ ἀκτῖνας αὐτὸν ἔασεν A; ἄφες ἀναληφθῆναι αὐτοὺς ἐκεῖ καὶ ἦρεν αὐτοὺς ἀπ' ἐμοῦ καὶ τὰς ἀκτ. αὐτοῦ B; ἄφες αὐτοὺς ἀπελθεῖν ὅτι θέλει αὐτοὺς ὁ ἄνω βασ. D 20 ὁμοίως] om B 21 ὑπάρχουσα] om B; ὑπῆρχεν CE 25 κόσμον καὶ τὸν βίον B; κόσμον CE 29 ὁ παρεστ. —·κῡ] BD; ἀρχιστ. κῡ ACE

σοι τὴν τοῦ θανάτου μνήμην· καὶ εἶθ' οὕτως ἀπελεύσομαι ABCDER
πρὸς αὐτὸν καθὼς ἐκελεύσθημεν. καὶ εἶπεν Ἀβραάμ· Νῦν
ἔγνωκα ἐγὼ ὅτι ἄγγελος κυρίου εἶ σὺ, καὶ ἀπεστάλης
λαβεῖν τὴν ψυχήν μου· ἀλλ' οὐ μή σοι ἀκολουθήσω· ἀλλ'
ὅπερ κελεύει[ς] ποίησον.

VIII. *ὁ δὲ ἀρχιστράτηγος ἀκούσας τὸ ῥῆμα τοῦτο,*
εὐθέως ἀφανὴς ἐγένετο· καὶ ἀνελθὼν εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἔστη
ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἀνήγγειλεν πάντα ὅσα εἶδεν εἰς τὸν
οἶκον Ἀβραάμ· εἶπεν δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ὁ ἀρχιστράτηγος πρὸς
τὸν δεσπότην ὅτι Καὶ τοῦτο λέγει ὁ φίλος σου Ἀβραὰμ
ὅτι Οὐ μή σοι ἀκολουθήσω, ἀλλ' ὅπερ κελεύει[ς] ποίησον·
ἀρτίως δέσποτα παντοκράτωρ, εἴ τι κελεύει ἡ σὴ δόξα καὶ ἡ
βασιλεία ἢ ἀθάνατος ; εἶπεν δὲ ὁ θεὸς πρὸς τὸν ἀρχιστρά-
τηγον Μιχαήλ· Ἄπελθε πρὸς τὸν φίλον μου Ἀβραὰμ ἔτι
ἅπαξ καὶ εἶπε αὐτῷ οὕτως· ὅτι Τάδε λέγει κύριος ὁ θεός σου,
ὁ εἰσαγαγών σε ἐν τῇ γῇ τῆς ἐπαγγελίας, ὁ εὐλογήσας σε
ὑπὲρ τὴν ἄμμον τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἀστέρας τοῦ
οὐρανοῦ, ὁ διανοίξας μήτραν Σάρρας τῆς στειρώσης καὶ
χαρισάμενός σοι καρπὸν κοιλίας ἐν γήρει τὸν Ἰσαάκ· Ἀμὴν
λέγω σοι ὅτι εὐλογῶν εὐλογήσω σε καὶ πληθύνων πλη-
θυνῶ τὸ σπέρμα σου, καὶ δώσω σοι πάντα ὅσα ἂν αἰτήσῃς
παρ' ἐμοῦ, ὅτι ἐγώ εἰμι κύριος ὁ θεός σου, καὶ πλὴν ἐμοῦ
οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλος· σὺ δὲ τί ἀνθέστηκας ἀπ' ἐμοῦ καὶ τί ἐν
σοὶ λύπη, ἀνάγγειλον· καὶ ἵνα τί ἀνθέστηκας ἀπὸ τὸν
ἀρχάγγελόν μου Μιχαήλ; ἢ οὐκ οἶδας ὅτι οἱ ἀπὸ Ἀδὰμ
καὶ Εὔας πάντες ἀπέθανον; καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐκ τῶν προφητῶν
τὸν θάνατον ἐξέφυγεν· καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐκ τῶν βασιλευόντων
ὑπάρχει ἀθάνατος· οὐδεὶς ἐκ τῶν προπατόρων ἐξέφυγεν
τὸ τοῦ θανάτου μυστήριον· πάντες ἀπέθανον, πάντες ἐν τῷ
ᾅδῃ κατηλλάξαντο, πάντες τῇ τοῦ θανάτου δρεπάνῃ συλ-
λέγονται· ἐπὶ δέ σε οὐκ ἀπέστειλα θάνατον, οὐκ εἴασα

1 *ἀπελεύσομαι—ἐκελεύσθημεν*] *ἀπελευσόμεθα πρὸς τὸν ἄνω* (*πάντων* E) *βασι-*
λέα CE 2 *ἐκελεύσθημεν*] *ἐκέλευσέν μοι* A 4 *σοι*] *σει* A; *σε* BCDE
4, 5 *ἀλλ'—ποίησον*] *ὅπερ νῦν κελ. ποιήσων* A; *δι' ὅνπερ κελεύεις ποιῆσαι* B; om
CDE: txt from l. 11 where AB omit 18—24 *ὁ διανοίξας—ἀνάγγειλον*]
om CDE 26 *καὶ οὐδεὶς—θαν. ἐξέφυγεν*] om ACDE 28, 29 *οὐδεὶς—*
μυστήριον] om B 28 *προπατ.*] *πατέρων* AE 29 *μυστ.*] *κειμήλιον*
ADE 30, 31 *πάντες τῇ—συλλέγ.*] *πάντας ἡ κ.τ.λ. συλλέγεται* B; om CDE

ABCDER *νόσον θανατηφόρον ἐπελθεῖν σοι· οὐ συνεχώρησα τῇ τοῦ θανάτου δρεπάνῃ συναντῆσαί σοι, οὐ παρεχώρησα τὰ τοῦ ᾅδου δίκτυα συμπλέξαι σε, οὐκ ἠθέλησά ποτέ τινι κακῷ συναντῆσαί σε· ἀλλὰ πρὸς παράκλησιν ἀγαθὴν τὸν ἐμὸν ἀρχιστράτηγον Μιχαὴλ ἐξαπέστειλα πρός σε, ἵνα γνώσῃς τὴν ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου μετάστασιν, καὶ ποιήσῃς διάταξιν περὶ τοῦ οἴκου σου, καὶ περὶ πάντων τῶν ὑπαρχόντων σοι, καὶ ὅπως εὐλογήσῃς τὸν Ἰσαὰκ τὸν υἱόν σου τὸν ἀγαπητόν. καὶ νῦν γνώρισον ὅτι μὴ θέλων λυπῆσαί σε ταῦτα πεποίηκα. καὶ ἵνα τί εἶπας πρὸς τὸν ἀρχιστράτηγόν μου ὅτι Οὐ μή σοι ἀκολουθήσω; ἵνα τί ταῦτα εἴρηκας; καὶ οὐκ οἶδας ὅτι ἐὰν ἐάσω τὸν θάνατον καὶ ἐπέλθῃ σοι, τότε ἂν εἶχον ἰδεῖν κἂν ἔρχῃ κἂν οὐκ ἔρχῃ;*

IX. *λαβὼν δὲ ὁ ἀρχιστράτηγος τὰς παραινέσεις τοῦ κυρίου κατῆλθεν πρὸς τὸν Ἀβραάμ· καὶ ἰδὼν αὐτὸν ὁ δίκαιος ἔπεσεν ἐπὶ πρόσωπον εἰς τὸ ἔδαφος τῆς γῆς ὡς νεκρὸς, ὁ δὲ ἀρχιστράτηγος εἶπεν αὐτῷ πάντα ὅσα ἤκουσεν παρὰ τοῦ ὑψίστου· τότε οὖν ὁ ὅσιος καὶ δίκαιος Ἀβραὰμ ἀναστὰς μετὰ πολλῶν δακρύων προσέπεσεν τοῖς ποσὶν τοῦ ἀσωμάτου καὶ ἱκέτευεν λέγων· Δέομαί σου, ἀρχιστράτηγε τῶν ἄνω δυνάμεων, ἐπειδὴ κατηξίωσας ὅλως αὐτὸς πρὸς ἐμὲ τὸν ἁμαρτωλὸν καὶ ἀνάξιον δοῦλόν σου καθεκάστην ἔρχεσθαι, παρακαλῶ σε καὶ νῦν, ἀρχιστράτηγε, τοῦ διακονῆσαί μοι λόγον ἔτι ἅπαξ πρὸς τὸν ὕψιστον, καὶ ἐρεῖς αὐτῷ ὅτι Τάδε λέγει Ἀβραὰμ ὁ οἰκέτης σου ὅτι Κύριε, κύριε, ἐν παντὶ ἔργῳ καὶ λόγῳ ὃ ᾐτησάμην σε εἰσήκουσάς μου, καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν βουλήν μου ἐπλήρωσας· καὶ νῦν, κύριε, οὐκ ἀνθίσταμαι τὸ σὸν κράτος, ὅτι κἀγὼ γινώσκω ὅτι οὐκ εἰμὶ ἀθάνατος ἀλλὰ θνητός· ἐπειδὴ οὖν τῇ σῇ προστάξει πάντα ὑπείκει καὶ φρίττει καὶ τρέμει ἀπὸ προσ-*

1, 2 *οὐ συνεχώρ.—συναντ. σοι*] om B 2, 3 *οὐ παρεχώρ.—συμπλέξαι σε*] om CDE 3 *ᾅδου*] *θανάτου* B 3, 4 *σε*] *σοι* AB (bis) 4 *παράκλησιν*] *παράταξιν* B 9 *καὶ νῦν—πεποίηκα*] om CDE 12, 13 *τότε—οὐκ ἔρχῃ*] *τότε ἴδῃς...ἐρχέσαι* B; *τότε ἰδεῖν ἔχεις* CE; om D 14—17 *τὰς παραιν.—ἀρχιστρ.*] om B 15—17 *καὶ ἰδὼν—νεκρὸς*] *ἔπεσεν δὲ Α. εἰς τ. πόδας τοῦ ἀρχιστ. Μιχ.* CE; *καὶ ἰδὼν αὐτὸν ἔπεσεν Α.* D 19, 20 *προσέπεσεν—ἀσωμ. καὶ*] om BCDE 26, 27 *εἰσήκουσάς μου καὶ πᾶσαν*] *ἐποίησας καὶ ἔδωκάς μοι κατὰ τῆς καρδίας μου καὶ πᾶσαν* A 30 *ὑπείκει*] *ὑπείκηνται* A; *ὑπήκει* B; *ἐπίχη* C (*-κη* E); *ὑπακούει* D

ὥπου δυνάμεώς σου, κἀγὼ δέδοικα, ἀλλὰ μίαν αἴτησιν αἰ- ABCDER
τοῦμαι παρά σου· καὶ νῦν, δέσποτα κύριε, εἰσάκουσόν μου τῆς δεήσεως, ὅτι ἔτι ἐν τούτῳ τῷ σώματι ὢν θέλω ἰδεῖν πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην καὶ τὰ ποιήματα πάντα ἃ διὰ λόγου ἑνὸς συνέστησας, δέσποτα, καὶ ὅτε ἴδω ταῦτα, τότε ἐὰν μεταβῶ τοῦ βίου ἄλυπος ἔσομαι. ἀπῆλθεν οὖν πάλιν ὁ ἀρχιστράτηγος καὶ ἔστη ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἀνήγγειλεν αὐτῷ πάντα, λέγων· Τάδε λέγει ὁ φίλος σου Ἀβραάμ, ὅτι Ἠθελον θεάσασθαι πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐν τῇ ζωῇ μου, πρὸ τοῦ ἀποθανεῖν με. ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ ὕψιστος, πάλιν κελεύει τὸν ἀρχιστράτηγον Μιχαὴλ καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ· Λάβε νεφέλην φωτὸς, καὶ ἀγγέλους τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν ἁρμάτων τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἔχοντας, καὶ κατελθὼν λάβε τὸν δίκαιον Ἀβραὰμ ἐπὶ ἅρματος χερουβικοῦ καὶ ὕψωσον αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν αἰθέρα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ὅπως ἴδῃ πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην.

X. καὶ κατελθὼν ὁ ἀρχάγγελος Μιχαὴλ ἔλαβεν τὸν Ἀβραὰμ ἐπὶ ἅρματος χερουβικοῦ καὶ ὕψωσεν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν αἰθέρα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἤγαγεν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῆς νεφέλης καὶ ἑξήκοντα ἀγγέλους καὶ ἀνήρχετο ὁ Ἀβραὰμ ἐπὶ ὀχήματος ἐφ' ὅλην τὴν οἰκουμένην· καὶ θεωρεῖ Ἀβραὰμ τὸν κόσμον καθὼς εἶχεν ἡ ἡμέρα ἐκείνη, ἄλλους μὲν ἀροτριῶντας, ἑτέρους ἁμαξηγοῦντας, ἐν ἄλλῳ δὲ τόπῳ ποιμαινεύοντας, ἀλλαχοῦ ἀγραυλοῦντας, καὶ ὀρχουμένους καὶ παίζοντας καὶ κιθαρίζοντας, ἐν ἄλλῳ δὲ τόπῳ παλαίοντας καὶ δικαζομένους, ἀλλαχοῦ κλαίοντας, ἔπειτα καὶ τεθνεῶτας ἐν μνήματι ἀγομένους· εἶδεν δὲ καὶ νεονύμφους ὀψικευομένους· καὶ ἁπλῶς εἰπεῖν, εἶδεν πάντα τὰ ἐν κόσμῳ γινόμενα, ἀγαθά τε καὶ πονηρά. διερχόμενος οὖν ὁ Ἀβραὰμ εἶδεν ἄνδρας ξιφηφόρους, ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν αὐτῶν κρατοῦντας ξίφη ἠκονημένα, καὶ ἠρώτησεν Ἀβραὰμ τὸν ἀρχιστράτηγον·

4—6 καὶ τὰ ποιήμ.—ἔσομαι] καὶ οἵ τη ἑτούμε μετὰ πάντα καὶ νῦν ἐὰν μεταστῷ τοῦ βίου ἀλήπτως ἔσωμαι (C)E 8—10 λέγων—ἀποθανεῖν με] καθὰ ἤκουσεν περὶ τοῦ Ἀβρ. B; om CE; ἃ παρὰ τοῦ Α. ἤκουσεν D 16—20 ἔλαβεν —οἰκουμένην] ἔλαβεν τὸν Α. ἐπὶ ὀχήματος ἐφ' ὅλην τ. οἰκ. B 20 θεωρεῖ] ἐώρα A 20, 21 καὶ θεωρ.—τὸν κόσμον] om CDE 22 ἁμαξηγοῦντας B (-ιγ-); ἅμα ἐξηγοῦντας A; ἀμαξιζήτουντας C; ἁμαξοζυγοῦντας D; ἁμάξας ἠγοῦντας E ἐν ἄλλῳ—ποιμ.] om CDE 23, 24 καὶ ὀρχ.—κιθαρίζ.] om B 24 καὶ κιθαρίζ.] om CDE παλαίοντας] ἀπολαβόντας D 25, 26 τεθν.—ὀψικ.] om B 26, 27 ὀψικ.—εἰπεῖν] om D 27 εἰπεῖν] om CE εἶδεν] om B

ABCDER Τίνες εἰσιν οὗτοι; καὶ εἶπεν ὁ ἀρχιστράτηγος· Οὗτοί εἰσιν κλέπται, οἱ βουλόμενοι φόνον ἐργάζεσθαι καὶ κλέψαι καὶ θῦσαι καὶ ἀπολέσαι. εἶπεν δὲ Ἀβραάμ· Κύριε, κύριε, εἰσάκουσον τῆς φωνῆς μου καὶ κέλευσον ἵνα ἐξέλθωσιν θηρία ἐκ τοῦ δρυμοῦ καὶ καταφάγωσιν αὐτούς. καὶ ἅμα τῷ λόγῳ αὐτοῦ ἐξῆλθον θηρία ἐκ τοῦ δρυμοῦ καὶ κατέφαγον αὐτούς· καὶ εἶδεν εἰς ἕτερον τόπον ἄνδρα μετὰ γυναικὸς εἰς ἀλλήλους πορνεύοντας, καὶ εἶπεν· Κύριε, κύριε, κέλευσον ὅπως χάνῃ ἡ γῆ καὶ καταπίῃ αὐτούς. καὶ εὐθὺς ἐδιχάσθη ἡ γῆ καὶ κατέπιεν αὐτούς· καὶ εἶδεν εἰς ἕτερον τόπον ἀνθρώπους διορύσσοντας οἶκον καὶ ἁρπάζοντας ἀλλότρια πράγματα, καὶ εἶπεν· Κύριε, κύριε, κέλευσον ἵνα κατέλθῃ πῦρ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καὶ καταφάγῃ αὐτούς. καὶ ἅμα τῷ λόγῳ αὐτοῦ κατῆλθεν πῦρ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ κατέφαγεν αὐτούς. καὶ εὐθέως ἦλθεν φωνὴ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ πρὸς τὸν ἀρχιστράτηγον, λέγων οὕτως· Κέλευσον, ὦ Μιχαὴλ ἀρχιστράτηγε, στῆναι τὸ ἅρμα, καὶ ἀπόστρεψον τὸν Ἀβραάμ, ἵνα μὴ ἴδῃ πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην· ἢν γὰρ ἴδῃ πάντας τοὺς ἐν ἁμαρτίᾳ διάγοντας, ἀπολέσει πᾶν τὸ ἀνάστημα· ἰδοὺ γὰρ ὁ Ἀβραὰμ οὐχ ἥμαρτεν, καὶ τοὺς ἁμαρτωλοὺς οὐκ ἐλεᾷ· ἐγὼ δὲ ἐποίησα τὸν κόσμον, καὶ οὐ θέλω ἀπολέσαι ἐξ αὐτῶν οὐδένα, ἀναμένω δὲ τὸν θάνατον τοῦ ἁμαρτωλοῦ, ἕως τοῦ ἐπιστρέψαι καὶ ζῆν αὐτόν· ἀνάγαγε δὲ τὸν Ἀβραὰμ ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ πύλῃ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, ὅπως θεάσηται ἐκεῖ τὰς κρίσεις καὶ ἀνταποδόσεις, καὶ μετανοήσῃ ἐπὶ τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν ἃς ἀπώλεσεν.

XI. ἔστρεψεν δὲ ὁ Μιχαὴλ τὸ ἅρμα καὶ ἤνεγκε τὸν Ἀβραὰμ ἐπὶ τὴν ἀνατολὴν ἐν τῇ πύλῃ τῇ πρώτῃ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. καὶ εἶδεν Ἀβραὰμ δύο ὁδούς· ἡ μία ὁδὸς στενὴ καὶ τεθλιμμένη καὶ ἡ ἑτέρα πλατεῖα καὶ εὐρύχωρος <καὶ

1 οὗτοι (pr.)] + ἀσώματε CE 5—7 καὶ ἅμα—αὐτούς] καὶ εὐθὺς ἐγένετο οὕτως B; om CE 8 εἰς ἀλλήλους] om CE 9, 10 καὶ εὐθ.—αὐτούς] CDE (ἐσχίσθη D); om AB 11 ἀνθρ. διορ.] ανους δύο ῥίπτοντας A; ανους δύο ὀρυσσομένους B; ἀνθρ. διορύγοντας CE; ἄνδρας διορύσσοντας D 13—15 καὶ ἅμα—αὐτούς] om BCDE 18 B has ἵνα μὴ ἴδῃ· εἶδεν δὲ πολλὰς ψυχὰς etc. (p. 89, l. 5) omitting ten lines. 22 ἀναμένω δὲ] ἀναμ. γὰρ CE; ἀλλ' ἀναμ. D 23 ζῆν αὐτὸν] ζῆσαι A 25 τὰς κρίσεις κ. ἀντ.] τὴν κρίσιν κ. ἀντ. CDE 27 Μιχ.] ἀρχιστρ. CE; ἀρχάγγ. D 28 ἐπὶ τὴν ἀνατ.] om D ἐπὶ τὴν ἀνατ.—Ἀβρ.] om A by homœoteleuton 29, 30 corrupt. The

εἶδεν ἐκεῖ δύο πύλας· μία πύλη πλατεῖα>, κατὰ τῆς πλα- ABCDER
τείας ὁδοῦ, καὶ μία πύλη στενὴ κατὰ τῆς στενῆς ὁδοῦ· ἔξωθεν δὲ τῶν πυλῶν τῶν ἐκεῖσε τῶν δύο, ἴδον ἄνδρα καθήμενον ἐπὶ θρόνου κεχρυσωμένου· καὶ ἦν ἡ ἰδέα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐκείνου φοβερὰ, ὁμοία τοῦ δεσπότου· καὶ ἴδον ψυχὰς πολλὰς ἐλαυνομένας ὑπὸ ἀγγέλων καὶ διὰ τῆς πλατείας πύλης εἰσαγομένας, καὶ ἴδον ἄλλας ψυχὰς ὀλίγας καὶ ἐφέροντο ὑπὸ ἀγγέλων διὰ τῆς στενῆς πύλης. καὶ ὅτε ἐθεώρει ὁ θαυμάσιος ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ χρυσοῦ θρόνου καθήμενος διὰ τῆς στενῆς πύλης ὀλίγας εἰσερχομένας, διὰ δὲ τῆς πλατείας πολλὰς εἰσερχομένας, εὐθὺς ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐκεῖνος ὁ θαυμάσιος ἥρπαξεν τὰς τρίχας τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰς παρειὰς τοῦ πώγωνος αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔρριψεν ἑαυτὸν χαμαὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ θρόνου κλαίων καὶ ὀδυρόμενος· καὶ ὅτε ἐθεώρει πολλὰς ψυχὰς εἰσερχομένας διὰ τῆς στενῆς πύλης, τότε ἀνίστατο ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς καὶ ἐκαθέζετο ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου αὐτοῦ ἐν εὐφροσύνῃ πολλῇ χαίρων καὶ ἀγαλλόμενος. ἠρώτησεν δὲ ὁ Ἀβραὰμ τὸν ἀρχιστράτηγον· Κύριέ μου ἀρχιστράτηγε, τίς ἐστιν οὗτος ὁ ἀνὴρ ὁ πανθαύμαστος, ὁ ἐν τοιαύτῃ δόξῃ κοσμούμενος, καὶ ποτὲ μὲν κλαίει καὶ ὀδύρεται, ποτὲ δὲ χαίρεται καὶ ἀγάλλεται; εἶπεν δὲ ὁ ἀσώματος· Οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ πρωτόπλαστος Ἀδὰμ, ὁ ἐν τοιαύτῃ δόξῃ, καὶ βλέπει τὸν κόσμον, καθότι πάντες ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐγένοντο· καὶ ὅτε ἴδῃ ψυχὰς πολλὰς εἰσερχομένας διὰ τῆς στενῆς πύλης, τότε ἀνίσταται καὶ κάθηται ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου αὐτοῦ χαίρων καὶ ἀγαλλόμενος ἐν εὐφροσύνῃ, ὅτι αὕτη ἡ πύλη ἡ στενὴ τῶν δικαίων ἐστὶ<ν>, ἡ ἀπάγουσα εἰς τὴν ζωὴν, καὶ οἱ

texts are as follows: δύο ὁδοὺς, μία ὁδὸς πλατεῖα καὶ εὐρύχορος ἅμα τὰ τῆς πλατείας ὁδοῦ καὶ μία πύλη στενὴ καὶ κατὰ τῆς στενῆς ὁδοῦ. ἔξωθεν δὲ τῶν πυλαίων τῶν ἐκεῖσαι τῶν δύο ἴδον κ.τ.λ. A; om B, see above; δύο ὁδοὺς· ἡ μία ὁδὸς στενὴ καὶ τεθλοιμένοι καὶ ἡ ἑτέρα πλατεῖα καὶ εὐρύχορος ἔξοθεν τῶν $\overline{\beta}$ πηλῶν εἶδεν CE; D as CE, but with the words κατὰ τῆς στενῆς ὁδοῦ before ἔξωθεν. I have supplied the mention of 'the two gates' which is needed.

4 θρόνου] + κάτω B 5 δεσπότου] A; κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ CE; τῷ δεσπ. χριστῷ D ἴδον] εἶδεν B; ἴδεν CE 16 γῆς] + ἧς ἐκαθέζετο χρυσῆς καὶ ἐκάθητο B 17 ἀγαλλόμ.] ἀγαλλιωμ. ACDE 19 ὁ ἐν] om ὁ ACDE τοιαύτῃ] τῇ ταύτῃ A; τῇ αὐτοῦ B; τῇ αὐτῇ CDE 19—23 δόξῃ —κόσμον] δόξῃ ζῇ ἐπὶ τῶν κόσμων C 23 καθότι] καθὼς B; ὅτι CDE 25 ἀνίστ. καὶ] om BCDE 26, 27 αὕτη—ζωὴν καὶ] om B; om τῶν δικ. and οἱ and ἔρχονται A 27 εἰς τ. ζωὴν] εἰς ζ. αἰώνιον CE

ABCDER εἰσερχόμενοι δι' αὐτῆς εἰς τὸν παράδεισον ἔρχονται· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο χαίρει ὁ πρωτόπλαστος Ἀδὰμ, διότι θεωρεῖ τὰς ψυχὰς σωζομένας· καὶ ὅταν ἴδῃ ψυχὰς πολλὰς εἰσερχομένας διὰ τῆς πλατείας πύλης, τότε ἀνασπᾷ τὰς τρίχας τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ ῥίπτει ἑαυτὸν χαμαὶ κλαίων καὶ ὀδυρόμενος πικρῶς· διότι ἡ πύλη ἡ πλατεῖα τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν ἐστὶν, ἡ ἀπάγουσα εἰς τὴν ἀπώλειαν καὶ εἰς τὴν κόλασιν τὴν αἰώνιον· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὁ πρωτόπλαστος Ἀδὰμ ἀπὸ τοῦ θρόνου αὐτοῦ πίπτει κλαίων καὶ ὀδυρόμενος ἐπὶ τῇ ἀπωλείᾳ τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν, διότι πολλοί εἰσιν οἱ ἀπολλύμενοι, ὀλίγοι δὲ οἱ σωζόμενοι· εἰς γὰρ τὰς ἑπτὰ χιλιάδας μόλις εὑρίσκεται μία ψυχὴ σωζομένη δικαία καὶ ἀμόλυντος.

XII. ἔτι δὲ ἐμοὶ ταῦτα λαλοῦντος ἰδοὺ δύο ἄγγελοι πύρινοι τῇ ὄψει καὶ ἀνηλεεῖς τῇ γνώμῃ καὶ ἀπότομοι τῷ βλέμματι, καὶ ἤλαυνον μυριάδας ψυχὰς ἀνηλέως τύπτοντες αὐτοὺς ἐν πυρίναις χαρζαναῖς· καὶ μίαν ψυχὴν ἐκράτει ὁ ἄγγελος· καὶ διήγαγον πάσας τὰς ψυχὰς εἰς τὴν πλατεῖαν πύλην πρὸς τὴν ἀπώλειαν· ἠκολουθήσαμεν οὖν καὶ ἡμεῖς τοῖς ἀγγέλοις καὶ ἤλθομεν ἔσωθεν τῆς πύλης ἐκείνης τῆς πλατείας· καὶ ἐν μέσῳ τῶν δύο πυλῶν ἵστατο θρόνος φοβερὸς ἐν εἴδει κρυστάλλου φοβεροῦ ἐξαστράπτων ὡς πῦρ. καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἐκάθητο ἀνὴρ θαύμαστος ἡλιόρατος ὅμοιος υἱῷ θεοῦ. ἔμπροσθεν δὲ αὐτοῦ ἵστατο τράπεζα κρυσταλλοειδὴς ὅλος διὰ χρυσοῦ καὶ βύσσου· ἐπάνω δὲ τῆς τρα-

1 ἔρχονται] ἀνέρχονται CE 1, 2 καὶ—χαίρει] om CD 2 πρωτόπλ.] om B 4 ἀνασπᾷ] ἁρπάζει AB; τίλη D; ἀνασπάζη E 5—12 κεφαλῆς—σωζομένη] κεφ. αὐτοῦ κ. τ. παρειὰς τοῦ πόγονος (αὐτ.) κλαίων κ. ὀδυρόμ. διότι αὕτη ἡ πύλη ἡ πλατ. τῶν ἁμαρτ. ἔστιν ἡ ἀπολια (ἀπάγουσα εἰς τὴν κολ. D) εἰς γὰρ τὰς ἑπτὰ χιλ. μία ψυχὴ σώζεται CDE 14 ἔτι δὲ—λαλοῦντος] A with ὑμῖν for ἐμοί: om B; ἔτη δὲ (ἐμε του C) λαλοῦντας CE; ἔτι δὲ αὐτοῦ λαλοῦντος D 14—18 ἰδοὺ—ἐκράτει ὁ ἄγγελος] (μυριάδαν and om αὐτοὺς) A; καὶ ἰδοὺ δύο ἄγγελοι μυρ. ψυχ.—ἀλξάνες B; ἰδοὺ δύο ἀγγ. μυριάδαν ψυχ. ἀνηλεῶς—χαρζανες CE; ἰδοὺ δύο ἀγγ. τύπτοντες ψυχὰς· τότε κεινω μυρίων ἐν πυρινῷ θεάφη καὶ μίαν ψυχ. ἀνηλ. ἐκράτουν εἰς χεῖρας αὐτῶν D 17 ὁ ἄγγελος] ἀνηλεως CE 19 οὖν καὶ] om B 20, 21 καὶ ἤλθ.—πλατείας] om B 22 ἐν εἴδει—φοβεροῦ] om CDE 23 ἡλιόρατος] ἡλοιόρατος A; ἡλιωρότατος B; ἡλιόρατος ἡλιόμορφος CE; om D 24 υἱῷ] υἱὸς ACE: υἱὸν B κρυσταλλοειδὴς] κρυσταλλινος B; om CDE 25 διὰ χρυσοῦ] διὰ χρύσεως B; διὰ λίθων κ. μαργάρων D 25—p. 91, l. 4 ἐπάνω—προσώπου δὲ] om B

πέζης ἦν βιβλίον κείμενον, τὸ πάχος αὐτοῦ πηχέων ἓξ, τὸ ABCDER
δὲ πλάτος αὐτοῦ πηχέων δέκα· ἐκ δεξιῶν δὲ αὐτῆς καὶ ἐξ
ἀριστερῶν ἵσταντο δύο ἄγγελοι κρατοῦντες χάρτην καὶ
μέλανα καὶ κάλαμον. πρὸ προσώπου δὲ τῆς τραπέζης
ἐκάθητο ἄγγελος φωτοφόρος, κρατῶν ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ
ζυγόν· <ἐξ> ἀριστερῶν δὲ ἐκάθητο ἄγγελος πύρινος ὅλος
ἀνιλέως καὶ ἀπότομος ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ κρατῶν σάλπιγγα
ἔνδον αὐτῆς κατέχων πῦρ παμφάγον δοκιμαστήριον τῶν
ἁμαρτωλῶν. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀνὴρ ὁ θαυμάσιος ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ
τοῦ θρόνου, αὐτὸς ἔκρινεν καὶ ἀπεφήνατο τὰς ψυχάς· οἱ δὲ
δύο ἄγγελοι οἱ ἐκ δεξιῶν καὶ ἀριστερῶν ἀπεγράφοντο· ὁ
μὲν ἐκ δεξιῶν ἀπεγράφετο τὰς δικαιοσύνας, ὁ δὲ ἐξ ἀριστε-
ρῶν τὰς ἁμαρτίας· καὶ ὁ μὲν πρὸ προσώπου τῆς τραπέζης,
ὁ τὸν ζυγὸν κατέχων, ἐζυγίαζεν τὰς ψυχάς· καὶ ὁ πύρινος
ἄγγελος, ὁ τὸ πῦρ κατέχων, ἐδοκίμαζεν τὰς ψυχάς. καὶ
ἠρώτησεν Ἀβραὰμ τὸν ἀρχιστράτηγον Μιχαήλ· Τί ἐστιν
ταῦτα ἃ θεωροῦμεν ἡμεῖς; καὶ εἶπεν ὁ ἀρχιστράτηγος·
Ταῦτα ἅπερ βλέπεις, ὅσιε Ἀβραάμ, ἔστιν ἡ κρίσις καὶ
ἀνταπόδοσις. καὶ ἰδοὺ ὁ ἄγγελος ὁ κρατῶν τὴν ψυχὴν ἐν
τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἤνεγκεν αὐτὴν ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ κριτοῦ.
καὶ εἶπεν ὁ κριτὴς ἕνα τῶν ἀγγέλων τῶν καθυπουργούντων
αὐτῷ· Ἄνοιξόν μοι τὴν βίβλον ταύτην καὶ εὑρέ μοι τὰς
ἁμαρτίας τῆς ψυχῆς ταύτης. καὶ ἀνοίξας τὴν βίβλον
εὗρεν αὐτῆς ζυγίας τὰς ἁμαρτίας καὶ τὰς δικαιοσύνας ἐξ
ἴσου, καὶ οὔτε τοῖς βασανισταῖς ἐξέδωκεν αὐτὴν οὔτε τοῖς
σωζομένοις, ἀλλ' ἔστησεν αὐτὴν εἰς τὸ μέσον.

XIII. καὶ εἶπεν Ἀβραάμ· Κύριέ μου ἀρχιστράτηγε,
τίς ἐστιν οὗτος ὁ κριτὴς ὁ πανθαύμαστος; καὶ τίνες οἱ

1 ἓξ] *τριάκοντα* A; *ὀκτὼ* D *τὸ δὲ—δέκα*] om A 2 δέκα] δώδεκα D ἐξ] om ABCE; (*καὶ ἐξ εὐωνύμων ἵστατα(ι)*) D 7 *κρατῶν σάλπιγγα*] *κρατῶν σάλπιγγος* CE; *κατέχων σάλπιγγα* (*-ος* A) AB 8 *πῦρ παμφ.*] om CDE *δοκιμαστ.*] *δοκιμαστικὸν* B 9 *ἁμαρτωλ.*] *ἁμαρτιῶν* CDE 14 *ἐζυγίαζεν*] *ἐζυγηζεν* AB *πύρινος*] *πονηρὸς* B 15 *ἄγγελος*] om CDE *πῦρ*] *πῶς* CE *ἐδοκ. τὰς ψυχ.*] *ἐδοκ. διὰ πυρὸς τὰς ψ. τῶν ἀνθρώπων* A 17 *ταῦτα—θεωρ.*] *ἡ τα τοιαῦτα θαιωρῶμεν* CE *ἡμεῖς*] om ACDE 18 *ἅπερ βλέπεις*] *ἀποβλέπεις* B 19, 20 *ἐν τῇ χειρὶ*] *εἰς τὴν χεῖρα* A 20 *κριτοῦ*] *κρίνοντος* B 22, 23 *καὶ εὑρέ—ἀνοίξας*] om C 23, 24 *ταύτης—εὗρεν αὐτῆς*] om B 24 *ζυγίας*] *ζυγαδας* A; *ζυγὸς δὲ* B 25 *ἐξέδωκεν*] *ἐξέδοτο* BCDE 26 *ἔστησεν*] *ἴστησιν* BCE

ABCDER ἄγγελοι οἱ ἀπογραφόμενοι; καὶ τίς ὁ ἄγγελος ὁ ἡλιόμορφος ὁ τὸν ζυγὸν κατέχων; καὶ τίς ὁ ἄγγελος ὁ πύρινος ὁ τὸ πῦρ κατέχων; εἶπεν δὲ ὁ ἀρχιστράτηγος· Θεωρεῖς, πανόσιε Ἀβραάμ, τὸν ἄνδρα τὸν φοβερὸν τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου καθήμενον; οὗτός ἐστιν υἱὸς Ἀδὰμ τοῦ πρωτοπλάστου, ὁ ἐπιλεγόμενος Ἄβελ, ὃν ἀπέκτεινε Κάϊν ὁ πονηρός· καὶ κάθηται ὧδε κρῖναι πᾶσαν τὴν κτίσιν καὶ ἐλέγχων δικαίους καὶ ἁμαρτωλούς· διότι εἶπεν ὁ θεός· Ἐγὼ οὐ κρίνω ὑμᾶς, ἀλλὰ πᾶς ἄνθρωπος ἐξ ἀνθρώπου κριθήσεται· τούτου χάριν αὐτῷ δέδωκεν κρίσιν, κρῖναι τὸν κόσμον μέχρι τῆς μεγάλης καὶ ἐνδόξου αὐτοῦ παρουσίας· καὶ τότε, δίκαιε Ἀβραάμ, γίνεται τελεία κρίσις καὶ ἀνταπόδοσις, αἰωνία καὶ ἀμετάθετος, ἣν οὐδεὶς δύναται ἀνακρῖναι· πᾶς γὰρ ἄνθρωπος ἐκ τοῦ πρωτοπλάστου γεγένηται, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐνταῦθα πρῶτον ἐκ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ κρίνονται· καὶ ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ παρουσίᾳ κριθήσονται ὑπὸ τῶν δώδεκα φυλῶν τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ, καὶ πᾶσα πνοὴ καὶ πᾶσα κτίσις. τὸ δὲ τρίτον, ὑπὸ τοῦ δεσπότου θεοῦ τῶν ἁπάντων κριθήσονται καὶ τότε λοιπὸν τῆς κρίσεως ἐκείνης τὸ τέλος ἐγγύς, καὶ φοβερὰ ἡ ἀπόφασις, καὶ ὁ λύων οὐδείς· καὶ λοιπὸν διὰ τριῶν βημάτων γίνεται ἡ κρίσις τοῦ κόσμου καὶ ἡ ἀνταπόδοσις· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐπὶ ἑνὸς ἡ δύο μαρτύρων οὐκ ἀσφαλίζεται λόγος εἰς τέλος· ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τριῶν μαρτύρων σταθήσεται πᾶν ῥῆμα. οἱ δὲ δύο ἄγγελοι ὁ ἐκ δεξιῶν

1—3 καὶ τίς—ἀρχιστρ.] om CE 3 κατέχων] δοκημᾶζον A 4 φοβερὸν] φωτοφορον CE 7 πονηρὸς]+καὶ ἀδελφοκτόνος B; πονηρότατος A; πονηρώτ. ὁ βροτοκτόνος E κάθηται ὧδε] καθέζεται οὗτος B 8, 9 διότι—ὑμᾶς] διότι—θεός· ὅτι οὐκ ἐγὼ κρίνω τὸν κόσμον A; δι' αὐτοῦ εἶπεν ὁ θεὸς σὺ κρίνῃ λέγων ἡμᾶς B 10, 11 τούτου—κόσμον] A (but ἔδωκεν); τούτου γὰρ χάριν ἔδωκεν αὐτά ὁ θεὸς ὅτι ἔκρινεν αὐτά· καὶ αὐτὸς κρίνῃ τὸν κοσμον B; om κρίσιν —κόσμον CE 13, 14 ἣν—ἀνακρῖναι] ἣν ἄλλος οὐδεὶς δυνήσεται ἀνακρῖναι AD; ἣν—ἀντακρῖναι CE; ἣν—κρίναι τῶν ᾱν̄ων B 14—16 πᾶς—κρίνονται] πᾶς γὰρ ὁ ἐκ...ἐνταῦθα πρὸς τὸν ἐκ τοῦ υἱοῦ κρίνονται B; πᾶς—ἐκ τοῦ τουούτου ᾱν̄ου κρίνεται A; πᾶς—ἐκ τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ πρωτοπλ. κρίνονται CE; διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ κρίνει πρῶτον D 16—18 καὶ ἐν—κτίσις] καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν δ. π. ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων κριθήσονται αἱ δωδ. φυλαὶ τοῦ Ἰσ. καὶ πάσης πνοῆς καὶ πάσης ᾱν̄ις B; καὶ ἐν τῇ δ. π. ὑπὸ τῶν ιβ ἀποστ. κ.τ.λ. CE; καὶ ἐν—ὑπὸ τῶν ιβ' ἀποστ. κριθήσεται πᾶσα ἡ οἰκουμένη D 18 δεσπότου θεοῦ τῶν ἁπάντων] δεσπ. καὶ κριτοῦ CE; δεσπ. θεοῦ καὶ σ̄ρ̄ος D 20 ἐγγὺς] ὀργῆς CE καὶ φοβερὰ—οὐδεὶς] om B 22 τοῦτο]+καὶ νῦν A 23, 24 λόγος—σταθ.] om CE 23 εἰς τέλος] om A

καὶ ὁ ἐξ ἀριστερῶν, οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ ἀπογραφόμενοι τὰς ABCDER
ἁμαρτίας καὶ τὰς δικαιοσύνας· ὁ μὲν ἐκ δεξιῶν ἀπογράφεται τὰς δικαιοσύνας, ὁ δὲ ἐξ ἀριστερῶν τὰς ἁμαρτίας. ὁ δὲ ἡλιόμορφος ἄγγελος, ὁ τὸν ζυγὸν κατέχων ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ, οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ Δοκιὴλ ὁ ἀρχάγγελος ὁ δίκαιος ζυγοστάτης, καὶ ζυγιάζει τὰς δικαιοσύνας καὶ τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ θεοῦ· ὁ δὲ πύρινος καὶ ἀνιλέως ἄγγελος, ὁ κατέχων ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ τὸ πῦρ, οὗτός ἐστιν Πυρουὴλ ὁ ἀρχάγγελος ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ πυρὸς ἔχων τὴν ἐξουσίαν, καὶ δοκιμάζει τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἔργα διὰ πυρός· καὶ εἴ τινος τὸ ἔργον κατακαύσει τὸ πῦρ, εὐθὺς λαμβάνει αὐτὸν ὁ ἄγγελος τῆς κρίσεως καὶ ἀποφέρει αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν τόπον τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν, πικρότατον κολαστήριον. εἴ τινος δὲ τὸ ἔργον τὸ πῦρ δοκιμάσει καὶ μὴ ἄψεται αὐτοῦ, οὗτος δικαιοῦται, καὶ λαμβάνει αὐτὸν ὁ τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἄγγελος καὶ ἀναφέρει αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ σώζεσθαι ἐν τῷ κλήρῳ τῶν δικαίων· καὶ οὕτως, δικαιότατε Ἀβραὰμ, τὰ πάντα ἐν πᾶσιν ἐν πυρὶ καὶ ζυγῷ δοκιμάζονται.

XIV. εἶπεν δὲ Ἀβραὰμ πρὸς τὸν ἀρχιστράτηγον· Κύριέ μου ἀρχιστράτηγε, τὴν ψυχὴν ἣν κατεῖχεν ὁ ἄγγελος ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ, πῶς κατεδικάσθη εἰς τὸ μέσον; εἶπεν δὲ ὁ ἀρχιστράτηγος· Ἄκουσον, δίκαιε Ἀβραάμ· διότι εὗρεν ὁ κριτὴς τὰς ἁμαρτίας αὐτῆς καὶ τὰς δικαιοσύνας ἐξ ἴσου, καὶ οὔτε εἰς κρίσιν ἐξέδοτο αὐτὴν οὔτε εἰς τὸ σώζεσθαι, ἕως οὗ ἔλθῃ ὁ κριτὴς τῶν ἁπάντων. εἶπεν δὲ Ἀβραὰμ <πρὸς> τὸν ἀρχιστράτηγον Καὶ τί ἔτι λείπεται τῇ ψυχῇ εἰς τὸ σώζεσθαι; καὶ εἶπεν ὁ ἀρχιστράτηγος ὅτι Ἐὰν κτήσηται μίαν δικαιοσύνην ὑπεράνω τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἔρχεται εἰς τὸ σώζεσθαι. εἶπεν δὲ Ἀβραὰμ πρὸς τὸν

5 ὁ Δοκιὴλ] (ὀδοκιὴλ) A; δίκαιος ἄγγελος BCDE 6 ζυγιάζει] ζυγήζει A; στυγίζει B; ζυγῇ CE; ζυγοστατῶν D τὰς δικ.—θεοῦ] τὰς ἁμαρτ. τῶν ανων καὶ τὰς δικ. τοῦ θεοῦ B 7—18 ὁ δὲ πύρινος—δοκιμάζονται] om CDE 7 καὶ ἀνιλ. ἄγγ.] ἄγγ. κ. ἀπότομος A 8, 9 Πυρουὴλ—πυρός] Πυρουὴλ ὁ ἄγγ. ὁ ἐπὶ τὸ πῦρ A; πῦρ ὁ κλῶν ὁ ἀρχάγγ. ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ πυρὸς B 10 διὰ πυρός] διὰ παντὸς A 12, 13 εἰς τὸν τόπον—κολαστήριον] A (but ποτήριον for κολαστ.); εἰς τὰ πικρότατα τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν κολαστ. B 15 ἀναφέρει] ἀποφέρει B 24 ἐξ ἴσου] ζυγάδας A; ζυγᾶς ἐπίσης E; ζυγᾶς C διὰ τούτων οὕτος ἐν τῇ κρίσει ἐξέδ. αὐτὴν B 25 ἕως οὗ] ἕως ἂν CE 26 ἔτι] ἐστι BC 27 τῇ ψυχῇ] ἡ ψυχὴ ACD; τὴν ψυχὴν B

ABCDER ἀρχιστράτηγον· Δεῦρο Μιχαὴλ ἀρχιστράτηγε, ποιήσωμεν εὐχὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς ψυχῆς ταύτης, καὶ ἴδωμεν εἰ ἐπακούσεταί ἡμῶν ὁ θεός. καὶ εἶπεν ὁ ἀρχιστράτηγος· Ἀμὴν γένοιτο. καὶ ἐποίησαν δέησιν καὶ εὐχὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς ψυχῆς· καὶ εἰσήκουσεν αὐτοὺς ὁ θεὸς καὶ ἀναστάντες ἀπὸ τῆς προσευχῆς οὐκ εἶδον τὴν ψυχὴν ἱσταμένην ἐκεῖσε. καὶ εἶπεν Ἀβραὰμ πρὸς τὸν ἄγγελον· Ποῦ ἐστὶν ἡ ψυχὴ ἣν ἐκράτεις εἰς τὸ μέσον; καὶ εἶπεν ὁ ἄγγελος· Σέσωται διὰ τῆς εὐχῆς σου τῆς δικαίας, καὶ ἰδοὺ ἔλαβεν αὐτὴν ἄγγελος φωτοφόρος καὶ ἀνήνεγκεν αὐτὴν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ. εἶπεν δὲ Ἀβραὰμ· Δοξάζω τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ὑψίστου καὶ τὸ ἔλεος αὐτοῦ τὸ ἀμέτρητον. εἶπεν δὲ Ἀβραὰμ πρὸς τὸν ἀρχιστράτηγον· Δέομαί σου, ἀρχάγγελε, εἰσάκουσον τῆς δεήσεώς μου, καὶ παρακαλέσωμεν ἔτι τὸν κύριον καὶ προσπέσωμεν τοῖς οἰκτιρμοῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ δεηθῶμεν αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἐλέους ὑπὲρ τῶν ψυχῶν τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν οὕσπερ ἐγώ ποτε κακοφρονήσας κατηρασάμην καὶ ἀπώλεσα, οὕσπερ κατέπιεν ἡ γῆ καὶ οὓς διεμερίσαντο τὰ θηρία, καὶ οὕσπερ κατέφαγεν τὸ πῦρ διὰ τοὺς ἐμοὺς λόγους· νῦν ἔγνωκα ἐγὼ ὅτι ἥμαρτον ἐνώπιον κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν· δεῦρο, Μιχαὴλ ἀρχιστράτηγε τῶν ἄνω δυνάμεων, δεῦρο παρακαλέσωμεν τὸν θεὸν μετὰ δακρύων, ὅπως ἀφήσει μοι τὸ ἁμάρτημα καὶ αὐτοὺς συγχωρήσει μοι. καὶ εἰσήκουσεν αὐτὸν ὁ ἀρχιστράτηγος καὶ ἐποίησαν δέησιν ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ· ἐπὶ πολλὴν δὲ ὥραν παρακαλούντων αὐτῶν, ἦλθεν φωνὴ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ λέγουσα· Ἀβραὰμ, Ἀβραὰμ, εἰσήκουσα τῆς φωνῆς σου καὶ τῆς δεήσεώς σου καὶ ἀφίημί σοι τὴν ἁμαρτίαν, καὶ οὕσπερ σὺ νομίζεις ὅτι ἀπώλεσα, ἐγὼ αὐτοὺς ἀνεκαλεσάμην καὶ εἰς ζωὴν αὐτοὺς ἤγαγον δι' ἄκραν ἀγαθότητα· διότι πρὸς

4—6 *καὶ εἰσήκ.—ψυχὴν*] om A 7, 8 *ἦν—μέσον*] om ABCD 8 *σέσωται*] *ἰδοὺ* B 9, 10 *καὶ ἰδοὺ—παραδ.*] om CDE 10—12 *εἶπεν—ἀμέτρητον*] om BCDE 14 *κύριον*] + *ἡμῶν ἰησοῦν χριστόν* C 16 *κακοφρ.*] *καταφρ.* BDE 16—23 *οὕσπερ—συγχωρ. μοι*] AB; CDE shorten variously 26 Ἀβραὰμ (sec.)] om ABDE 26, 27 *εἰσήκουσα—δεήσ. σου*] *εἰσηκουσε σε κς* A; *εἰσηκούσθη ἡ δ. σου* B 27 *οὕσπερ ἐκατηράσω καὶ ἀπωλέσω αὐτοὺς δὲ πάλιν διὰ δεήσεώς σου ἐγὼ* E 28 *ἀπώλεσα*] *ἀπώλεσας* A *ἀνεκαλ.*] *ἐνηγκαλισάμην καὶ—ἤγαγον· διότι πρόσκαιρον αὐτοῖς κρίσιν ἀνταπέδωκας· ἐγὼ δὲ—ἀπώλεσα—γῆς, ζῶντας ἐν τῷ θανάτῳ οὐκ ἀποδώσω* D 29 *δι' ἄκρ. ἀγαθ.*] om CDE 29—p. 95, 1 *διότι—ἀνταπ.*] om A; *δίοτι—ἀποδώσω*] *καὶ εἰ μὲν διὰ τὸν πρόσκαιρον κρίσιν αὐτοὺς ἀνταπέδωκας, ἐγὼ δὲ οὐ κολάσω* (sc. *οὐκ ὀλέσω*?) B

καιρὸν εἰς κρίσιν αὐτοὺς ἀνταπέδωκα· ἐγὼ δὲ οὕσπερ ABCDER
ἀπολέσω ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ζῶντας, ἐν τῷ θανάτῳ οὐκ ἀπο-
δώσω.

XV. εἶπεν δὲ καὶ τὸν ἀρχιστράτηγον ἡ φωνὴ τοῦ
κυρίου· Μιχαὴλ, Μιχαὴλ, ὁ ἐμὸς λειτουργὸς, ἀπόστρε-
ψον τὸν Ἀβραὰμ εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ, ὅτι ἰδοὺ ἤγγικεν
τὸ τέλος αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ μέτρον τῆς ζωῆς αὐτοῦ τελειοῦται,
ὅπως ποιήσει διάταξιν περὶ πάντων καὶ εἴθ' οὕτως παρά-
λαβε αὐτὸν καὶ ἀνάγαγε πρός με. διαστρέψας δὲ ὁ ἀρχι-
στράτηγος τὸ ἅρμα καὶ τὴν νεφέλην, ἤγαγεν τὸν Ἀβραὰμ
εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ· καὶ ἀπελθὼν ἐν τῷ τρικλίνῳ αὐτοῦ,
ἐκάθισεν ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης αὐτοῦ· ἦλθεν δὲ Σάρρα ἡ γυνὴ
αὐτοῦ καὶ περιεπλάκη τοῖς ποσὶν τοῦ ἀσωμάτου καὶ ἱκε-
τεύουσα ἔλεγεν· Εὐχαριστῶ σοι, κύριέ μου, ὅτι ἤνεγκας τὸν
κύριόν μου Ἀβραάμ· ἰδοὺ γὰρ ἐνομίζομεν ἀναληφθῆναι ἀφ'
ἡμῶν. ἦλθεν δὲ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ, καὶ περιεπλάκη
ἐπὶ τὸν τράχηλον αὐτοῦ· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ πάντες οἱ δοῦλοι
καὶ αἱ δουλίδες αὐτοῦ περιεκύκλωσαν κύκλῳ τὸν Ἀβραὰμ
καὶ περιεπλάκησαν αὐτὸν δοξάζοντες τὸν θεόν. εἶπεν δὲ
ὁ ἀσώματος πρὸς αὐτόν· Ἄκουσον, δίκαιε Ἀβραάμ· ἰδοὺ
ἡ γυνή σου Σάρρα, ἰδοὺ καὶ ὁ ἠγαπημένος σου υἱὸς Ἰσαάκ,
ἰδοὺ καὶ πάντες οἱ παῖδες καὶ παιδίσκαι σου κυκλῷ σου·
ποίησον διάταξιν περὶ πάντων ὧν ἔχεις· ὅτι ἤγγικεν ἡ
ἡμέρα ἐν ᾗ μέλλεις ἐκ τοῦ σώματος ἐκδημεῖν καὶ ἔτι ἅπαξ
πρὸς τὸν κύριον ἔρχεσθαι. εἶπεν δὲ Ἀβραάμ· Ὁ κύριος
εἶπεν, ἢ σὺ ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ λέγεις ταῦτα; ὁ δὲ ἀρχιστράτηγος
εἶπεν· Ἄκουσον δίκαιε Ἀβραάμ· ὁ δεσπότης ἐκέλευσεν καὶ
ἐγώ σοι λέγω. εἶπεν δὲ Ἀβραάμ· Οὐ μή σοι ἀκολουθήσω.
ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ ἀρχιστράτηγος τὸν λόγον τοῦτον, εὐθέως
ἐξῆλθεν ἐκ προσώπου τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ καὶ ἀνῆλθεν εἰς τοὺς

2 ἀπολέσω] ἀποδώσω A 2, 3 ἀποδώσω] ἀπετίσωμαι A 6, 7 ὅτι ἰδοὺ —τελειοῦται] ὅτι καὶ τὸ μετρ.—ἐτελειοῦτο B; ὅτι ἰδοὺ ἤγγ. τὸ τέλ. τῆς ζ. αὐτοῦ CE 8 πάντων] περὶ τοῦ οἴκου αὐτοῦ (+καὶ τὰ ὑπάρχοντα αὐτοῦ B) καὶ πάντα ὅσα βούλεται AB 9, 10 διαστρέψας—νεφέλην] ADE (om τὸ ἅρμα καὶ A); διμερέψας B; om C 14 κύριέ μου] κύριε ὁ θς μου B 15 ἀναληφθῆναι] ἀναληφθέντα αὐτὸν A 21 ἰδοὺ—Ἰσαάκ] om B 23 ὧν ἔχεις] ὃ ἐὰν βούλῃ A; ὅσα βουλέσαι B 24 ἔτι ἅπαξ] om BCDE 27 ἄκουσον] om B δίκαιε] om C ὁ δεσπότης] ἅπερ ὁ δ. AB 27, 28 καὶ—λέγω] κἀγὼ ὑπήκω B 30 ἐξῆλθεν—Ἀβρ.] om CE

ABCDER οὐρανούς. καὶ ἔστη ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ὑψίστου καὶ εἶπεν· Κύριε παντοκράτορ, ἰδοὺ εἰσήκουσα τοῦ φίλου σου Ἀβραὰμ πάντα ὅσα εἶπεν πρός σε καὶ τὴν αἴτησιν αὐτοῦ ἐπλήρωσα, καὶ ἔδειξα αὐτῷ τὴν δυναστείαν σου καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν ὑπ' οὐρανὸν γῆν τε καὶ θάλασσαν, κρίσιν καὶ ἀνταπόδοσιν διὰ νεφέλης καὶ ἁρμάτων ἔδειξα αὐτῷ, καὶ πάλιν λέγει ὅτι Οὐκ ἀκολουθῶ σοι. καὶ ὁ ὕψιστος ἔφη πρὸς τὸν ἄγγελον· Εἰ καὶ πάλιν οὕτως λέγει ὁ φίλος μου Ἀβραὰμ ὅτι Οὐκ ἀκολουθῶ σοι; ὁ δὲ ἀρχάγγελος εἶπεν· Κύριε παντοκράτορ, οὕτως λέγει· καὶ ἐγὼ φείδομαι τοῦ ἅψασθαι αὐτοῦ, ὅτι ἐξ ἀρχῆς φίλος σου τυγχάνει καὶ πάντα τὰ ἀρεστὰ ἐνώπιόν σου ἐποίησεν· καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἄνθρωπος ὅμοιος αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, οὐ κἂν Ἰὼβ ὁ θαυμάσιος ἄνθρωπος· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο φείδομαι τοῦ ἅψασθαι αὐτοῦ· κέλευσον οὖν, ἀθάνατε βασιλεῦ, τί ῥῆμα γενήσεται.

XVI. τότε ὁ ὕψιστος λέγει· Κάλεσόν μοι ὧδε τὸν θάνατον τὸν κεκλημένον τὸ ἀναίσχυντον πρόσωπον καὶ ἀνέλεον βλέμμα. καὶ ἀπελθὼν Μιχαὴλ ὁ ἀσώματος εἶπεν τῷ θανάτῳ· Δεῦρο, καλεῖ σε ὁ δεσπότης τῆς κτίσεως, ὁ ἀθάνατος βασιλεύς. ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ θάνατος ἔφριξεν καὶ ἐτρόμαξεν δειλίᾳ πολλῇ συνεχόμενος, καὶ ἐλθὼν μετὰ φόβου πολλοῦ ἔστη ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ ἀοράτου πατρὸς, φρίττων στένων καὶ τρέμων, ἀπεκδεχόμενος τὴν κέλευσιν τοῦ δεσπότου. λέγει οὖν ὁ ἀόρατος θεὸς πρὸς τὸν θάνατον· Δεῦρο, τὸ πικρὸν καὶ ἄγριον τοῦ κόσμου ὄνομα, κρύψον

1 τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ὑψίστου] om τοῦ θεοῦ B; om τοῦ ὑψ. C 2, 3 ἰδοὺ—πρός σε] om CE 4 ἐπλήρωσα] ἐπλήρωσας B 5 γῆν—θάλασσαν] γῆς τε καὶ θαλάσσης A; γῆν θάλασσαν B; γῆν τε καὶ θαλάσσης CE 7 and 9 ἀκολουθῶ] -ήσω E 9—12 εἶπεν—πάντα] καὶ εἶπεν ἐκπροσώπου κῦ τοῦ θῦ ἡμῶν ὅτι ἐξ ἀρχῆς φ. σ. καὶ πάντα A; καὶ ὁ ἄγγελος ἔφη οὕτω λέγει ὁ φ. σου Α. καὶ ἔτι φείδομαι τοῦ ἅψασθαι αὐτόν· ἐπεὶ κ.τ.λ. B 11 ὅτι ἐξ ἀρχῆς] ἐπεὶ δὲ ὑπάρχει φίλος σου τυγχάνει B; ἐπὶ ἀρχὴν—ἐστιν CE 12 ἐποίησεν] πράτων CE 13, 14 οὐ—θαυμάσιος ἄνθρωπος] om CE 13 οὐ—Ἰὼβ] κἂν Ἰὼβ B; οὐ κἂν Ἰακὼβ A 15 κέλευσον] καὶ βλέψον CE 16 μοι ὧδε] ἡμῖν ἐδῶ B 17 τὸν κεκλ.] om BCE 18 ἀνέλεον βλέμμα] ἀνελεεῖ τὸ βλεμματι A; τὸν θάν. τὸν ἀναισχύντην καὶ ἀνελεεῖ καὶ ἀνείδη B 19 τῆς κτίσ.] om CE 21—23 καὶ ἐλθὼν—ἀπεκδεχ.] om A 22 ἀοράτου πατρὸς] δεσπ. θῦ B 24 ἀόρατος θ̄ς] om θ̄ς B; ὁ ἀσώματος CE πρὸς] om AB 25 τὸ πικρὸν—ὄνομα] δεῦρο τοῦ κόσμ. ἀγρ. ὄν. B; τὸ πικρ. ποτ. κ. ἄγριον ομα. CE (=ἄγριον ὄνομα) 25—p. 97, 2 κρύψον—ἀποβαλοῦ] κρύψαι σου τὴν πικρ. καὶ πάσας σου τὰς παρείας κ. τὰς πικρ. πασ. κ.τ.λ. A; κρυψον σου τ. πικρ. καὶ πᾶσαν σου τὴν σαπρίαν ἀποβ. CE

σου τὴν ἀγριότητα, σκέπασόν σου τὴν σαπρίαν, καὶ τὴν ABCDER
πικρίαν σου ἀπό σου ἀποβαλοῦ, καὶ περιβαλοῦ τὴν ὡραιότητά σου καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν δόξαν σου, καὶ κάτελθε εἰς τὸν φίλον μου τὸν Ἀβραὰμ καὶ λάβε αὐτὸν καὶ ἄγαγε αὐτὸν πρός με· ἀλλὰ καὶ νῦν λέγω σοι ὅτι μὴ ἐκφοβήσῃς αὐτὸν ἀλλὰ μετὰ κολακίας τοῦτον παράλαβε, ὅτι φίλος μου γνήσιος ὑπάρχει. ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ θάνατος ἐξῆλθεν ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ ὑψίστου καὶ περιεβάλετο στολὴν λαμπροτάτην καὶ ἐποίησεν ὄψιν ἡλιόμορφον καὶ γέγονεν εὐπρεπὴς καὶ ὡραῖος ὑπὲρ τοὺς υἱοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἀρχαγγέλου μορφὴν περικείμενος, τὰς παρειὰς αὐτοῦ πυρὶ ἀστράπτων, καὶ ἀπῆλθεν πρὸς τὸν Ἀβραάμ. ὁ δὲ δίκαιος Ἀβραὰμ ἐξῆλθεν ἐκ τοῦ τρικλίνου αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐκάθητο ὑποκάτω τῶν δένδρων τῶν Μαμβρινῶν, τὴν σιαγόνα αὐτοῦ τῇ χειρὶ κατέχων καὶ ἐκδεχόμενος τὴν ἔλευσιν τοῦ ἀρχαγγέλου Μιχαήλ. καὶ ἰδοὺ ὀσμὴ εὐωδίας ἤρχετο πρὸς αὐτὸν, καὶ φωτὸς ἀπαύγασμα· περιστραφεὶς δὲ Ἀβραὰμ εἶδεν τὸν θάνατον ἐρχόμενον πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐν πολλῇ δόξῃ καὶ ὡραιότητι· καὶ ἀναστὰς Ἀβραὰμ ὑπήντησεν αὐτῷ, νομίζων εἶναι τὸν ἀρχιστράτηγον τοῦ θεοῦ· καὶ ἰδὼν αὐτὸν ὁ θάνατος προσεκύνησεν αὐτὸν λέγων· Χαίροις, τίμιε Ἀβραὰμ, δικαία ψυχὴ, φίλε γνήσιε τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ὑψίστου, καὶ τῶν ἁγίων ἀγγέλων ὁμόσκηνε. εἶπεν δὲ Ἀβραὰμ πρὸς τὸν θάνατον· Χαίροις ἡλιόρατε, ἡλιόμορφε, συλλήπτωρ ἐνδοξότατε, φωτοφόρε, ἀνὴρ θαυμάσιε, πόθεν ἥκει ἡ σὴ ἐνδοξότης πρὸς ἡμᾶς, καὶ τίς εἶ σὺ, καὶ πόθεν ἐλήλυθας; λέγει οὖν ὁ θάνατος· Ἀβραὰμ δικαιότατε, ἰδοὺ λέγω σοι τὴν ἀλήθειαν· ἐγὼ εἰμὶ τὸ πικρὸν τοῦ θανάτου ποτήριον.

2, 3 *τὴν ὡραι.—καὶ κάτελθε*] (*ὅλην τὴν ἐνδοξότητα*) CDE; *τὴν ὡρ. σου τὴν εὐπρεπεστάτην καὶ κατ.* B 3 *εἰς*] *πρὸς* AD 4 *ἄγαγε*] *ἄγεις* B; *φέρεις* CE *αὐτὸν*] *τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔλθῃς ἐνθάδε* A 5 *ἀλλὰ—ἐκφοβ. αὐτὸν*] om B 6 *τοῦτον*] *ταύτην* B 7 *ὑπάρχει*] *ἐστιν* ACE 11 *περικείμ.*] *περιβαλλόμενος* A; *προκειμ.* CE *τὰς παρ.—ἀστράπτων*] *τὰς παρίας αὐτοῦ πῦρ ἀπαυγάζων* A; *ταῖς παρειαῖς αὐτ. περιαστρ.* B; om CE 14 *μαμβρ.*] *μαυριν.* ACE; *μελλιβρινων* B 15 *ἔλευσιν*] *κέλευσιν* A 16—18 *κ. φ. ἀπαύγ.—πρὸς αὐτὸν*] om CE 19 *ὑπήντησεν αὐτῷ*] *ὑπήντησεν αὐτὸν* AE; *ὑπηντήθη αὐτῷ* B 20 *εἶναι—θεοῦ*] *ἕνα τῶν ἀρχιστ. ὑπάρχων τοῦ θῦ* B 22 *τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ὑψίστου*] om *τοῦ θῦ* E; *τοῦ δεσπότου* B 23 *ἁγίων*] om A 24 *συλλήπτωρ*] om B; *θεομοσυλληπτωρ* A 25 *πόθεν—ἡ σὴ*] *πόθεν ἔοικας ἢ οὐ* A; *πόθεν η καινὴ σὴ* B; *πόθεν αἴηκεν ἡ ἐν σοι* CE 26 *ἐνδοξ.*] *ὑπερένδοξε* A

ABCDER λέγει αὐτῷ Ἀβραάμ· Οὐχὶ, ἀλλὰ σὺ εἶ ἡ εὐπρέπεια τοῦ κόσμου, σὺ εἶ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κάλλος τῶν ἀγγέλων καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, σὺ εἶ πάσης μορφῆς εὐμορφότερος, καὶ λέγεις ὅτι Ἐγὼ εἰμὶ τὸ πικρὸν τοῦ θανάτου ποτήριον καὶ οὐ λέγεις μᾶλλον ὅτι Ἐγὼ εἰμὶ παντὸς ἀγαθοῦ εὐμορφότερος; εἶπεν δὲ ὁ θάνατος· Ἐγὼ γὰρ λέγω σοι τὴν ἀλήθειαν· ὅπερ ὠνόμασέν με ὁ θεὸς, ἐκεῖνο καὶ λέγω σοι. εἶπεν δὲ Ἀβραάμ· Εἰς τί ἐλήλυθας ὧδε; εἶπεν δὲ ὁ θάνατος· Διὰ τὴν σὴν ἁγίαν ψυχὴν παραγέγονα. λέγει οὖν Ἀβραάμ· Οἶδα τί λέγεις, ἀλλ᾽ οὐ μή σε ἀκολουθήσω. ὁ δὲ θάνατος ἐν σιωπῇ γενόμενος οὐκ ἀπεκρίθη αὐτῷ λόγον.

XVII. ἀνέστη δὲ Ἀβραὰμ καὶ ἦλθεν εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ· ἠκολούθει δὲ καὶ ὁ θάνατος ἕως ἐκεῖ· ἀνέβη δὲ Ἀβραὰμ εἰς τὸ τρίκλινον αὐτοῦ· ἀνέβη δὲ καὶ ὁ θάνατος μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ· ἀνέπεσεν δὲ Ἀβραὰμ ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης αὐτοῦ· ἦλθεν δὲ καὶ ὁ θάνατος καὶ ἐκαθέσθη παρὰ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ. εἶπεν δὲ Ἀβραάμ· Ἄπελθε, ἄπελθε ἀπ᾽ ἐμοῦ, ὅτι θέλω ἀναπαύεσθαι ἐν τῇ κλίνῃ μου. λέγει ὁ θάνατος· Οὐκ ἀναχωρῶ ἕως οὗ λάβω τὸ πνεῦμά σου ἀπό σου. λέγει αὐτῷ Ἀβραάμ· Κατὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἀθανάτου σοι λέγω ἵνα μοι εἴπῃς τὸ ἀληθές· σὺ εἶ ὁ θάνατος; λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ θάνατος· Ἐγὼ εἰμὶ ὁ θάνατος· ἐγὼ εἰμὶ ὁ τὸν κόσμον λυμαίνων. εἶπεν δὲ Ἀβραάμ· Δέομαί σου, ἐπειδὴ σὺ εἶ ὁ θάνατος, ἀνάγγειλόν μοι, καὶ πρὸς πάντας οὕτως ἀπέρχῃ ἐν εὐμορφίᾳ καὶ δόξῃ καὶ ὡραιότητι τοιαύτῃ; καὶ ὁ θάνατος εἶπεν· Οὐχὶ, κύριέ μου Ἀβραάμ· αἱ γὰρ δικαιοσύναι σου καὶ τὸ ἄμετρον πέλαγος τῆς φιλοξενίας σου καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ἀγάπης σου τῆς πρὸς θεὸν ἐγένετο

1, 2 τοῦ κόσμου—ἀγγ. καὶ] om CE; om τῶν ἀγγ. καὶ B 5 ἀγαθοῦ] παν ανου A 6 ὅπερ] ὁποῖον ὄνομα ὀνομασεν A 8, 9 διὰ—ψυχὴν] διὰ τῆς δικαίας σου ψυχῆς AB 12—17 ἀνέστη—πόδας αὐτοῦ] A; various clauses are omitted by each of the others 21 ἵνα—ἀληθές] εἰπέ ἡμῖν τὸ ἄλ. A; ἵνα μὴ εἴπῃς (εἰ) BCE 22 ἐγὼ—θάνατος] om ACDE 22, 23 ὁ—λυμαίνων] τοῦ κόσμου ὁ λυμέων B 25 καὶ ὡραι.] om B 27—p. 99, 5 τὸ ἄμετρον—ἀνίλεῳ] om πέλαγος; has ἄγων τὸν στέφανον for ἐγέν. στεφ.; τοῖς δὲ οὗτοις (οὕτως) ἀπέρχομαι ἐν πολλῇ...ἀγριότητα...ἀνηλαιω ἀπέρχομαι τοῖς ἁμαρτ. τοὺς μὴ πράξαντας ἔλαιον A; στεφανος ἐπὶ τὴν κεφ. σου κ. ἐν δόξη κ. εὐπρεπεια κ. ἡσυχ. κ. ἀγαλλιάσει κ. ἀκολακία προσερχ....σαπρια κ. ἀγρ. τῷ βλέματι κ. μεγίστη πικρία κ. ἀνηλεῶς B; τὸ μέτρον τῆς φιλοξ. σου ἐγεν. ἡ μορφη μου· τοῖς δὲ ἁμ. ἐν ἀγριότητι κ. πικρία πολλῇ CE

στέφανος ἐπὶ τῆς ἐμῆς κεφαλῆς, καὶ ἐν ὡραιότητι καὶ ἐν ABCDER
ἡσυχίᾳ πολλῇ καὶ κολακίᾳ προσέρχομαι τοῖς δικαίοις· τοῖς δὲ ἁμαρτωλοῖς προσέρχομαι ἐν πολλῇ σαπρίᾳ καὶ ἀγριότητι καὶ μεγίστῃ πικρίᾳ καὶ ἀγρίῳ τῷ βλέμματι καὶ ἀνίλεῳ. εἶπεν δὲ Ἀβραάμ· Δέομαί σου, ἐπάκουσόν μου καὶ δεῖξόν μοι τὴν ἀγριότητά σου καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν σαπρίαν καὶ πικρίαν. καὶ εἶπεν ὁ θάνατος· Οὐ μὴ δυνηθῇς θεάσασθαι τὴν ἐμὴν ἀγριότητα, δικαιότατε Ἀβραάμ. εἶπεν δὲ Ἀβραάμ· Ναί, δυνήσομαι θεάσασθαί σου πᾶσαν τὴν ἀγριότητα ἕνεκεν τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος, ὅτι ἡ δύναμις τοῦ θεοῦ μου τοῦ ἐπουρανίου μετ' ἐμοῦ ἐστίν. τότε ὁ θάνατος ἀπεδύσατο πᾶσαν αὐτοῦ τὴν ὡραιότητα καὶ τὸ κάλλος, καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν δόξαν καὶ τὴν ἡλιόμορφον μορφὴν ἣν περιέκειτο, καὶ περιεβάλετο στολὴν τυραννικὴν, καὶ ἐποίησεν ὄψιν ζοφερὰν καὶ παντοίων θηρίων ἀγριωτέραν καὶ πάσης ἀκαθαρσίας ἀκαθαρσιωτέραν· καὶ ἐπέδειξεν τῷ Ἀβραὰμ κεφαλὰς δρακόντων πυρίνους ἑπτὰ, καὶ πρόσωπα δεκατέσσαρα, πυρὸς φλογεστάτου καὶ πολλῆς ἀγριότητος, καὶ πρόσωπον σκοτοειδὲς καὶ πρόσωπον ἐχίδνης ζοφωδέστατον καὶ πρόσωπον κρημνοῦ φρικωδεστάτου καὶ πρόσωπον ἀσπίδος ἀγριώτερον καὶ πρόσωπον λέοντος φοβεροῦ καὶ πρόσωπον κεραστοῦ καὶ βασιλίσκου· ἔδειξεν δὲ καὶ πρόσωπον ῥομφαίας πυρίνης καὶ πρόσωπον ξιφηφόρον καὶ πρόσωπον ἀστραπῆς φοβερῶς ἐξαστράπτον καὶ ἦχος βροντῆς φοβερᾶς· ἔδειξεν δὲ καὶ ἕτερον πρόσωπον θαλάσσης ἀγρίας κυματιζούσης καὶ ποταμὸν ἄγριον κοχλάζοντα καὶ δράκοντα τρικέφαλον φοβερὸν καὶ ποτήριον μεμεστωμένον φαρμάκων, καὶ ἁπλῶς εἰπεῖν ἔδειξεν αὐτῷ πολλὴν ἀγριότητα καὶ πικρίαν ἀβάστακτον καὶ πᾶσαν

6 δεῖξον] δίδαξον AB 8—10 Ἀβρ. εἶπεν—ἀγριότητα om B 10, 11 τοῦ ζῶντος—θεοῦ μου] om C; om τοῦ ζῶντος E; om μου B 12 ἀπεδύσατο] ἀπεκδ. A; om B 13 ἡλιόμ.] om BCDE 14 ἣν] om B περιέκειτο] περιεκέκτητο A 15 ζοφ.] φοβερὰν B παντ. θηρ.] παντὸς θηρίου A; πάντων θηρ. τὴν ἀγριότητα B 16 καὶ πασ. ἀκαθ.] om CE ἀκαθαρσιωτέραν] om B ἐπέδειξεν] ὑπέδ. AB 17 τῷ] τὸν codd πυρίνους] om. CE 18 πυρὸς φλογεστάτου] πυρὸς φλογέστερον A; πυρὸς ἀγριώτερον C; πυρὸς καὶ πολλὴν ἀγρ. E 18, 19 καὶ πολλ. ἀγρ.] om B 19—28 The text mainly from A. The variations are innumerable, chiefly in the matter of omissions.

ABCDER νόσον θανατηφόρον ὡς τῆς ὀσμῆς τοῦ θανάτου. καὶ ἐκ τῆς πολλῆς πικρίας καὶ ἀγριότητος ἐτελεύτησαν παῖδες καὶ παιδίσκαι τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὡσεὶ χιλιάδες ἑπτά· καὶ ὁ δίκαιος Ἀβραὰμ ἦλθεν εἰς ὀλιγωρίαν θανάτου ὥστε ἐκλείπειν τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτοῦ.

XVIII. καὶ ταῦτα οὕτως ἰδὼν ὁ πανίερος Ἀβραὰμ εἶπεν πρὸς τὸν θάνατον· Δέομαί σου, πανώλεθρε θάνατε, κρύψον σου τὴν ἀγριότητα καὶ περιβαλοῦ τὴν ὡραιότητα καὶ μορφὴν ἣν εἶχες τὸ πρότερον. εὐθέως δὲ ὁ θάνατος ἔκρυψεν τὴν ἀγριότητα αὐτοῦ καὶ περιεβάλετο τὴν ὡραιότητα αὐτοῦ ἣν εἶχεν τὸ πρότερον. εἶπεν δὲ Ἀβραὰμ πρὸς τὸν θάνατον· Τί τοῦτο ἐποίησας, ὅτι ἀπέκτεινας πάντας τοὺς παῖδας καὶ παιδίσκας μου; εἰ ὁ θεὸς ἕνεκεν τούτου σε σήμερον ἀπέστειλεν ὧδε; καὶ ὁ θάνατος εἶπεν· Οὐχί, κύριέ μου Ἀβραὰμ, οὐκ ἔστιν καθὼς σὺ λέγεις· ἀλλὰ διά σε ἀπεστάλην ἕως ὧδε. εἶπεν δὲ Ἀβραὰμ πρὸς τὸν θάνατον· Καὶ πῶς οὗτοι τεθνήκασιν; οὐ κἂν ὁ κύριος εἶπεν; εἶπεν δὲ ὁ θάνατος· Πίστευσον, Ἀβραὰμ δικαιότατε, ὅτι καὶ τοῦτο θαυμαστόν ἐστιν, ὅτι κἂν καὶ σὺ μετ' αὐτῶν οὐχ ἡρπάγης· ἀλλ' ὅμως λέγω σοι τὴν ἀλήθειαν· καὶ γὰρ εἰ μὴ ἦν ἡ δεξιὰ χεὶρ τοῦ θεοῦ μετά σου ἐν τῇ ὥρᾳ ἐκείνῃ, καὶ σὺ τοῦ βίου τούτου ἀπαλλάξαι εἶχες. ὁ δὲ δίκαιος Ἀβραὰμ εἶπεν· Νῦν ἔγνωκα ἐγὼ ὅτι εἰς ὀλιγωρίαν θανάτου ἦλθον, ὥστε ἐκλείπειν τὸ πνεῦμά μου· ἀλλὰ δέομαί σου, πανώλεθρε θάνατε, ἐπειδὴ καὶ οἱ παῖδες ἀώρως τεθνήκασιν, δεῦρο δεηθῶμεν κυρίῳ τῷ θεῷ ἡμῶν ὅπως ἐπακούσῃ ἡμῶν καὶ ἀναστήσῃ τοὺς ἀώρως τεθνήξαντας διὰ τῆς σῆς ἀγριότητος. καὶ εἶπεν ὁ θάνατος· Ἀμὴν γένοιτο. ἀναστὰς οὖν ὁ Ἀβραὰμ ἔπεσεν ἐπὶ πρόσωπον τῆς γῆς προσευχόμενος καὶ ὁ θάνατος μετ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἀπέστειλεν ὁ θεὸς πνεῦμα ζωῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς τελευτήσαντας, καὶ ἀνεζωοποιήθησαν. τότε οὖν ὁ δίκαιος Ἀβραὰμ ἔδωκεν δόξαν τῷ θεῷ.

XIX. καὶ ἀνελθὼν ἐν τῷ τρικλίνῳ αὐτοῦ, ἀνέπεσεν· ἐλθὼν δὲ καὶ ὁ θάνατος ἔστη ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ. εἶπεν δὲ

1 θανατηφ. ὡς τῆς ὀσμῆς τοῦ θαν.] θανατηφ. ἀόρως θνήσκοντα ἀλλ' ὑπερέβαινεν ἐκ πολλῆς B ὡς—θανάτου] om CE 3 τὸν ἀριθμ.—χιλιάδες] om A 17 οὐ—εἶπεν] ἢ εἰς τοῦτο κς ἀπέστειλέ σε σήμερον τοῦ θανατῶσαι αὐτούς; καὶ πῶς τούτους ἀπέκτεινας θανάτῳ, εἰ οὐκ εἶπε σοι κς D

Ἀβραὰμ πρὸς αὐτόν· Ἔξελθε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ ὅτι θέλω ἀνα- ABCDER
παύεσθαι ὅτι ἐν ὀλιγωρίᾳ περίκειται τὸ πνεῦμά μου. καὶ
ὁ θάνατος εἶπεν· Οὐκ ἀναχωρῶ ἀπό σου ἕως οὗ λάβω τὴν
ψυχήν σου. καὶ ὁ Ἀβραὰμ αὐστηρῷ τῷ προσώπῳ καὶ
ὀργιλῷ τῷ βλέμματι εἶπεν πρὸς τὸν θάνατον· Τίς ὁ προ-
στάξας σοι ταῦτα λέγειν; σὺ ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ λέγεις ταῦτα τὰ
ῥήματα καυχώμενος, καὶ οὐ μή σε ἀκολουθήσω, ἕως οὗ ὁ
ἀρχιστράτηγος Μιχαὴλ ἔλθῃ πρός με καὶ ἀπέλθω μετ'
αὐτοῦ· ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο λέγω σοι, εἰ μὲν θέλεις ἵνα ἀκο-
λουθήσω σοι, δίδαξόν με πάσας σου τὰς μεταμορφώσεις,
τὰς ἑπτὰ κεφαλὰς τῶν δρακόντων τὰς πυρίνας, καὶ τί τὸ
πρόσωπον τοῦ κρημνοῦ, καὶ τίς ἡ ῥομφαία ἡ ἀπότομος,
καὶ τίς ὁ ποταμὸς ὁ μεγάλα κοχλάζων, καὶ τίς ἡ βεβορ-
βορωμένη θάλασσα ἢ ἀγρίως κυματίζουσα· δίδαξόν με καὶ
περὶ τῆς βροντῆς τῆς ἀνυποφόρου καὶ τῆς φοβερᾶς ἀστρα-
πῆς καὶ τί τὸ ποτήριον τὸ δυσῶδες τὸ φάρμακα μεμεστω-
μένον· δίδαξόν με περὶ πάντων. καὶ ὁ θάνατος εἶπεν·
Ἄκουσον, δίκαιε Ἀβραὰμ, τοὺς ἑπτὰ αἰῶνας ἐγὼ λυμαίνω
τὸν κόσμον καὶ πάντας εἰς ᾅδην κατάγω, βασιλεῖς καὶ
ἄρχοντας, πλουσίους καὶ πένητας, δούλους καὶ ἐλευθέρους
εἰς πυθμένα ᾅδου παραπέμπω· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἔδειξά σοι
τὰς ἑπτὰ κεφαλὰς τῶν δρακόντων· τὸ δὲ πρόσωπον τοῦ
πυρὸς ἔδειξά σοι, διότι πολλοὶ ὑπὸ πυρὸς κεκαυμένοι
τελευτῶσιν καὶ διὰ προσώπου πυρὸς τὸν θάνατον βλέ-
πουσιν· τὸ δὲ πρόσωπον τοῦ κρημνοῦ ἔδειξά σοι διότι
πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀπὸ ὕψους δένδρων ἢ κρημνῶν
φοβερῶν κατερχόμενοι, καὶ ἀνύπαρκτοι γινόμενοι, τελευ-
τῶσιν, καὶ εἰς τύπον κρημνοῦ φοβεροῦ θεωροῦσιν τὸν
θάνατον· τὸ δὲ πρόσωπον τῆς ῥομφαίας ἔδειξά σοι, διότι
πολλοὶ ἐν πολέμοις ὑπὸ ῥομφαίας ἀναιροῦνται, καὶ θεω-
ροῦσιν ἐν ῥομφαίᾳ τὸν θάνατον· τὸ δὲ πρόσωπον τοῦ
μεγάλου ποταμοῦ τοῦ κοχλάζοντος ἔδειξά σοι, διότι πολ-

2 περίκειται] πεπίρακται B (? τετάρακται) 4, 5 αὐστηρῷ—βλέμμ.] στερρῷ τῷ βλεμμ. κ. ὀργ. τῷ προσ. A 7—17 ἕως οὗ—θάνατος εἶπεν] om CE 20 δούλ. κ. ἐλ.] γέροντας καὶ νέους D 21 εἰς πυθμ. ᾅδου παραπ.]; om ACDE 22, 23 τοῦ πυρὸς] πικρῶς B 23 διότι πολλοὶ—παραλόγως (§ XIX. fin)] om CE (which read ἔδειξά σοι διὰ τὴν πολλήν σου ἄδιαν τῆς διατάξεως); om D 23, 24 πυρὸς κεκαυμ.—διὰ] om B 27 κατερχ.—γινόμ.] om B

ABCDER λοὶ ὑπὸ ἐμβάσεως ὑδάτων πολλῶν ἁρπαζόμενοι καὶ ὑπὸ μεγίστων ποταμῶν ἐπαιρόμενοι ἀποπνίγονται καὶ τελευτῶσιν καὶ ἀώρως τὸν θάνατον βλέπουσιν· τὸ δὲ πρόσωπον τῆς θαλάσσης τῆς ἀγρίας κυματιζούσης ἔδειξά σοι, διότι πολλοὶ ἐν θαλάσσῃ κλυδωνίῳ μεγάλῳ περιπεσόντες ναυάγιοι γεγονότες ὑποβρύχιοι γίνονται θαλάσσιον θάνατον βλέποντες· τὴν δὲ βροντὴν τὴν ἀνυπόφορον καὶ τὴν φοβερὰν ἀστραπὴν ἔδειξά σοι διότι πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐν ὥρᾳ θυμοῦ τυχόντες βροντῆς ἀνυποφόρου καὶ ἀστραπῆς φοβερᾶς ἐλθούσης ἐν ἁρπαγῇ ἀνθρώπων γίνονται καὶ οὕτως τὸν θάνατον βλέπουσιν· ἔδειξά σοι καὶ θηρία ἰόβολα, ἀσπίδας καὶ βασιλίσκους καὶ παρδάλεις καὶ λέοντας καὶ σκύμνους καὶ ἄρκους καὶ ἐχίδνας καὶ ἁπλῶς εἰπεῖν παντὸς θηρίου πρόσωπον ἔδειξά σοι, δικαιότατε, διότι πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὑπὸ θηρίων ἀναιροῦνται, ἕτεροι δὲ ὑπὸ ὄφεων ἰοβόλων <δρακόντων καὶ ἀσπίδων καὶ κεραστῶν καὶ βασιλίσκων> καὶ ἐχίδνης ἀποφυσούμενοι ἐκλείπουσιν· ἔδειξά σοι δὲ καὶ ποτήρια δηλητήρια φάρμακα μεμεστωμένα διότι πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὑπὸ ἑτέρων ἀνθρώπων φάρμακα ποτισθέντες παρ' εὐθὺς ἀπαλλάσσονται παραλόγως.

XX. εἶπεν δὲ Ἀβραάμ· Δέομαί σου, ἔστιν καὶ παράλογος θάνατος; ἀνάγγειλόν μοι. λέγει ὁ θάνατος· Ἀμὴν ἀμήν, λέγω σοι ἐν ἀληθείᾳ θεοῦ, ὅτι ἑβδομήκοντα δύο εἰσὶν θάνατοι· καὶ εἷς μὲν θάνατος ὑπάρχει ὁ δίκαιος ὁ ἔχων ὅρον· καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων παρὰ μίαν ὥραν εἰς θάνατον ἔρχονται παραδιδόμενοι τῷ τάφῳ· ἰδοὺ γὰρ ἀνήγγειλά σοι πάντα ὅσα ᾐτήσω· ἄρτι λέγω σοι, δικαιότατε Ἀβραάμ, ἄφησαι πᾶσαν βουλὴν καὶ κατάλιπε τοῦ ἐρωτᾶν

1 ὑπὸ ἐμβάσεως] ὑπὸ δάσεως A; ὑπὸ ἐμμάσεως B 3 ἀώρως] ἀέρος A; ἀοράτως B 6 ὑποβρύχιοι] ὑποβρύχιον A; om B 7 τὴν δὲ βρ. κ.τ.λ.] B; τῆς thrice A 8—10 This passage is corrupt. A has: διότι—ἀνῶν ἐν ὥρᾳ θυμοῦ δρακόντων—βασιλίσκων (v. l. 16) καὶ σπαρδάλις καὶ λεοντας. B has εδειξα σοι εν ω θυμον δρακ. κ. ασπ. και τυχοντες (? read θανάτου for θυμοῦ) 11 οὕτως] οὗτοι B 18 ἐκλείπουσιν] a blank space of two lines occurs here in A 22, 23 δέομαι—ὁ θάνατος] καὶ τί ἔστιν ὁ ἄωρος θανατος· ἀμὴν λέγω σοι ἰδοὺ ἀνάγγηλαν σοι πάντα ἀρτίως γάρ σοι λέγω δικ. Αβρ. (l. 28) C; δέομαί σου θάνατε ἀνάγγειλόν μοι καὶ τί ἔστιν ἄορος θάνατος εἰς τὴν παραλογίαν· ἀμὴν λέγω σοι ἐν ἀληθείᾳ τοῦ θῦ ὅτι εὐδομήκοντα δύο θάνατοι εἰσὶν καὶ ἰδοὺ κ.τ.λ. (as C) E

τι ἅπαξ· καὶ δεῦρο ἀκολούθει μοι καθὼς ὁ θεὸς καὶ κριτὴς ABCDER
τῶν ἁπάντων προσέταξέν μοι. εἶπεν δὲ Ἀβραὰμ πρὸς
τὸν θάνατον· Ἄπελθε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ ἔτι μικρὸν, ἵνα ἀναπαύ-
σωμαι ἐν τῇ κλίνῃ μου, ὅτι ἀθυμία πολλή μοι ἐστίν· ἀφ'
οὗ γὰρ ἐθεασάμην σε τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς μου, ἡ ἰσχύς μου
ἐξέλιπεν, πάντα δὲ τὰ μέλη τῆς σαρκός μου δίκην μολύ-
βδου βάρος μοι φαίνονται, καὶ τὸ πνεῦμά μου ἐπὶ πολὺ
ταλανίζεται. μεταστῆθι ἐν ὀλίγοις· εἶπον γὰρ, οὐχ ὑπο-
φέρω θεωρεῖν σου τὸ εἶδος. ἦλθεν δὲ Ἰσαὰκ ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ
καὶ ἔπεσεν ἐπὶ τὸ στῆθος αὐτοῦ κλαίων· ἦλθεν δὲ καὶ ἡ
γυνὴ αὐτοῦ Σάρρα καὶ περιεπλάκη τοῖς ποσὶν αὐτοῦ ὀδυ-
ρομένη πικρῶς. ἦλθοσαν καὶ πάντες οἱ δοῦλοι αὐτοῦ καὶ
αἱ δοῦλαι καὶ περιεκύκλουν τὴν κλίνην αὐτοῦ ὀδυρόμενοι
σφόδρα. ὁ δὲ Ἀβραὰμ ἦλθεν εἰς ὀλιγωρίαν θανάτου·
καὶ εἶπεν ὁ θάνατος πρὸς τὸν Ἀβραάμ· Δεῦρο ἄσπασαί
τὴν δεξιάν μου· καὶ ἔλθῃ σοι ἱλαρότης καὶ ζωὴ καὶ δύνα-
μις. πεπλάνηκεν γὰρ τὸν Ἀβραὰμ ὁ θάνατος· καὶ ἠσπά-
σατο τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ, καὶ εὐθέως ἐκολλᾶτο ἡ ψυχὴ αὐτοῦ
ἐν τῇ χειρὶ τοῦ θανάτου· καὶ εὐθέως παρέστη Μιχαὴλ ὁ
ἀρχάγγελος μετὰ πλήθους ἀγγέλων, καὶ ἦραν τὴν τιμίαν
αὐτοῦ ψυχὴν ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν αὐτῶν ἐν σινδόνι θεοϋφαντῷ·
καὶ μυρίσμασι θεοπνεύστοις καὶ ἀρώμασιν ἐκήδευσαν
τὸ σῶμα τοῦ δικαίου Ἀβραὰμ ἕως τρίτης ἡμέρας τῆς
τελειώσεως αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἔθαψαν αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ γῇ τῆς ἐπαγ-
γελίας, ἐν τῇ δρυῒ τῇ Μαμβρῆ, τήν τε τιμίαν αὐτοῦ ψυχὴν
ὠψίκευον οἱ ἄγγελοι καὶ ἀνήρχοντο εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ψάλ-
λοντες τὸν τρισάγιον ὕμνον τῷ δεσπότῃ τῶν ὅλων θεῷ, καὶ
ἔστησαν αὐτὴν εἰς προσκύνησιν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πατρός· καὶ
δὴ πολλῆς ἀνυμνήσεως καὶ δοξολογίας γενομένης πρὸς
κύριον, προσκυνήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ, ἦλθεν ἡ ἄχραντος
φωνὴ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πατρὸς λέγουσα οὕτως· Ἄρατε οὖν τὸν

9 εἶδος]+ὡσεὶ θρόμβη αἵματος A 10 ἔπεσεν] πεσὼν A 10, 11 κλαίων—Σ. καὶ] περιεπλάκη τοῖς ποσὶν τοῦ Α. ὀδυρόμενος A 14 σφόδρα]+καὶ ἐπέταξεν ἐλευθερωθῆναι αὐτοὺς πάντας D 18 ἐκολλεῖτο A; κεκόληκεν B; κολυται C; κεκολληται E 24 ἐν τῇ γῇ τῆς ἐπ.] om BCDE 29 ἀνυμνήσεως] δεήσεως B; ὑμνήσεως CE 29—31 γενομένης—ἄρατε οὖν] γενομένης πρὸς κν̄, ὑπάγουν τὴν τιμίαν αὐτοῦ ψ. εἰς τ. Π. B 30 προσκ. δὲ τοῦ Α.] CE; om ABD 31 τοῦ —πατρὸς] om BCDE

ABCDER φίλον μου τὸν Ἀβραὰμ εἰς τὸν παράδεισον, ἔνθα εἰσὶν αἱ σκηναὶ τῶν δικαίων μου καὶ μοναὶ τῶν ἁγίων μου Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακὼβ ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ αὐτοῦ, ἔνθα οὐκ ἔστιν πόνος, οὐ λύπη, οὐ στεναγμὸς, ἀλλ᾽ εἰρήνη καὶ ἀγαλλίασις καὶ ζωὴ ἀτελεύτητος. [μεθ᾽ οὗ καὶ ἡμεῖς, ἀδελφοί μου ἀγαπητοὶ, τοῦ πατριάρχου Ἀβραὰμ τὴν φιλοξενίαν μιμησώμεθα καὶ τὴν ἐνάρετον αὐτοῦ κτησώμεθα πολιτείαν, ὅπως ἀξιωθῶμεν τῆς αἰωνίου ζωῆς, δοξάζοντες τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὸν υἱὸν καὶ τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα· αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Ἀμήν.]

2, 3 μου καὶ μοναὶ—κόλπῳ αὐτοῦ] om BCDE (παραδ. ἔνθα εἰσελεύσονται αἱ ψ. τῶν δικ. ἔνθα οὐκ B) 5 οὗ] ὧν CE 6 μιμησώμεθα] μιμίσασθε CE; ζηλώσωμεν A 6, 7 καὶ—πολιτ.] om B; κ. τὴν ἀγάπην κτισώμεθα CE 8, 9 δοξάζ.—πνεῦμα] ἅμα σὺν τῷ ἀνάρχῳ αὐτοῦ $\overline{\text{πρι}}$ καὶ τῷ ὁμοουσίῳ καὶ ζωοποιῷ αὐτοῦ $\overline{\text{πνι}}$ πάντοτε B 9, 10 αὐτῷ—ἀμήν] νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ κ. εἰς τ. αἰ. τῶν αἰ. ἀμὴν ABE

B.

ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΟΥ ΑΒΡΑΑΜ.

[Τῇ κυριακῇ πρὸ τῆς χριστοῦ γεννήσεως τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων. Εὐλόγησον δέσποτα.]

I. Ἐγένετο ἡνίκα ἤγγισαν αἱ ἡμέραι τοῦ θανάτου ABC
τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ, εἶπεν κύριος πρὸς Μιχαήλ· Ἀνάστηθι καὶ
πορεύθητι πρὸς Ἀβραὰμ τὸν δοῦλόν μου, καὶ εἰπὲ αὐτῷ
ὅπως ἐξελεύσῃ τοῦ βίου, ὅτι ἰδοὺ ἐπληρώθησαν αἱ ἡμέραι
τῆς προσκαίρου ζωῆς σου· ὅπως διοικήσῃ τὰ τοῦ οἴκου
αὐτοῦ πρὶν ἀποθανεῖν.

II. καὶ ἐπορεύθη Μιχαὴλ καὶ ἦλθεν πρὸς Ἀβραὰμ,
καὶ εὗρεν αὐτὸν καθιζόμενον ἔμπροσθεν τῶν βοῶν αὐτοῦ
εἰς ἀροτριασμόν· ὑπῆρχεν δὲ γηραλέος πάνυ τῇ ἰδέᾳ· εἶχεν
δὲ ἐνηγκαλισμένον τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ. ἰδὼν οὖν Ἀβραὰμ τὸν
ἀρχάγγελον Μιχαὴλ, ἀναστὰς ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἠσπάσατο αὐτὸν,

A=Par. Gr. 1613. B=Par. Suppl. Grec 162. C=Cod. Vind. Theol. Gr. cxxvi.

Tit. Διήγησις περὶ τῆς διαθήκης καὶ περὶ τοῦ θανάτου τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πρς ἡμῶν Ἀ. τοῦ πριάρχου καὶ δικαίου καὶ φιλοξένου. Δέσπ. εὐλ. B; Λόγος περὶ τῆς θανῆς τοῦ Ἀ. ὅτε ἀπέστειλεν κς ὁ θς τὸν ἄγγελον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἦρεν αὐτὸν σωματικῶς εἰς τὰ ἐπουράνια C

1, 2 ἐγένετο—Μιχαήλ] Ἡνίκα ἐπληροῦντο αἱ ἡμ. τῆς ὅλης βιωτῆς τοῦ παντευλογήτου κ. δικαίου πρς ἡμῶν Ἀ. τοῦ πατριάρχου, εἶπεν κς πρὸς τὸν μέγαν ἀρχιστράτηγον Μιχ. B; ἐγένετο ἡνίκα ἐφθησεν ἡ θανὴ τοῦ Ἀ., ἀπέστειλεν κς θς Μιχ. τὸν ἀρχιστράτηγον κ. εἶπεν αὐτῷ C 8, 9 ἔμπροσθεν—ἀροτρ.] ἐμπρ. τῶν ἀροτριωτῶν ἐν τῷ ἀγρῷ αὐτοῦ C 9, 10 εἶχεν—αὐτοῦ] om AC 11 ἀναστὰς—γῆς] om AB

ABC μὴ εἰδὼς τίς ἐστιν, καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτόν· Σῶσόν σε ὁ θεός· ἄναστα καλῶς πορευόμενος τὴν ὁδόν σου. καὶ ἀπεκρίθη αὐτῷ Μιχαήλ· Φιλάνθρωπος εἶ σὺ, καλὲ πάτερ. καὶ ἀπεκρίθη Ἀβραὰμ καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ· Ἐλθέ, ἔγγισόν μοι, ἀδελφὲ, καὶ καθέζου ὀλίγην ὥραν ἵνα προστάξω ἐνεχθῆναι ζῶον, ἵνα ἀπέλθωμεν ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ μου καὶ ἀναπαύῃς μετ' ἐμοῦ, ὅτι πρὸς ἑσπέρᾳ ἐστὶν, καὶ τῷ πρωΐ ἀναστὰς πορεύου ὅπου ἂν βούλῃ, μήπως συναντήσῃ σοι θηρίον πονηρὸν καὶ καταικίσῃ σε. ἠρώτησεν δὲ Μιχαὴλ τὸν Ἀβραὰμ λέγων· Εἰπέ μοι τὸ ὄνομά σου, πρὶν εἰσελθεῖν ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ σου, μὴ ἐπιβαρὴς γένωμαί σοι. καὶ ἀπεκρίθη Ἀβραὰμ καὶ εἶπεν· Οἱ γονεῖς μου ὠνόμασάν με Ἀβρὰμ, καὶ ὁ κύριος ἐπωνόμασέν με Ἀβραὰμ, λέγων· Ἀνάστηθι καὶ πορεύου ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου σου καὶ ἐκ τῆς συγγενείας σου, καὶ δεῦρο εἰς γῆν ἣν ἄν σοι δείξω· καὶ ἀπελθόντος μου εἰς τὴν γῆν ἣν ὑπέδειξέ μοι ὁ κύριος, εἴρηκέν μοι· Οὐκέτι κληθήσεται τὸ ὄνομά σου Ἀβρὰμ, ἀλλ' ἔσται τὸ ὄνομά σου Ἀβραάμ. ἀπεκρίθη Μιχαὴλ καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ· Συγχώρησόν μοι, πάτερ μου, ἄνθρωπε τοῦ θεοῦ μεμελετημένε, ὅτι ξένος εἰμὶ, καὶ ἤκουσα περί σου ὅτε ἀπῆλθες σταδίους τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ἤνεγκας μόσχον, καὶ ἔθυσας αὐτὸν, ξενιζόμενος ἀγγέλους ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ σου, ἵνα ἀναπαυθῶσιν. ταῦτα ἀμφότεροι λαλήσαντες, ἀναστάντες ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ ἐπορεύοντο. ἐκάλεσεν δὲ Ἀβραὰμ ἕνα τῶν παίδων αὐτοῦ καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ· Πορεύθητι, ἄγαγέ μοι κτῆνος ὅπως καθίσῃ ἐπ'

4, 5 κ. εἶπεν—καθέζου] εἶπεν· εὐλογημένος εἶ· καὶ σὺ καλὲ περ κ. ὁ Ἀ. αὖθης πρὸς αὐτὸν φιλάνθρωπος ἐλθὲ ἀδελφὲ ἔγγιστα μου κ. κάθησον B 4—11 κ. εἶπεν—ἀπεκρίθη] κ. καθίσαντες ὁμοῦ ἠρώτησεν Ἀ. τὸν ἄγγελον λέγων· ἄνθρωπε πορευόμενος τὴν ὁδὸν πόθεν ἔρχει κ. ποῦ ἀπέρχει· ἀπεκρίθη αὐτῷ M. στρατιώτης εἰμὶ κ. πορευομ. τ. ὁδ. ἔμαθον περὶ τῆς φιλανθρωπίας σου κ. ἦλθον πρὸς σὲ τοῦ ἰδεῖν τίς εἶ σύ· κ. εἶπεν C 5, 6 ἵνα—ζῶον] ὅπως φθάσῃ ἄλογον ζῶον A; ὅπως παρακελεύσομαι τοῦ ἀχθῆναι ζῶα C 7—9 ὅτι—καταικ. σε] νῦν δὲ ἐὰν πορευει πρὸς ἑσπέραν ἐστὶν κ. ἴσος πορευόμενος τῇ νυκτὶ ταραχθῆς διὰ τηνὸς νυκτερινοῦ φαντάσματος B 9 καταικίσῃ] κατηχήσῃ A; ταραχθεὶς C 12, 13 οἱ γονεῖς—λέγων] Ἀβρὰμ μὲν ἤκουον τὸ πρότερον ὁ δὲ κς̄ ἐκάλεσέν με τὸ δεύτερον κ. εἶπεν μοι B 18, 19 Συγχώρ.—μεμελετημ.] ξενίζομαί σε ἄνθρωπε τοῦ θῦ ὑπερεπενούμεναι B; συγχωρ. μοι πάτερ ὅτι ἐπιξενοῦμαι ἄνθρωπε τοῦ θῦ καὶ μέμνημαι C 21 ἔθυσας αὐτὸν] ἔθηκας αὐτῷ μόσχους A; om B 21, 22 ξενιζομ. ἀγγ.] ξενιζομένους A; om B 22, 23 ταῦτα—λαλήσ.] om AC 23—p. 31, 3 ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ—οἴκῳ σου] ἐπορεύθησαν· ἐκάλεσεν—εἶπεν· πορεύθητι ἀγαγεῖν

αὐτὸν ὁ ξένος, ὅτι ἐκοπιάθη ἐκ τῆς ὁδοιπορίας. καὶ εἶπεν ABC
Μιχαήλ· Μὴ σκύλλε τὸ παιδάριον, ἀλλὰ ἀπέλθωμεν μετεωριζόμενοι ἕως οὗ φθάσωμεν ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ σου, διότι ἠγάπησά σου τὴν ὁμιλίαν.

III. καὶ ἀναστάντες ἐπορεύοντο· καὶ ὡς ἤγγισαν τῇ πόλει, ὡς ἀπὸ σταδίων τριῶν, εὗρον δένδρον μέγα ἔχον κλάδους τριακοσίους, ὅμοιον ἐρηκινοῦ· καὶ ἤκουον φωνὴν ἐκ τῶν κλάδων αὐτοῦ ᾀδομένην· Ἅγιος ὅτι τὴν πρόφασιν ἤνεγκας περὶ ὧν ἀπεστάλης· καὶ ἤκουσεν Ἀβραὰμ τῆς φωνῆς, καὶ ἔκρυψεν τὸ μυστήριον ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ, λέγων ἐν ἑαυτῷ· Ἆρα τί ἐστιν τὸ μυστήριον ὅπερ ἀκήκοα; ὡς δὲ ἦλθεν ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ, λέγει Ἀβραὰμ τοῖς παισὶν αὐτοῦ· Ἀναστάντες ἐξέλθατε εἰς τὰ πρόβατα, καὶ ἐνέγκατε τρία θρέμματα καὶ σφάξατε ταχέως καὶ ὑπηρετήσατε ἵνα φάγωμεν καὶ πίωμεν· ὅτι εὐφρασία ἐστὶν ὡς ἡ ἡμέρα αὕτη. καὶ ἤνεγκαν οἱ παῖδες τὰ θρέμματα, καὶ ἐκάλεσεν Ἀβραὰμ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν Ἰσαὰκ καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ· Τέκνον Ἰσαάκ, ἀνάστηθι καὶ βάλε ὕδωρ ἐπὶ τῆς λεκάνης, ἵνα νίψωμεν τοὺς πόδας τοῦ ξένου τούτου. καὶ ἤνεγκεν ὡς προσετάχθη· καὶ εἶπεν Ἀβραάμ· Κατανόησιν ἔχω ὅπερ καὶ γενήσεται, ὅτι ἐν τῷ τρυβλίῳ τούτῳ οὐ μὴ νίψω ἔτι τοὺς πόδας

—μὴ σύλε τὸ π. ἀλλὰ περιπατήσωμεν—σου A; ἐν—ἐπορεύοντο—ἕνα ἐκ τῶν παιδαρίων—κτῆνος καὶ γενέσθωσαν ἐδέσματα ὅπως συνεσθιασθῶμεν μετὰ τοῦ ξένου ὅτι ἐκτὸς ὁδοπορίας ἐστίν· ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ ὁ ἀρχάγγ. M. εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτὸν· μισκυλε τὸ π. —οἴκω σου B; ἐπορ. καθήμενοι τοῖς ἴπποις· ὅτε δὲ ἦλθον ἐν τῷ οἴκω ἐκάλ. Α. ἕνα τῶν οἰκοπαίδων αὐτοῦ κ. εἶπ. αὐτῷ· πορεύου κ.—κτῆνος· κ. καθήσας ἐν αὐτῷ πορεύθητι ἐπὶ τὰ πρόβατα κ. κόμισόν μοι τρία θρέμματα· ὅπως θύσαντες εὐφρανθῶμεν μετὰ τοῦ ξένου ὅτι ἐκάμαμεν ἐκ τῆς ὁδοιπ. ἀπεκρ. δὲ M. μηκέτι τὸ π. ἀλλὰ περιπατήσωμεν ἀμφότεροι μετεωρ. ἕως φθ. εἰς τὸ ποίμνιον κ. πάλιν στραφῶμεν C

3, 4 διότι—ὁμιλίαν] om AB 5, 6 καὶ ὡς—τριῶν] κ. πορευόμενοι ὡς ἀπὸ σταδ. δύο ἐγγίσαντες τῇ πόλει B; καὶ ὡς ἤγγ. ἀπὸ σταδ. δύο τῆς ποίμνης C 6, 7 ἔχον—ἐρηκινοῦ] τριακ. κλαδ. ἔχοντα B; ὅμοιον τρεκίνου C 7 ἐρηκινοῦ] ἐρηκινόν A 8 ᾀδομένην] λέγουσαν AC; ᾀδωμένην B 8, 9 ἅγιος—ἀπεστ.] ὅτι προφανῆ—ἀπέστειλας A; ἁγία ἡ πρόφασις περὶ οὗ ἀπεστάλης B 10 φωνῆς]+ ἧς ἤχησεν ἐν αὐτῷ C 11 ἀκήκοα]+ ἦλθον δὲ κ. παῖδες δύο κ. ἐκόμισαν ἐκ τοῦ ποιμνίου θρέμματα τρία κ. ἔσφαξαν ταχέως κ. ἐξυπηρέτησαν τῇ τραπέζῃ C 13, 14 ἀναστάντες—ταχέως καί] om C 15 εὐφρασία—αὕτη] εὐφρ. σήμερον γίνεται A(C); εὐφρόσυνος ἐστὶν ὡσὶ ἡμ. αὕτη B 16 καὶ—θρέμμ.] om C 19, 20 καὶ ἤνεγκεν—Ἀβρ.] κ. ἦν. Α. ἐν τῇ καρδία αὐτοῦ λέγων A; κ. ποίησας ὡς προσετ. κ. εἶπεν Α. B; κ. ἦν. κ. εἶπεν Α. νίψον τέκνον τοὺς πόδας τοῦ ξένου· ὅτι C 20 κατανόησιν—γενήσεται] γενήσεται A; ὑπολαμβάνω ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ μου C

ABC ἀνθρώπου ξενιζομένου πρὸς ἡμᾶς. ἀκούσας δὲ Ἰσαὰκ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ λαλοῦντος ταῦτα, ἐδάκρυσεν, καὶ λέγει πρὸς αὐτόν· Πάτερ μου, τί ἐστιν τοῦτο ὅτι εἶπας Ἐσχατόν μου ἐστὶν νίψαι πόδας ἀνθρώπου ξένου; καὶ ἰδὼν Ἀβραὰμ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ κλαίοντα, ἔκλαυσεν καὶ αὐτὸς σφόδρα· καὶ Μιχαὴλ ἰδὼν αὐτοὺς κλαίοντας, ἔκλαυσεν καὶ αὐτός· καὶ ἔπεσαν τὰ δάκρυα Μιχαὴλ ἐπὶ τῆς λεκάνης, καὶ ἐγένετο λίθος πολύτιμος.

IV. ὡς δὲ ἤκουσεν ἡ Σάρρα τοῦ κλαυθμοῦ αὐτῶν ἔσω οὖσα ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ αὐτῆς, ἐξελθοῦσα εἶπεν τῷ Ἀβραάμ· Κύριε, τί ἐστιν ὅτι οὕτως κλαίετε; καὶ ἀπεκρίθη Ἀβραὰμ καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῇ· Οὐδὲν κακόν ἐστιν· εἴσελθε ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ σου, καὶ ἐργάζου τὰ ἴδιά σου, μὴ ἐπιβαρεῖς γενώμεθα τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ. καὶ ἀνεχώρησεν ἡ Σάρρα, ὅτι ἔμελλεν ἑτοιμάζειν τὸν δεῖπνον. καὶ ἤγγισεν ὁ ἥλιος τοῦ δῦναι· καὶ ἐξῆλθεν Μιχαὴλ ἔξω τοῦ οἴκου, καὶ ἀνελήφθη εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς προσκυνῆσαι ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ· τοῦ γὰρ ἡλίου δύνοντος πάντες προσκυνοῦσιν ἄγγελοι τὸν θεόν· πρῶτος δέ ἐστιν ὁ αὐτὸς Μιχαὴλ τῶν ἀγγέλων. καὶ προσεκύνησαν πάντες καὶ ἀπῆλθον, ἕκαστος εἰς τὸν τόπον αὐτοῦ. ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ Μιχαὴλ ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ εἶπεν· Κύριε, κέλευσόν με ἐρωτηθῆναι ἐνώπιον τῆς ἁγίας δόξης σου. καὶ λέγει κύριος πρὸς Μιχαήλ· Ἀνάγγειλον ὅπερ βούλῃ. ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ ὁ ἀρχάγγελος εἶπε· Κύριε, σύ με ἀπέστειλας πρὸς Ἀβραάμ, εἰπεῖν αὐτῷ· Ὑποχώρησον ἐκ τοῦ σώματός σου, καὶ ἔξελθε ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου· καλεῖ σε ὁ κύριος· κἀγὼ

2 ταῦτα—καὶ λέγει] τὰ δάκρυα ταῦτα εἰσήνεγκεν λέγων A; ταῦτα δάκρυα εἰσήνεγκεν C 10—12 εἶπεν τῷ Ἀ.—αὐτῇ] om B 11 κύριε] om C τί —κλαίετε] τίς οὕτως οὗ κλέετε A 13, 14 ἐπιβαρεῖς—ἀνθρώπῳ] προξενισθῶμεν τὸ παρόντι ξένῳ λύπην B; ἐπιβ. γένη. τῷ ξένῳ ἀνθ. τούτῳ C 14—16 ἀνεχώρ. —ἐξῆλθεν] ἀνεχώρ.—ὅτε δὲ ἔμελλον—δεῖπνον, ἤγγισεν—εἰς τὸ δύνειν κ. ἐξῆλθεν C; ἀναχωρήσασα ἡ Σ. μέλοντος τοῦ δ. ἑτοιμάζεσθαι τοῦ ἡλίου δύνοντος ἐξελθῶν B 16, 17 τοὺς οὐρ.] τὸν οὐρανόν B 18—20 προσκυνῆσαι—τόπον αὐτοῦ] καὶ προσεκύνησεν τὸν θν̄ κ. οὕτως οἱ λιποὶ ἄγγελοι· τύπος γὰρ ἦν προσκυνεῖν δύνοντος τοῦ ἡλ. πάντας τοὺς ἀγγ. ἐνωπ. τ. θῦ πρῶτον ὁ ἀρχάγγ. M. κ. οὕτως οἱ λιποὶ ἄγγ. ὑποχωρησάντων δὲ τῶν ἀγγ. εἰς τ. ἰδίους τόπους κ. τοῦ M. ἡσταμένου ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ B 22 ἐρωτηθῆναι] ἐρωτῶ σε A; λαλῆσαι C τῆς ἁγ. δοξ. σου] σου, κύριε A 22—24 καὶ λέγει—ἀρχάγγ. εἶπε] om A; κ. λέγει ὁ κ̄ς̄ λέγε, M., ὃ βούλει C 26—p. 109, 2 κἀγὼ—ὑποδεχόμενος] κ. ἀπελθὼν οὐδ' ἐν λόγῳ ἔφρηξα αὐτὸν, διὰ τὸ γινώσκειν αὐτὸν φίλον σου καθαρὸν κ. ἀψευδέστατον

οὐ τολμῶ, κύριε, ἐμφανισθῆναι αὐτῷ, ὅτι φίλος σου ἐστὶν ABC
καὶ δίκαιος ἄνθρωπος, ξένους ὑποδεχόμενος· ἀλλὰ παρακαλῶ σε, κύριε, κέλευσον τὴν μνήμην τοῦ θανάτου τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ εἰς τὴν καρδίαν αὐτοῦ εἰσελθεῖν, καὶ μὴ αὐτῷ ἐγὼ εἴπω· μεγάλη γὰρ συντομία τοῦτό ἐστιν, εἰπεῖν ὅτι Τὸν κόσμον ἔξελθε, μάλιστα δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἰδίου σώματος· σὺ γὰρ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐποίησας αὐτὸν ἐλεεῖν ψυχὰς πάντων ἀνθρώπων. τότε κύριος πρὸς Μιχαὴλ εἶπεν· Ἀνάστηθι καὶ πορεύου πρὸς Ἀβραὰμ, καὶ ξενίζου πρὸς αὐτόν· καὶ ὅτι ἂν ἴδῃς ἐσθίοντα, φάγε καὶ σὺ, καὶ ὅπου ἂν κοιμηθῇ, κοίμησαι καὶ σὺ ἐκεῖ· ἐγὼ γὰρ ῥίψω τὴν μνήμην τοῦ θανάτου τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ εἰς τὴν καρδίαν Ἰσαὰκ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ κατ᾽ ὄναρ.

V. *τότε Μιχαὴλ ἀπῆλθεν εἰς τὸν οἶκον Ἀβραὰμ ἐν τῇ ἑσπέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ, καὶ εὗρεν αὐτοὺς ἑτοιμάζοντας τὸν δεῖπνον· καὶ ἔφαγον καὶ ἔπιον καὶ εὐφράνθησαν. καὶ εἶπεν Ἀβραὰμ τῷ υἱῷ αὐτοῦ Ἰσαάκ· Ἀνάστηθι, τέκνον, στρῶσον τὴν κλίνην τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἵνα ἀναπαύῃ, καὶ θὲς τὸν λύχνον ἐπὶ τὴν λυχνίαν. καὶ ἐποίησεν Ἰσαὰκ καθὰ συνέταξεν ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ. καὶ εἶπεν Ἰσαὰκ τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ· Πάτερ, ἔρχομαι κἀγὼ ἔγγιστα ὑμῶν κοιμηθῆναι. καὶ ἀπεκρίθη Ἀβραὰμ πρὸς αὐτόν· Οὐχὶ, τέκνον μου, μήποτε ἐπιβαρεῖς γενώμεθα τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τούτῳ, ἀλλὰ ἄπελθε ἐν τῷ ταμείῳ σου καὶ ἀναπαύου. μὴ θέλων δὲ Ἰσαὰκ παρακοῦσαι <τὸ> τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ πρόσταγμα, ἀπελθὼν ἀνεπαύσατο ἐν τῷ ταμείῳ αὐτοῦ.*

VI. *καὶ ἐγένετο περὶ ὥραν ἑβδόμην τῆς νυκτὸς, ἐξυπνισθεὶς ὁ Ἰσαὰκ ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν θύραν τοῦ οἴκου τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ κράζων καὶ λέγων· Πάτερ, ἄνοιξον, ἵνα σε ἀπολαύσω πρίν σε ἀροῦσιν ἀπ᾽ ἐμοῦ. ἀνέστη δὲ Ἀβραὰμ καὶ ἤνοιξεν, καὶ εἰσῆλθεν Ἰσαὰκ καὶ ἐκρεμάσθη ἐπὶ τοῦ*

εἶναι κ. δίκαιον ἄνον κ. ξενοδόχον ἐμπερεχαρῆ κ. ἀονείδηστον B 1 *ἐμφανισθῆναι*] *ἐκφάναι λόγον* C 4 *καρδίαν*]+*τοῦ υἱοῦ* B 5, 6 *μεγάλη—ἔξελθε*] *μεγάλως γὰρ λυπηθήσεται ἐὰν ἄφνω ἀκούσῃ ἀπ᾽ ἐμοῦ ὅτι μέλλει ἀπὸ τοῦ κόσμου ἐξέρχεσθαι* B; *μεγάλη γὰρ συντομὴ αὐτοῦ ἐστὶν τὸ εἰπεῖν—ἐξέρχει μάλιστα κ. ἐκ τοῦ σώματος* C 18, 19 *καὶ θὲς—λυχνίαν*] *καὶ τὴν λυχνίαν κ. τὸν λ.* A; *κ. ἄψον λύχνον* B 21 *ἔρχομαι*] om A *ἔρχομαι—κοιμηθῆναι*] *ἄς κοιμηθῶ μετά σου* B 24, 25 *μὴ θέλων—πρόσταγμα*] om AC 30 *ἀπολαύσω*]+*κ. καταφιλήσω κ. χορτάσω τὴν σὴν ὡραιότητα* C

ABC τραχήλου τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ κλαίων, καὶ θρηνῶν κατεφίλει αὐτόν· ἔκλαυσεν δὲ Ἀβραὰμ σὺν τῷ υἱῷ αὐτοῦ· εἶδεν δὲ αὐτοὺς ὁ Μιχαὴλ κλαίοντας καὶ ἔκλαυσεν καὶ αὐτός. καὶ ἀκούσασα ἡ Σάρρα τὸν κλαυθμὸν ἐκ τοῦ κοιτῶνος αὐτῆς ἔκραξε λέγουσα· Κύριέ μου Ἀβραὰμ, τί ἐστιν ὁ κλαυθμός; μή σοι εἶπεν ὁ ξένος περὶ τοῦ ἀδελφιδοῦ σου Λὼτ ὅτι ἀπέθανεν; ἢ ἄλλο τι συνέβη εἰς ἡμᾶς; ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ Μιχαὴλ εἶπε πρὸς τὴν Σάρραν· Οὐχὶ, Σάρρα, οὐκ ἤνεγκα φάσιν περὶ Λώτ· ἀλλὰ περὶ πάσης φιλανθρωπίας ὑμῶν ἔγνων ὅτι διαφέρετε πάντων ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, καὶ ἐμνήσθη ὑμῶν ὁ θεός. τότε λέγει Σάρρα τῷ Ἀβραάμ· Πῶς ἐτόλμησας κλαῦσαι εἰσελθόντος τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν σοί; καὶ πῶς ἐδάκρυσάν σου οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ τῶν ζευμάτων τοῦ φωτός; ὅτι σήμερον εὐφροσύνη γίνεται. λέγει οὖν πρὸς αὐτὴν Ἀβραάμ· Πόθεν γινώσκεις ὅτι ἄνθρωπος τοῦ θεοῦ ἐστίν; ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ ἡ Σάρρα εἶπεν· Ὅτι παραφέρω καὶ λέγω ὅτι οὗτός ἐστιν τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν εἷς, τῶν ἐν τῇ δρυῒ τῇ Μαμβρῇ ἐπιξενισθέντων ἡμῖν, ὅτε ἀπῆλθεν ἓν τῶν παιδίων καὶ ἤνεγκε μόσχον καὶ ἔθυσας· καὶ εἶπες μοι, Ἄναστα, ποίησον ἵνα φάγωμεν μετὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τούτων εἰς τὸν οἶκον ἡμῶν. καὶ ἀπεκρίθη Ἀβραὰμ καὶ εἶπεν· Καλῶς ἐνόησας, ὦ γύναι· ὅτι κἀγὼ ὅτε τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ ἔπλυνα, ἔγνων ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ μου ὅτι οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ πόδες οὓς ἔπλυνα ἐν τῇ δρυῒ τῇ Μαμβρῇ, καὶ καθὼς ἠρξάμην ἐρωτᾶν τὴν πορείαν, εἶπέ

1 κλαίων] om B 1, 2 κ. θρηνῶν κατεφίλει αὐτὸν] κ. λέγων καταφιλῶν αὐτ. A; κ. καταφιλῶν αὐτ. κ. τοῖς δάκρυσι πλύνων τὸ στῆθος αὐτοῦ C 4 ἐκ τοῦ κοιτ. αὐτῆς] ἐκ τῆς κλίνης αὐτ. A; ἔσω οὖσα ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ C 5, 6 τί ἐστιν—ἀδελφιδοῦ] τὶ ἔχετε ὅτι οὕτως κλέετε ὀψὲ κ. ἀρτι· μὴ φθέγξω ὦ ανε τῶ κω μου A. μὴ περὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ A; τί ἐστὶν...—ἀνεψιοῦ B; τὶ ἔχετε—κλαίετε. ὄρα μή τινα φάσιν ἤνεγκεν ὁ ξ. τῶ κυρίω μου A.—ἀδελφιδοῦ C 7 συνέβη] + λυπηρὸν B 8, 9 οὐκ—περὶ] οὐκ ἐλάλησά τι διὰ Λὼτ B 9—11 ἀλλὰ—θεός] ἀλλὰ πάσας φιλανιας ἡμῶν ἔγνω—θεὸς A; ἀλλ' ἔγνων ὅτι ἐμνήσθη—θεός, κ. γέγωνεν σωτηρία πάσοις φύλοις των ἐπὶ γῆς B 13 ἐν σοί] ἐφ' ἡμᾶς B; πρὸς ἡμᾶς C 13—16 καὶ πῶς—θεοῦ ἐστίν] om A 14 ζευμάτων] κοιμάτων B 17 ὅτι παραφέρω] πιστεῦσον παρα ρω A; προσφέρω B 19 ἀπῆλθεν ἓν τῶν παιδίων] ἀπ. ἓν τ. παίδων A; σὺ ἐνεγκὼν ἐν τῶ παιδίω B; ἀπῆλθες εἰς τὸ πεδίον C ἤνεγκεν] ἤνεγκας BC 22 ἐνόησας ὦ γύναι] om B; ἀδελφὴ, ἐνόησας C 22—p. 111, 4 καλῶς—ὧδε] καλλως εἶπας ὅτι κ. τὸν Λὼτ ἐρρυσώμεθα ἀπὸ Σοδόμων ὅτε ἐγνωρίσαμεν τὸ μυστήριον B 25—p. 111, 2 καὶ καθὼς—μυστ.] οἱ κ. ἀπελθόντες κ. ῥυσάμενοι τὸν ἀδ. τὸν ἡμέτερον ἀπὸ τῶν Σ., τὸν Λὼτ A

μοι ὅτι ὑπάγω τηρῆσαι τὸν ἀδελφὸν Λὼτ ἀπὸ Σοδόμων· ABC
καὶ τότε ἐγνώρισα τὸ μυστήριον.

VII. ὁ δὲ Ἀβραὰμ εἶπεν πρὸς Μιχαήλ· Εἰπέ μοι, ἄνθρωπε τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ φανέρωσόν μοι τί ἦλθες ὧδε. καὶ εἶπεν Μιχαήλ· Ὁ υἱός σου Ἰσαὰκ δηλώσει σοι. καὶ λέγει Ἀβραὰμ τῷ υἱῷ αὐτοῦ· Τίέ μου ἀγαπητὲ, εἰπέ μοι τί εἶδες κατ᾽ ὄναρ σήμερον καὶ ἐθροήθης· ἀνάγγειλόν μοι. καὶ ἀπεκρίθη Ἰσαὰκ τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ· Εἶδον κατ᾽ ὄναρ †ἐμαυτὸν† τὸν ἥλιον καὶ τὴν σελήνην· καὶ στέφανος ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς μου ἐγένετο· καὶ ἦν ἀνὴρ παμμεγεθὴς λίαν λάμπων ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, ὡς φῶς καλούμενον πατὴρ τοῦ φωτός· καὶ ἔλαβεν τὸν ἥλιον ἐκ τῆς κεφαλῆς μου· καὶ λοιπὸν ἀφῆκεν τὰς ἀκτῖνας ἐν μέσῳ μου· καὶ ἔκλαυσα ἐγὼ καὶ εἶπον· Παρακαλῶ σε, κύριέ μου, μὴ ἐπάρῃς τὴν δόξαν τῆς κεφαλῆς μου καὶ τὸ φῶς τοῦ οἴκου μου καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν δόξαν τὴν ἐμήν. ἐπένθησε δὲ ὁ ἥλιος καὶ ἡ σελήνη καὶ οἱ ἀστέρες λέγοντες· Μὴ ἐπάρῃς τὴν δόξαν τῆς δυνάμεως ἡμῶν. καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς ὁ φωτεινὸς ἐκεῖνος ἀνὴρ εἶπέ μοι· Μὴ κλαύσῃς ὅτι ἔλαβον τὸ φῶς τοῦ οἴκου σου· ἀνελήφθη γὰρ ἀπὸ καμάτων εἰς ἀνάπαυσιν, καὶ ἀπὸ ταπεινώσεως εἰς ὕψος, αἴρουσιν αὐτὸν ἀπὸ στενοχωρίας εἰς εὐρυχωρίαν, αἴρουσιν αὐτὸν ἀπὸ σκότους εἰς φῶς. ἐγὼ δὲ εἶπον αὐτῷ· Παρακαλῶ σε, κύριε, λάβε καὶ τὰς ἀκτῖνας μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ. ὁ δὲ εἶπέν μοι· Δώδεκα ὧραι τῆς ἡμέρας εἰσὶν, καὶ τότε ὅλας τὰς ἀκτῖνας λαμβάνω. ταῦτα λέγοντος τοῦ φωτεινοῦ ἀνδρὸς, εἶδον τὸν ἥλιον τοῦ οἴκου μου ἀναβαίνοντα εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν, τὸ δὲ στέφος ἐκεῖνον πλεῖον οὐκ εἶδον· ἦν δὲ ὁ ἥλιος ἐκεῖνος ὅμοιός σου τοῦ πατρός μου. καὶ εἶπεν Μιχαὴλ τῷ Ἀβραάμ· Ἀλήθειαν εἴρηκεν ὁ υἱός σου Ἰσαάκ·

7 κ. ἐθροήθης· ἀνάγγ. μοι] om AB 9 ἐμαυτὸν] ἑαυτὸν μου B; +ὡς C 10 ἐγένετο]+κ. ἀφῆκεν τὰς ἀκτῖνας A 11 καλούμ.] om B; καὶ καλουμ. C τοῦ] om C 12, 13 κ. λοιπὸν—μέσῳ μου] om A 12—15 κ. λοιπὸν—κεφ. μου] om B by homœot. 18 φωτ. ἐκ. ἀνὴρ] φωτὴρ. ἐκ. ὁ παμμεγεθὴς C 19 ἔλαβον] ἄβλαβον C 20 καμάτων] καύματος AC ἀνάπαυσιν] ἀπόλαυσιν B 21, 22 ἀπὸ στενοχ.—αἴρ. αὐτὸν] om B; ἀπὸ στεν. εἰς εὐρήχωρον δοξαν· αἴρ. αὐτ C 24, 25 δώδεκα—λαμβάνω] οὐ λαμβάνω ταῦτας ἕως ἂν πληρωθῶσιν αἱ δωδ. ὧρ. τ. ἡμ. κ. τότε ὁρᾷς τὰς ἀκτίνας λάμπειν C 27 στέφος—εἶδον] σῶμα αὐτοῦ μένοντα ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς B; σῶμα αὐτοῦ μένει ἐπὶ τ. γῆς ἕως ἂν (p. 112, 2) A 29—p. 112, 1 ἀλήθειαν—οὐρανοὺς] νῦν ἤκουσας τὸ ἄληθες κ. τάξον περὶ τοῦ οἴκου σου· ἰδοὺ γὰρ ἀπέταλμαι παρὰ κῦ τοῦ θῦ λαβεῖν τὴν ψυχην σου C

ABC σὺ γὰρ εἶ· καὶ ἀναλαμβανέσαι εἰς τοὺς οὐρανούς, τὸ δὲ σῶμά σου μένει ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἕως ἂν πληρωθῶσιν ἑπτακισχίλιοι αἰῶνες· τότε γὰρ ἐγερθήσεται πᾶσα σάρξ. νῦν οὖν, Ἀβραὰμ, διάθες τὰ τοῦ οἴκου σου, καὶ περὶ τῶν τέκνων σου, τελείως γὰρ ἤκουσας τὴν οἰκονομίαν σου. καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς Ἀβραὰμ εἶπεν πρὸς Μιχαήλ· Παρακαλῶ σε, κύριε, ἐὰν ἐξέρχωμαι ἐκ τοῦ σώματός μου, σωματικῶς ἤθελον ἀναληφθῆναι, ἵνα θεάσομαι τὰ κτίσματα ἃ ἐκτίσατο κύριος ὁ θεός μου ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς. καὶ ἀπεκρίθη Μιχαὴλ καὶ εἶπεν· Τοῦτο οὐκ ἔστιν ἐμὸν ποίημα· ἀλλὰ ἀπελθὼν ἐγὼ ἀπαγγελῶ τῷ κυρίῳ περὶ τούτου, καὶ ἐὰν κελεύωμαι, ὑποδείξω σοι ταῦτα πάντα.

VIII. καὶ ἀνῆλθεν Μιχαὴλ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς καὶ ἐλάλησεν ἐνώπιον κυρίου περὶ Ἀβραάμ· καὶ ἀπεκρίθη κύριος πρὸς Μιχαήλ· Ἄπελθε καὶ ἀναλαβοῦ ἐν σώματι τὸν Ἀβραὰμ καὶ ὑποδεῖξον αὐτῷ πάντα, καὶ ὃ ἐὰν εἴπῃ σοι ποίησον ὡς αὐτῷ ὄντι φίλῳ μου. ἐξελθὼν οὖν ὁ Μιχαὴλ ἀνέλαβεν τὸν Ἀβραὰμ ἐπὶ νεφέλης ἐν σώματι, καὶ ἀνήνεγκεν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸν Ὠκεανὸν ποταμόν· καὶ ἀτενίσας Ἀβραὰμ εἶδεν δύο πύλας, μίαν μὲν μικρὰν, τὴν δὲ ἑτέραν μεγάλην· καὶ ἀνάμεσον τῶν δύο πυλῶν ἐκάθητο ἀνὴρ ἐπὶ θρόνου δόξης μεγάλης· καὶ πλῆθος ἀγγέλων κύκλῳ αὐτοῦ· καὶ ἦν κλαίων, καὶ πάλιν γελῶν, καὶ ὁ κλαυθμὸς ὑπερέβαινεν τὸ γέλος αὐτοῦ ἑπταπλασίονα. καὶ εἶπεν Ἀβραὰμ πρὸς τὸν Μιχαήλ· Τίς ἐστιν οὗτος ὁ καθήμενος ἀνάμεσον τῶν δύο πυλῶν μετὰ δόξης πολλῆς· ποτὲ μὲν γελᾷ, ποτὲ μὲν κλαίει, καὶ ὁ κλαυθμὸς ὑπερβαίνει τὸ γέλος ἑπταπλασίως; καὶ εἶπεν Μιχαὴλ πρὸς Ἀβραάμ· Οὐκ ἔγνως αὐτὸν τίς ἐστιν; καὶ εἶπεν· Οὐχὶ, κύριε. καὶ εἶπεν Μιχαὴλ πρὸς Ἀβραάμ· Θεωρεῖς τὰς δύο

2, 3 ἑπτακ. αἰῶνες] τὰ ἔτη C 5 τελείως—οἰκονομ. σου] πεπληροφορήσαι γὰρ τὴν κεφαλήν σου B 7 ἐὰν—σώματός μου] ἐπειδὴ παρέρχωμαι τοῦδε τοῦ κοσμου B; ναὶ, ἐξέρχομαι ἐκ τοῦ σώμ. ἀλλὰ C σωματικῶς] ἐν σώματι B 8 ἤθελον] θέλω B; ἤλπιζον C 10 κ. εἶπεν]+πάτερ μου B 11 κυρίῳ] πατρὶ A; πατρὶ τῷ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς C 15 ἀναλ. ἐν σώμ.] λαβὲ σωματικῶς A; ἀνάλαβε σωματικῶς C 19 ὠκεανὸν] αἰκιανὸν AC; ὀκεανὸν B 20, 21 μίαν—μεγάλην] μι. μικρ. κ. ἑτ. μεγ. A; ἀφ' ὧν μία στενὴ κ. ἡ ἑτέρα εὐρήχορος B 23 κύκλῳ]+τοῦ θρόνου C 24 ἑπταπλασ.] om BC 26 πολλῆς]+κ. πλῆθος ἀγγέλων κύκλω αὐτοῦ C

πύλας ταύτας, τὴν μικρὰν καὶ τὴν μεγάλην; αὗταί εἰσιν ABC
αἱ ἀπάγουσαι εἰς τὴν ζωὴν καὶ εἰς τὴν ἀπώλειαν. ὁ ἀνὴρ
δὲ οὗτος ὁ καθήμενος ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν, οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ Ἀδάμ,
ὁ πρῶτος ἄνθρωπος ὃν ἔπλασεν ὁ κύριος· καὶ ἔθηκεν αὐτὸν
εἰς τὸν τόπον τοῦτον θεωρῆσαι πᾶσαν ψυχὴν ἐξερχομένην
ἐκ τοῦ σώματος, ἐπειδὴ ἐξ αὐτοῦ εἰσὶν πάντες. ὅταν οὖν
θεωρῇς αὐτὸν κλαίοντα, γνῶθι ὅτι ἐθεάσατο ψυχὰς πολλὰς
ἀπαγομένας εἰς τὴν ἀπώλειαν· ὅταν δὲ ἴδῃς αὐτὸν γελῶντα,
ἐθεάσατο ψυχὰς ὀλίγας ἀπαγομένας εἰς τὴν ζωήν. θεωρεῖς
αὐτὸν πῶς ὑπερβαίνει ὁ κλαυθμὸς τὸ γέλος; ἐπεὶ θεωρεῖ
τὸ περισσότερον τοῦ κόσμου ἀπαγομένους διὰ τῆς πλα-
τείας εἰς τὴν ἀπώλειαν, διὰ τοῦτο ὑπερβαίνει ὁ κλαυθμὸς
τὸ γέλος ἑπταπλασίως.

IX. καὶ εἶπεν Ἀβραάμ· Καὶ ὁ μὴ δυνάμενος εἰσελθεῖν
διὰ τῆς στενῆς πύλης, οὐ δύναται εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν ζωήν;
τότε ἔκλαυσεν Ἀβραάμ, λέγων· Οὐαί μοι, τί ποιήσω ἐγώ;
ὅτι εἰμὶ ἄνθρωπος εὐρὺς τῷ σώματι, καὶ πῶς δυνήσομαι
εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν στενὴν πύλην, εἰς ἣν οὐ δύναται ἐλθεῖν
παιδίον πέντε καὶ δέκα ἐτῶν; καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς Μιχαὴλ
εἶπεν πρὸς Ἀβραάμ· Σὺ μὴ φοβοῦ, πάτερ, μηδὲ λυποῦ,
ἀκωλύτως γὰρ εἰσερχέσαι δι' αὐτῆς, καὶ πάντες οἱ συνό-
μοιοί σου. καὶ ἐστῶτος τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ καὶ θαυμάζοντος,
ἰδοὺ ἄγγελος κυρίου ἐλαύνων ἓξ μυριάδας ψυχὰς ἁμαρ-
τωλῶν εἰς τὴν ἀπώλειαν· καὶ λέγει Ἀβραὰμ πρὸς Μιχαήλ·
Οὗτοι πάντες εἰς τὴν ἀπώλειαν ἀπέρχονται; καὶ λέγει
αὐτῷ Μιχαήλ· Ναί, ἀλλὰ ἀπέλθωμεν καὶ ἀναζητήσωμεν
ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς ταύταις, εἰ ἐστὶν ἐξ αὐτῶν κἂν μία δικαία.
ἀπελθόντων δὲ αὐτῶν, εὗρον ἄγγελον κατέχοντα ἐν τῇ
χειρὶ αὐτοῦ μίαν ψυχὴν γυναικὸς ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν ἓξ μυριά-

5 ἐξερχομένην] ἐξελουμένην A 14, 15 εἰσελθεῖν—οὐ δύναται] om B 16 τότε ἔκλ. Ἀ. λέγων] om B 16—19 οὐαί μοι—ἐτῶν] οἴμοι οἴμοι τί λοιπὸν ποιήσω κἀγὼ· πῶς δυνηθῶ ἐν σώματι εἰσελθεῖν ἐν τῇ τοιαυτῇ στενῇ πύλῃ ἣν οὐδὲ δεκάπεντε ἐνιαυτοῦ παιδίων δύναται εἰσελθῆναι B 17 εὐρὺς τῷ σώμ.] βαρὺς τῷ σώμ. μέγας C δυνήσομαι] δυνάμενος A 18, 19 εἰς ἣν—ἐτῶν] εἰ μὴ παιδία δυετῶν C 20 σὺ—λυποῦ] om AC 21 ἀκωλύτως γὰρ εἰσερχέσαι] ὁ ἀκατάλυτος εἰσέρχεται A; σὺ ὁλοστὸς εἰσέρχει C 23 ἓξ] om B ἁμαρτω-λῶν]+κ. ἀπήγαγεν C 24, 25 καὶ λέγει Ἀ.—ἀπέρχονται] om C 28, 29 ἄγ-γελον—χειρὶ αὐτοῦ] om B 29—p. 114, 4 μίαν ψυχὴν—ἀπώλειαν] μίαν—ἰσοζυγούσας μετὰ τῆς ἁμαρτίας αὐτῆς πασας· κ. οὐκ ἦσαν ἐν αὐχθω οὐδὲ ἀνά-

ABC δων, ὅτι εὗρεν τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἰσοζυγούσας μετὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτῆς ἅπαντα, καὶ οὐκ ἦσαν ἐν μόχθῳ οὐδὲ ἐν ἀναπαύσει, ἀλλ' ἐν τόπῳ μεσότητος. τὰς δὲ ψυχὰς ἐκείνας ἦρεν εἰς τὴν ἀπώλειαν. καὶ εἶπεν Ἀβραὰμ πρὸς Μιχαήλ· Κύριε, οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ ἄγγελος ὁ ἐκφέρων τὰς ψυχὰς ἐκ τοῦ σώματος, ἢ οὔ; ἀπεκρίθη Μιχαὴλ καὶ εἶπεν· Οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ θάνατος, καὶ ἀπάγει αὐτὰς εἰς τὸν τόπον τοῦ κριτηρίου, ἵνα ὁ κριτὴς κρίνῃ αὐτάς.

X. καὶ λέγει Ἀβραάμ· Κύριέ μου, παρακαλῶ σε ἵνα ἀναγάγῃς με εἰς τὸν τόπον τοῦ κριτηρίου ὅπως κἀγὼ θεάσωμαι αὐτὰς πῶς κρίνονται. τότε Μιχαὴλ ἔλαβεν τὸν Ἀβραὰμ ἐπὶ νεφέλης, καὶ ἤγαγεν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν παράδεισον· καὶ ὡς ἔφθασεν εἰς τὸν τόπον ὅπου ἦν ὁ κριτὴς, ἦλθεν ὁ ἄγγελος καὶ ἔδωκεν τὴν ψυχὴν ἐκείνην εἰς τὸν κριτήν· ἔλεγεν δὲ ἡ ψυχή· Ἐλέησόν με, κύριε. καὶ εἶπεν ὁ κριτής· Πῶς ἐλεήσω σε, ὅτι σὺ οὐκ ἠλέησας τὴν θυγατέρα σου ἥνπερ εἶχες, τὸν καρπὸν τῆς κοιλίας σου; διὰ τί ἐφόνευσας αὐτήν; καὶ ἀπεκρίθη· Οὐχὶ, κύριε· φόνος ἐξ ἐμοῦ οὐ γέγονεν, ἀλλ' αὐτὴ ἡ θυγάτηρ μου κατεψεύσατό μου. ὁ δὲ κριτὴς ἐκέλευσεν ἐλθεῖν τὸν τὰ ὑπομνήματα γράφοντα. καὶ ἰδοὺ χερουβὶμ βαστάζοντα βιβλία δύο, καὶ ἦν μετ' αὐτῶν ἀνὴρ παμμεγεθὴς σφόδρα· καὶ εἶχεν ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ τρεῖς στεφάνους, καὶ ὁ εἷς στέφανος ὑψηλότερος ὑπῆρχεν τῶν ἑτέρων δύο στεφάνων· οἱ δὲ στέφανοι ἐκαλοῦντο στέφανοι μαρτυρίας. καὶ εἶχεν ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ κάλαμον χρυσοῦν· καὶ λέγει ὁ κριτὴς πρὸς αὐτόν· Σύστησον τὴν ἁμαρτίαν τῆς ψυχῆς ταύτης.

παυσιν ἠλέστω κατὰ σώματος· τας—ἐκείνας εἴρηνται εἰς τὴν ἀπόλειαν A; *ἀπ' αὐτὰς τὰς μυριάδας μίαν ψ. γυναικὸς ἠσυνέχου τὴν διαγωγὴν· ἐπαι ται τῶν καλῶν αὐτοῖς ἔργων κ. τῶν ἐναντίων κ. οὔτη ἐπ' ἀπολεία οὐχ ὑπῆρχεν οὔτε μὴν ἐπ' ἀναπαύσεως ἀλλ' ἐν μέσω τούτων* B; *μίαν ψ. δικαίαν ἐξ—μυριάδων γυναικὸς σῶμα εὗρεν γὰρ —ἰσοζυγ. μετὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτῆς ἅπαντα· καὶ οὐκ ἦσαν ἐν μόχθω οὐδὲ ἐν ἀναπαύσει ἀλλ'—ἀπώλειαν* C 6 *οὐ*] *σὺ* A . 7 *κριτηρίου*]+*μου* A 11, 12 *ἔλαβεν—νεφέλης*] *λαβὼν—νεφ.* B; *ἐποίησεν τὴν νεφέλην ἀναλαβεῖν τὸν Ἀ.* C 12, 13 *εἰς τ. παράδ.—τόπον*] om C 15 *κύριε*]+*ὅτι οὐχ ἥμαρτον* C 18 *αὐτὴν*] om AC 18—21 *φόνος—κατεψεύσ. μου*] *ψευδέται ἡ θυγάτηρ μου* B 21 *βαστάζοντα*] om A; *κατάξοντα* C 23 *τρεῖς στεφάνους*] *τρία* A 24 *ἑτέρων δύο*] *τεσσάρων* A; *ἑτέρων* C 25 *στέφ. μαρτυρίας*] *στέφ. μαρτύρων* A; *μαρτυρία* C

καὶ ἀναπτύξας ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐκεῖνος μίαν τῶν βιβλίων τῶν ABC
ὄντων ἐκ τῶν χερουβὶμ ἀνεζήτησεν τὴν ἁμαρτίαν τῆς
ψυχῆς τῆς γυναικὸς, καὶ εὗρεν. καὶ εἶπεν ὁ κριτής· Ὦ
ταλαίπωρε ψυχὴ, πῶς λέγεις ὅτι φόνον οὐκ ἐποίησας;
οὐχὶ σὺ ἀπελθοῦσα μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν τοῦ ἀνδρός σου,
ἐμοίχευσας τὸν ἄνδρα τῆς θυγατρός σου, καὶ ἀπέκτεινας
αὐτήν; ἤλεγχε δὲ καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἁμαρτίας αὐτῆς, καὶ εἴ
τι ἔπραξεν ἐκ νεότητος αὐτῆς. ταῦτα ἀκούσασα ἡ γυνὴ
ἐβόησεν λέγουσα· Οἴμοι, οἴμοι, ὅτι πάσας τὰς ἁμαρτίας
μου ἃς ἐποίησα ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ ἐληθάργησα· ἐνταῦθα δὲ οὐκ
ἐληθαργήθησαν. τότε ᾖραν καὶ αὐτὴν καὶ παρέδωκαν τοῖς
βασανισταῖς.

XI. καὶ εἶπεν Ἀβραὰμ πρὸς Μιχαήλ· Κύριε, τίς
ἐστιν οὗτος ὁ κριτὴς, καὶ τίς ἐστιν ὁ ἄλλος, ὁ ἐλέγχων τὰς
ἁμαρτίας; καὶ λέγει Μιχαὴλ πρὸς Ἀβραάμ· Θεωρεῖς τὸν
κριτήν; οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ Ἄβελ, ὁ ἐν πρώτοις μαρτυρήσας·
καὶ ἤνεγκεν αὐτὸν ὧδε ὁ θεὸς κρίνειν· καὶ ὁ ἀποδεικνύ-
μενος οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ διδάσκαλος τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς
καὶ γραμματεὺς τῆς δικαιοσύνης Ἐνώχ· ἀπέστειλεν γὰρ
κύριος αὐτοὺς ἐνταῦθα, ἵνα ἀπογράφωσιν τὰς ἁμαρτίας καὶ
τὰς δικαιοσύνας ἑκάστου. καὶ λέγει ὁ Ἀβραάμ· Καὶ πῶς
δύναται Ἐνὼχ βαστάσαι τὸ βάρος τῶν ψυχῶν, μὴ ἰδὼν
θάνατον; ἢ πῶς δύναται δοῦναι πασῶν τῶν ψυχῶν ἀπό-
φασιν; καὶ εἶπεν Μιχαήλ· Ἐὰν δώσῃ ἀπόφασιν περὶ

4 *φόνον οὐκ ἐποίησας*] *ὁ φόνος διά σου οὐ γέγονεν* B; *φόνος ἐξ ἐμοῦ οὐ γέγονεν* C 7, 8 *καὶ εἴ τι—νεότ. αὐτῆς*] om B 8 *γυνὴ*] om B; *ψυχὴ* C 10 *ἃς—κόσμῳ*] om A *κόσμῳ*]+*κατὰ πρόσωπόν μου βλέπω καὶ τί ποιήσω ἡ τάλαινα ὅτι ἐνταῦθα μετάνοια οὐκ ἔστιν* B 10, 11 *ἐνταῦθα—ἐληθαργ.*] om B 11 *ᾖραν αὐτὴν*]+*οἱ ὑπηρέται τῆς ὀργῆς* C 14, 15 *καὶ τίς—ἁμαρτ.*] om C 14 *ἐλέγχων*] *κατέχων* B 17 *ἤνεγκεν*] *προσέταξεν* B; *ἔταξεν* C 17—19 *ὁ ἀποδεικν. οὗτος—Ἐνὼχ*] *ὁ ἕτερος ὁ προσκομίζων τὰς ἁμαρτίας κ. ἐλέγχων τὰς ἀγαθὰς κ. πονηρὰς πράξεις ἐστὶν ἕνωχ ὁ μαρτὺς τῆς ἐσχάτης ἡμέρας* B 19 *γραμματεὺς*] *γραφεὺς* A 19—21 *Ἐνὼχ—δικαιοσύνας*] om A (which reads *γραφεὺς τῆς δικ. κ. τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἑκάστου*) *ἀπέστειλεν—ἑκάστου*] *κ. προσετάγειν παρὰ κῡ ἐν τῷ κόσμω διάγειν κ. ἀπογράφεσθαι πράξεις κ. λογισμοὺς ἑνὸς ἑκάστου ἀνθρώπου* B 22 *βαστάσαι τὸ βάρος τῶν ψ.*] *βλέπειν κ. προσκομίζειν ἑνὸς ἑκάστου τὰς ἁμαρτίας κ. τὰς δικαιοσύνας* B; *βαστᾶσαι τὸ μέρος τῶν ψ.* C 24 *ἀπόφασιν*] *ἀπολογίαν* A; *ἀποφάσεις ἢ κ. σώζειν τοὺς ἐξομολογουμένους* B 24—p. 116, 10 *ἐὰν—κόλασιν*] *ταῦτα κ. αὐτὸς ὁ Ἐ. πρὸς κῡ ἐλάλησεν ἵνα μὴ πρὸς τοὺς ανους ἐπιβαρὶς γύνεται ἀλλ' ὁ κς οὐκ ἤκουσεν αὐτοῦ ἀλλ' ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν οὕτος ποιεῖν* B

ABC αὐτῶν, οὐ συγχωρεῖται· ἀλλ᾽ οὐ τὰ τοῦ Ἐνὼχ αὐτοῦ ἀποφαίνεται, ἀλλ᾽ ὁ κύριός ἐστιν ὁ ἀποφαινόμενος, καὶ τούτου οὐκ ἐστὶν εἰ μὴ μόνον τὸ γράψαι. ἐπειδὴ ηὔξατο Ἐνὼχ πρὸς κύριον λέγων· Οὐ θέλω, κύριε, ἀποδοῦναι τῶν ψυχῶν ἀπόφασιν, ὅπως μὴ τινὸς ἐπιβαρὴς γένωμαι· καὶ εἶπεν κύριος πρὸς Ἐνώχ· Ἐγὼ κελεύσω σε ἵνα γράφῃς τὰς ἁμαρτίας ψυχῆς ἐξιλεουμένης, καὶ εἰσελεύσεται εἰς τὴν ζωήν· καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ ἐὰν μὴ ἐξιλεωθῇ καὶ μετανοήσῃ, εὑρήσεις τὰς ἁμαρτίας αὐτῆς γεγραμμένας, καὶ βληθήσεται εἰς τὴν κόλασιν.

XII. καὶ μετὰ τὸ θεωρῆσαι Ἀβραὰμ τὸν τόπον τοῦ κριτηρίου, κατήγαγεν αὐτὸν ἡ νεφέλη ἐν τῷ στερεώματι κάτω. καὶ κατανοήσας Ἀβραὰμ ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, εἶδεν ἄνθρωπον μοιχεύοντα γυναῖκα ὕπανδρον. καὶ στραφεὶς λέγει Ἀβραὰμ πρὸς Μιχαήλ· Θεωρεῖς τὴν ἁμαρτίαν ταύτην; ἀλλὰ, κύριε, πέμψον πῦρ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ, ἵνα καταφάγῃ αὐτούς. καὶ εὐθὺς κατῆλθεν πῦρ καὶ κατέφαγεν αὐτούς· διότι εἶπεν κύριος τῷ Μιχαὴλ ὅτι Ὅσα αἰτήσεταί σε ὁ Ἀβραὰμ ποιῆσαι αὐτῷ, ποίησον. καὶ πάλιν ἀναβλέψας Ἀβραὰμ, εἶδεν ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους καταλαλοῦντας ἑταίρους, καὶ εἶπεν· Ἀνοιχθήτω ἡ γῆ καὶ καταπιέτω αὐτούς. καὶ ἐν τῷ εἰπεῖν αὐτῷ, κατέπιεν αὐτοὺς ἡ γῆ ζῶντας. καὶ πάλιν ἀνήγαγεν αὐτὸν ἡ νεφέλη ἐν ἑτέρῳ τόπῳ· καὶ εἶδεν Ἀβραάμ τινας ἀπερχομένους εἰς ἔρημον τόπον τοῦ ποιῆσαι φόνον. καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς Μιχαήλ· Θεωρεῖς τὴν ἁμαρτίαν ταύτην; ἀλλ᾽ ἐλθέτωσαν θηρία ἐκ τῆς ἐρήμου καὶ διαμερίσονται αὐτούς. καὶ αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ ἐξῆλθον θηρία ἐκ τῆς ἐρήμου καὶ κατέφαγον αὐτούς. τότε ἐλάλησεν κύριος ὁ θεὸς πρὸς τὸν Μιχαὴλ λέγων· Ἀπόστρεψον τὸν Ἀβραὰμ εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ καὶ μὴ ἀφήσεις αὐτὸν κυκλῶσαι πᾶσαν τὴν κτίσιν ἣν ἐποίησα, ὅτι οὐ σπλαγχνίζεται ἐπὶ τοὺς ἁμαρτωλοὺς, ἀλλ᾽ ἐγὼ σπλαγχνίζομαι ἐπὶ τοὺς ἁμαρτωλοὺς ὥστε ἐπιστρέψουσιν καὶ ζήσωσιν καὶ μετανοήσωσιν ἐκ

6 ἐγὼ κελεύσω σε] ἐγέρθητί μοι σημειῶν πρὸς σὲ C 8 μὴ ἐξιλεωθῇ καὶ] om A 9 βληθήσεται] -ονται A; κληθήσεται C 26, 27 διαμερίσονται αὐτούς] διαφάγωσιν αὐτούς A; καταφαγέτωσαν αὐτοὺς ὅτι τοιοῦτον ἀνόμημα ὥρμησαν ποιῆσαι B 33—p. 117, 1 ὥστε—σωθήσονται] ὡς τὸ ἐπιστρέψαι κ. ζήσωσιν—σωθήσ. A; om B; ὥστε ἐπιστρέψουσιν κ. μετανοήσωσιν—σωθήσ. C

τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν αὐτῶν, καὶ σωθήσονται. καὶ κατὰ τὴν ABC
ἐνάτην ὥραν ὑπέστρεψεν Μιχαὴλ τὸν Ἀβραὰμ εἰς τὸν
οἶκον αὐτοῦ. Σάρρα δὲ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ, μὴ θεωρήσασα τὸν
Ἀβραὰμ τί γέγονεν, κατεπόθη τῇ λυπῇ καὶ παρέδωκε τὴν
ψυχήν· καὶ μετὰ τὸ ὑποστρέψαι τὸν Ἀβραὰμ, εὗρεν
αὐτὴν νεκράν, καὶ ἔθαψεν αὐτήν.

XIII. ὅτε δὲ ἤγγισαν αἱ ἡμέραι τοῦ θανάτου τοῦ
Ἀβραὰμ, εἶπεν κύριος ὁ θεὸς πρὸς Μιχαήλ· Οὐ μὴ τολ-
μήσῃ θάνατος ἐγγίσαι τοῦ ἐξενεγκεῖν τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ
δούλου μου, ὅτι φίλος μου ἐστίν· ἀλλὰ ἄπελθε καὶ κόσ-
μησον τὸν θάνατον ἐν πολλῇ ὡραιότητι, καὶ οὕτως ἀπό-
στειλον αὐτὸν πρὸς Ἀβραὰμ ὅπως θεάσηται αὐτὸν τοῖς
ὀφθαλμοῖς αὐτοῦ. καὶ ὁ Μιχαὴλ εὐθὺς καθὼς προσ-
ετάχθη ἐκόσμησεν τὸν θάνατον ἐν πολλῇ ὡραιότητι, καὶ
οὕτως ἀπέστειλεν αὐτὸν πρὸς Ἀβραὰμ, ὅπως θεάσηται
αὐτόν. καὶ ἐκάθισεν πλησίον τοῦ Ἀβραάμ· ἰδὼν δὲ ὁ
Ἀβραὰμ τὸν θάνατον πλησίον αὐτοῦ καθήμενον ἐφοβήθη
φόβον μέγαν. καὶ εἶπεν ὁ θάνατος πρὸς Ἀβραάμ· Χαίροις,
ἁγία ψυχή· χαῖρε, φίλος κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ· χαῖρε, τὸ παρα-
μύθιον τοῦ ξενισμοῦ τῶν ὁδοιπόρων. καὶ εἶπεν Ἀβραάμ·
Καλῶς ἐλήλυθας, δοῦλε θεοῦ ὑψίστου· παρακαλῶ σε, εἰπέ
μοι τίς εἶ σὺ, καὶ εἰσελθὼν ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ μετάλαβε βρώσεως
καὶ πόσεως, καὶ ἀπόστηθι ἀπ' ἐμοῦ· ἀφ' οὗ γὰρ ἐθεασά-
μην σε καθήμενον ἔγγιστά μου, ἐταράχθη ἡ ψυχή μου.
πάντως γὰρ οὐκ εἰμὶ ἄξιος μετά σου πλησιάζειν, σὺ γὰρ
εἶ ὑψηλὸν πνεῦμα, ἐγὼ δὲ σὰρξ καὶ αἷμα, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο
οὐ δύναμαι βαστάσαι τὴν δόξαν σου. θεωρῶ γὰρ τὴν
ὡραιότητά σου, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου τούτου. καὶ AB
εἶπεν ὁ θάνατος πρὸς Ἀβραάμ· Λέγω σοι, ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ
κτίσματι ὃ ἔκτισεν ὁ θεὸς, οὐχ εὑρέθη ὅμοιός σου· καὶ

1, 2 καὶ—ὥραν] κ. ταύτην τὴν ὥραν A; ἐν ἐκείνη τῇ ἡμέρᾳ· καὶ C 3—6 Σάρρα δὲ—ἔθαψεν αὐτὴν] κ. οὕτως ἀπέθανεν ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ—αὐτὴν ὁ Ἀβρ. A; κ. πρῶτον τέθνηκεν ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ κ. ἔθ. αὐτήν B 7—9 τοῦ Ἀβρ.—ἐγγίσαι] om B 12, 13 τοῖς ὀφθ. αὐτοῦ] ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ πρὸς θάνατον A; om B 16 καὶ ἐκάθ.—Ἀβρ.] om AC καὶ] om B 18—21 καὶ εἶπεν ὁ θάν.—ὑψίστου] om AB 22, 23 σὺ—πόσεως] om AB 27, 28 θεωρῶ—κόσμου τούτου] om B 28—p. 118, 26 τούτου—ψυχὴν τοῦ Ἀ.] om C, a leaf of which is lost here 30 κτίσματι ὃ] κτισμ. ἥν A; κόσμω ὅ B

AB αὐτὸς γὰρ ὁ θεὸς ζητήσας οὐχ εὗρεν τοιοῦτον ἐπὶ πάσης τῆς γῆς. καὶ εἶπεν Ἀβραὰμ πρὸς τὸν θάνατον· Πῶς ἐτόλμησας ψεύσασθαι; ὅτι ὁρῶ τὴν ὡραιότητά σου ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου τούτου. καὶ εἶπεν ὁ θάνατος πρὸς Ἀβραάμ· Μὴ νομίσῃς, Ἀβραὰμ, ὅτι ἡ ὡραιότης αὕτη ἐμή ἐστιν, ἢ καὶ οὕτως πορεύομαι εἰς πάντα ἄνθρωπον· οὐχὶ, ἀλλ' ἐάν τις δίκαιος ὡς σὺ, οὕτως λαμβάνω στεφάνους καὶ ἀπέρχομαι πρὸς αὐτόν· ἐὰν δὲ ἁμαρτωλός ἐστιν, ἀπέρχομαι ἐν μεγάλῃ σαπρότητι καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἁμαρτίας αὐτῶν ποιῶ στέφανον τῇ κεφαλῇ μου, καὶ ταράσσω αὐτοὺς ἐν μεγάλῳ φόβῳ, ἵνα ἐκθαμβῆται. λέγει οὖν Ἀβραὰμ πρὸς αὐτόν· Καὶ πόθεν ἔστιν ἡ ὡραιότης αὕτη; καὶ λέγει ὁ θάνατος· Οὐκ ἐστὶν ἄλλος σαπρότερός μου. λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ Ἀβραάμ· Καὶ μὴ σὺ εἶ ὁ λεγόμενος θάνατος; ἀπεκρίθη αὐτῷ καὶ εἶπεν· Ἐγώ εἰμι τὸ πικρὸν ὄνομα· ἐγώ εἰμι κλαυθμός....

A XIV. εἶπεν δὲ Ἀβραὰμ πρὸς τὸν θάνατον· Δεῖξον ἡμῖν τὴν σαπρότητά σου. καὶ ἐφανέρωσεν ὁ θάνατος τὴν σαπρότητα αὐτοῦ· καὶ εἶχεν δύο κεφαλάς· ἡ μία εἶχεν πρόσωπον δράκοντος, καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ τινὲς ὑπὸ ἀσπίδων τελευτῶσιν ἄφνω· ἡ δὲ ἑτέρα κεφαλὴ ὁμοία ῥομφαίας· διὰ τοῦτο τινες ἐν ῥομφαιᾷ τελευτῶσιν ὡς ἐπὶ τόξοις. ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐτελεύτησαν οἱ παῖδες τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ διὰ τὸν φόβον τοῦ θανάτου· οὓς ἰδὼν Ἀβραὰμ ηὔξατο πρὸς κύριον, καὶ ἀνέστησεν αὐτούς. ἐπέστρεψεν δὲ ὁ θεὸς καὶ

AC ἐξέτεινεν τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ ὡς ἐν ὀνείροις, καὶ ὁ ἀρχιστρατηγὸς Μιχαὴλ ἦρεν αὐτὴν εἰς τοὺς οὐρανούς.

5 μὴ νομίσῃς, Ἀβρ.] om A 7—11 οὐχὶ—ἐκθαμβῆται] om B 9 τῆς] τὰς A 11—16 λέγει οὖν—κλαυθμὸς] om A 16 κλαυθμὸς] with this word B breaks off 19 σαπρότητα αὐτοῦ] + ἐφανέρωσεν δὲ αὐτοὺς A 21 ῥομφαίας] -α A 22 τόξοις] -ος A 26—p. 119, 5 ὀνείροις—ἀμήν] ὀνείροις· καὶ ἰδοὺ ἅρμα κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ ἦρεν τὴν τιμίαν αὐτοῦ ψυχὴν εἰς τοὺς οὐρανούς, καὶ ἄγγελοι προάγοντες καὶ ἀκολουθοῦντες μετὰ λαμπάδων καὶ θυμιατῶν, δοξάζοντες καὶ εὐλογοῦντες τὸν θεὸν τὸν ὕψιστον. ἔδραμεν δὲ Ἰσαὰκ ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἔπεσεν εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔκλαυσεν καὶ κατεφίλησεν αὐτὸν, ὁμοίως καὶ οἱ οἰκοπαῖδες ἅπαντες· καὶ βαστάζοντες τὸ τιμιώτατον ἐκεῖνο λείψανον ἀπήγαγον· καὶ ἔθαψεν αὐτὸ Ἰσαὰκ οἰκειοχείρως πλησίον τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ Σάρρας. καὶ ὑπέστρεψαν δοξάζοντες καὶ ὑμνοῦντες τὸν θεὸν ἡμῶν· ὅτι αὐτῷ ὑπάρχει ἡ δόξα, ἡ τιμὴ, καὶ ἡ μεγαλοσύνη εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. ἀμήν. C 26, 27 κ. ὁ ἀρχιστρ. M.] ὁ ἀρχ. M. καὶ A.

ἔθαψεν δὲ Ἰσαὰκ τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ πλησίον τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ τῆς Σάρρας, δοξάζων καὶ αἰνῶν τὸν θεόν· ὅτι αὐτῷ πρέπει δόξα, τιμὴ καὶ προσκύνησις, τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν. AC

NOTES ON THE TEXT.

A I. p. 77, l. 2. 995 *years*. This completely fabulous age together with most of the first 10½ lines I regard as belonging to the mediaeval redactor. Nothing of it appears in B.

A II. p. 78, l. 14. *μετὰ τοὺς υἱοὺς Μασὲκ κ. ἑτέροις παισίν.* The MSS are responsible for the defective grammar. The true reading, which no MS supports, is here *τοῦ υἱοῦ Μασέκ* (i.e. Eliezer), from Gen. xv. 2. Notice that B introduces Isaac in his father's arms, a pleasing and possibly original feature.

Michael, in B II. p. 106, l. 18, says that he has heard of Abraham's hospitality of old and has come to test it, which points to the main moral of this part of the book, viz. *φιλοξενία*. Incidentally it may be remarked that in much of this literature, special virtues are inculcated in special books. Thus each of the Testaments of the XII. Patriarchs emphasises a special vice or virtue, Reuben speaks *περὶ πορνείας*, Issachar *περὶ ἁπλότητος*, Joseph *περὶ σωφροσύνης* and so forth. The Testament of Job again lays stress on *ἐλεημοσύνη* as well as on *ὑπομονή*, and the Book of Aseneth on *μετάνοια*.

A p. 79, l. 7. Michael's unwillingness to ride probably points to a belief that he would as an angel burn up or otherwise destroy any beast which he mounted. Celestial horses and chariots are of frequent occurrence in Jewish literature (2 Kings ii., Zech. i. vi., Rev. vi.).

B III. p. 107, l. 8. The phrase in B *ἦκουον—ᾀδομένην* sounds to me more original than that in A. I rather doubt whether either of the clauses which follow *Ἅγιος ἅγιος ἅγιος* stood as they do now in the original book, but am inclined to suspect that A's *Ἅγιος—θεός* is right at any rate.

ibid., l. 20. The motive for Abraham's tears in B seems original, and A simply omits it.

A IV. p. 81, l. 22. *πνεῦμα παμφάγον.* Cf. Tobit xii. 19, *πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας ὠπτανόμην ὑμῖν, καὶ οὐκ ἔφαγον οὐδὲ ἔπιον, ἀλλὰ ὅρασιν ὑμεῖς ἐθεωρεῖτε.* This 'docetic' view is of course not identical with that in the Testament, which is very peculiar. The idea that angels could not eat is well seen in various patristic comments on the visit of the three angels to Abraham.

I will quote a few lines from Macarius Magnes, *Apocritica* IV. 27, *τὴν δὲ βρῶσιν καὶ πόσιν οὐχ ὁμοίως τῷ Ἀβραὰμ λάβοντες ἀνήλωσαν, ἀλλὰ πυρὸς δίκην τὴν παρατεθεῖσαν αὐτοῖς δαπανήσαντες...* and again, *λαβόντες τὸ σιτίον ὡς ἄνθρω-*

ποι παρα τῷ Ἀβραὰμ, ὡς Ἄγγελοι τοῦτο φαγόντες ἀνήλωσαν,...ἀσωμάτῳ θίξει τὴν τροφὴν ἀναλώσαντες.

B IV. p. 108, l. 17. *τοῦ γὰρ ἡλίου δύνοντος πάντες προσκυνοῦσιν ἄγγελοι τὸν θεόν.*

It has already been remarked in the introduction (p. 44) that this is one of the purple patches taken by the redactor of B from the Apocalypse of Paul (§ 7, p. 38). *διὰ ταῦτα πάντα εὐλογεῖτε τὸν θεὸν ἀκαταπαύστως, ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον δύνοντος τοῦ ἡλίου· ἐν αὐτῇ γὰρ τῇ ὥρᾳ πάντες οἱ ἄγγελοι ἔρχονται πρὸς τὸν θεὸν προσκυνῆσαι αὐτῷ.*

Several other passages of Apocalyptic writings bear on this topic. Compare, first, Apocalypse of Moses § 7, p. 4, *ἤγγισεν δὲ ἡ ὥρα τῶν ἀγγέλων τῶν φυλασσόντων τὴν μητέρα ὑμῶν τοῦ ἀναβῆναι καὶ προσκυνῆσαι τὸν κύριον*: and again p. 9, *περὶ ὥραν (ἐνάτην), ὅταν ἀνῆλθον οἱ ἄγγελοι τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ προσκυνῆσαι*, and also the Protevangelium xiii. 1.

The principal source of our information on this point is the fragmentary Testament of Adam (ed. Renan, *Journ. Asiat.* 1853, 427—471) of which the most interesting relic is an account of the hours of the day and night in respect of the prayers offered at each hour by different orders of beings. Besides the Syriac and Arabic fragments published by M. Renan a certain amount of material in Greek is available, of which I will here give a brief account.

(*a*) A passage in Cedrenus (ed. Paris, p. 9) which contains a *résumé* of the hours of the day. This was known to M. Renan.

(*b*) A fuller *résumé* of the hours of both day and night, preserved under the name of *Ἀπολλώνιος μαθηματικὸς* in Cod. Par. Gr. 2419, f. 247 *b*. Parts of this were quoted by Gibert Gaulmyn in his notes to Psellus *de daemonum operatione* (col. 846, 853 of Migne's Cedrenus, vol. II.). I copied the whole, save the corrupt Hebrew names[1], from the MS in 1890, and the document is plainly a Greek version of the *νυχθήμερον* of the Testament of Adam.

The Coptic Apostolic Constitutions (ed. Tattam p. 86) contain a little of such matter, in their directions to pray at midnight: but there seems to be nothing in the Greek.

None of these documents, however, agree exactly with the account in the Apocalypse of Paul. In the Adamic documents several hours are assigned to the adoration of God by Angels: at the 6th hour of the day Cedrenus gives *ἀγγέλων παράστασις καὶ διάκρισις πάσης κτίσεως*: in Apollonius we have *ὥρα ἕκτη ἐν ᾗ δυσωποῦσιν τὰ χερουβὶμ τὸν θεὸν ὑπὲρ ἀνθρώπων.* But there is no special adoration at sunset.

p. 109, l. 7. *σὺ γὰρ—ἀνθρώπων.* This clause points to the originality of the story of Abraham's interceding for sinners, which B later on mutilates.

B VI. p. 110, l. 9. The explanation of Michael to Sarah is unintelligible to me.

ibid., l. 13. *ζευμάτων.* Hesychius s.v. has *ζεῦμα(ν) τὴν πηγὴν Φρύγες.*

[1] Each hour has a Hebrew name in the MS, so ill written as to defy my best efforts at deciphering it.

This gives a satisfactory sense: the eyes might well be called 'fountains of light.' But how the word got into this text is a problem.

A VI. p. 83, l. 12. The resuscitation of the slaughtered calf bears some resemblance to the Mohammedan legend of the victims sacrificed by Abraham (Gen. xv.), viz. that they were all pounded up in a mortar by Abraham, and then revived by God in order to furnish Abraham with a proof of the resurrection (v. Sale's Koran, Sur. ii. note).

A VII. On the vision of Isaac it may be further noted that the double form in which Abraham appears,—the sun representing his soul and the rays his body,—may very well be a reminiscence of the twofold appearance of Moses in the Assumption of Moses, as described by Clem. Alex., Origen, and Evodius.

B VII. p. 111, l. 11. *ὡς φῶς καλούμενον πατὴρ τοῦ φωτός* (and Ar.). Cf. James i. 17. I cannot help thinking that this phrase is technically used to denote some atmospheric phenomenon such as the 'Aurora borealis': but up to the present moment I have not been successful in my search for an instance of it. It corresponds to the *ὑπὲρ ἑπτὰ ἡλίους ἀστράπτοντα* of A, and may be merely a periphrasis for the sun.

A VII. p. 85, ll. 4, 5, 11. *ἀλλ' ὅπερ κελεύει ποίησον.* I take this to be the true reading of a rather puzzling clause. It seems to be a defiance of Michael, 'Do what thou art commanded.'

A IX. p. 87, l. 3. *ἔτι ἐν τούτῳ τῷ σώματι ὢν θέλω ἰδεῖν πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην καὶ τὰ ποιήματα πάντα.*

It is important to notice the stress laid on the point that the visit is to be paid while Abraham is yet in the body. This recurs in l. 9, *ἐν τῇ ζωῇ μου πρὸ τοῦ ἀποθανεῖν με.* Abraham knows that in the ordinary course he would visit all the world after death: what he wishes is to be allowed to anticipate this by a short time. The belief that every soul made a kind of tour of the universe after death is found prominently in four documents which I have seen, namely, 4 Esdras, the Pistis Sophia, the Apocalypse of Zephaniah, and a spurious Homily of Macarius. Of these the last three are Egyptian in origin. The reference to the Pistis Sophia is the only one which need be given here. The other passages will be found on pp. 123, 127.

Pistis Sophia, Lat. Transl. p. 179, posthac ueniunt *παραλήμπτορες ἐριναῖοι* ut ducant *ψυχὴν* illam e *σώματι* et posthac *παραλήμπτορες ἐριναῖοι* tres dies circumeunt cum *ψυχῇ* illa in *τόποις* omnibus, monstrantes ei *αἰῶνας* omnes *κόσμου*. pp. 237, 240, 242, ducent eius *ψυχὴν* e *σώματι* ut tres dies festinent cum ea docentes eam creaturas *κόσμου*.

As to the visit being made in the body, the idea may be paralleled from the Book of Enoch: in that, all the visions of the first part of the book are seen by Enoch in the body. Later parallels are S. Paul's *εἴτε ἐν σώματι, εἴτε χωρὶς τοῦ σώματος* (2 Cor. xii. 3), possibly the Apocalypse of Zephaniah, certainly that of Paul, founded on the words just quoted, that of the Virgin, and the passage in the Syriac *Obsequies of the Virgin* where the apostles are taken on a cloud and conducted over heaven and hell.

ibid., ll. 12, 14. *νεφέλη φωτός, ἅρμα χερουβικόν.* The cloud of light is a common method of conveyance in the Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles, e.g. *Acta Andr. et Matth.* § 21, *Petr. et Andr.* (Tischdf. *Apoc. Apocr.* p. 162), *Martyrium Simonis Sahidicum* ed. Guidi[1], *Dormitio Mariae* p. 101.

The chariot of the Cherubim is of less frequent occurrence. It is usually as in the O. T. the chariot of God. The *θρόνος χερουβίμ* occurs in *Dorm. Mariae*, p. 107, and something similar in *Apoc. Mosis* pp. 18, 20, as well as in *Apoc. Mariae* (MS), where, as here, the Virgin is being conducted by Michael to heaven and hell.

A XI. p. 88, l. 29. *The Two ways and Two gates.* Attention should be called to the very confused image. It is not clear why a soul whose character was sufficiently decided to allow of its being brought in by one of the two gates should then have to undergo a judgment. Perhaps it is only meant that doubtful or wicked souls were judged.

p. 89, l. 3. *Adam at the gate.* The *Jalkut Chadasch*, quoted by Eisenmenger, *Entdecktes Judenthum* II. 320, says that Adam sits at the gate of Paradise, encompassed by many souls of the righteous who have eschewed the road of Hell and walked in the path of Paradise.

Christians uniformly believed Adam to be with the other patriarchs in Hades until our Lord's coming, and he is prominent in the *Descensus ad Inferos* (*Acta Pilati*, pt. II.). I have already given (p. 30) an extract from a mediaeval vision which I believe to be derived from our book.

A XII. p. 90, l. 14. *ἐμοὶ...ἡμεῖς.* The employment of the first person is almost continuous in the corresponding Ar. and quite absent in B. It is no doubt original. Similar interchange of person is found in *Apoc. Mosis* § 34, *Protev. Jac.* xix., *Acta Thomae* § 1, *Acta Matthaei* § 24, and *Enoch.*

ibid. ἄγγελοι ἀπότομοι. To collect all the instances of chastising angels which occur in Apocalyptic literature is clearly out of the question. It may be broadly said that the later the book the more we hear of them; for the later visions show more interest in descriptions of torment. A particularly close parallel to one passage is to be found in the Apocalypse of Zephaniah, Frag. *c*, tr. by Stern *Zeitschr. f. Ägypt. Sprache*, 1886, p. 120, '(I saw) a soul which 5000 angels were driving and guarding: they brought it to the East and thence to the West and smote it and gave it... blows of the scourge continually.' Again, frag. *a* speaks of angels 'in whose hands were fiery scourges.' These are they who take the souls of godless men from their bodies. 'Three days do they fly with them about the heaven before they take them and cast them into their eternal torments.' Compare again Hippolytus, *περὶ τοῦ παντός*, ed. Lagarde, p. 69, *οἱ δὲ ἄδικοι εἰς ἀριστερὰ ἕλκονται ὑπὸ ἀγγέλων κολαστῶν οὐκέτι ἑκουσίως πορευόμενοι ἀλλὰ μετὰ βίας ὡς δέσμιοι ἑλκόμενοι.* Instances may very easily be multiplied: they are particularly frequent in the Apocalypse of Paul.

In the New Testament the idea of destroying angels occasionally occurs.

[1] *Rendiconti della R. Accademia dei Lincei* 1887, Fasc. 4.

In Matt. xiii. 49 the angels cast sinners into the furnace of fire. In Rev. ix. we have the four angels bound in the river Euphrates, who are destroyers, but whether good or evil angels it is difficult to say. In Rev. xvi. angels are the direct means of inflicting plagues. The destroying angels of the O. T. correspond to this last class. Familiar instances of these are to be found in 2 Sam. xxiv. 16, 2 Kings xix. 35. A class of angels or spirits created specially for destruction is mentioned in Ecclus. xxxix. 28. In Hermas, Sim. vi. 3. 1, the angel of punishment is a 'just angel.' In the mediaeval visions proper the infliction of torment is the function of demons who are themselves tormented and find their only relief in torturing others. This conception meets us in Dante's *Inferno*.

A good account of the merciless angels of hell is that attributed to R. Jehoshua ben Levi, quoted from *Torath Adam* in Eisenmenger, II. 341.

l. 17. *χαρζαναῖς*, i.e. thongs or chains. One MS (B) gives *ἀλξανες*, which seems to be an attempt at *χαρζ.*, and another (D) has *θεάφη*, which is a late word for brimstone.

A XII. p. 91, l. 1. *βιβλίον*. The Book or Books of Judgment occur as early as Dan. vii., Enoch xc., Rev. xx., 4 Esdras vi. 20. Two ideas seem to be present in these early books. The record contains either the names of those who are to be saved (Ex. xxxii. 32, Luke x. 20, Phil. iv. 3, Rev. xx. 15), or it contains the register of the works of men, as here (Rev. xx. 12). In the apocalypse of John we have both conceptions side by side.

In another group of books (Jubilees, Prayer of Joseph, Test. XII. Patr., Aseneth) we have a collateral idea. The records are usually called the *πλάκες τοῦ οὐρανοῦ*, and contain the destinies of our race. Origen explains that these records are the stars.

In our book we meet with two distinct conceptions. First there is the great book of judgment which contains the record of works. Secondly there are the two angels who stand by and record the sins and good deeds. The idea seems to be that these latter register what is happening on earth for future insertion in the book; it might be thought, but for evidence to be adduced later, that the passage represents a somewhat clumsy welding together of two ideas. In Recension B the confusion, if such it be, is absent. We have there two Cherubim who bear two books (for sins and good deeds), and Enoch as the recorder of both.

We must turn once more to the Apocalypse of Zephaniah for an instructive description of the recording angels. In Frag. *a* we have a vision of the Accuser. 'I beheld and saw him with a roll of writing in his hand. He began to unroll it: and when he had unrolled it I saw that it was written in the speech of mine own tongue. I found all my sins which I had committed recorded by him. ... When I had not gone to visit a sick man or a widow, I found it written against me in the book as an omission etc.'

In Frag. *b* he saw on mount Seir three men, the wicked sons of the high priest Joatham. Two angels were rejoicing over them. Other two angels

were weeping over them. I said, 'Who are these?' The angel said, 'These are the angels of the Lord Almighty, who record all the good deeds of the righteous in their roll, and sit at the gate of Heaven. And they allow me to take the record from them and bear it with me to the Lord Almighty that he may write the names in the book of the living. The angels also of the Accuser, who is upon earth, they also in like manner write all the sins of men in their roll, and sit likewise at the gate of Heaven and deliver the record to the Accuser to write it in his roll and to accuse men when they come hither out of the world.' This passage, I think, shows that Recension A of the Testament is not wrong in the picture it gives us, and that, as was suggested, the great book on the table contains a transcript of the sins and good deeds of men made from the record of the angels in front of the table. It will be remembered that the scene here, as in Zephaniah, is laid at the gate of Paradise.

ibid., l. 7. *σάλπιγγα.* The trumpet which contains fire is a feature which I do not meet with elsewhere. It is probably meant to convey the idea of a blow-pipe: the flame, celestial in its nature, becomes intensified and tests the souls (or their works) as silver is tried. The connexion of angels with trumpets is usually a different one.

A XIII. p. 92, l. 5. *Abel as Judge of souls.*

Here we have a conception which I do not find recurring in Jewish mythology. At least the storehouses of such matters to which I have had access give no hint of the belief. The root-idea seems to be that Abel, the first victim of human sin, and God's first martyr, is thereby entitled to act as judge of saints and sinners alike. Further, Abel figures as an accuser of sinners even in Biblical writings. 'The voice of thy brother's blood crieth unto me from the ground[1]' says God (Gen. iv. 10), and these words are the subject of an allusion in the Epistle to the Hebrews (xii. 24), *καὶ αἵματι ῥαντισμοῦ κρείττονα λαλοῦντι παρὰ τὸν Ἄβελ.* I cannot but think that the striking image of Genesis, interpreted after a too literal fashion, has influenced our author in his selection of Abel as judge.

Another explanation is possible. The belief may be due to a tendency resembling that which in early times made Adam, Seth, and Melchizedek the special objects of the devotion of obscure sects. We have seen that the 'Apocalypse of Abraham[2]' was, in the opinion of Epiphanius, a product

[1] It is interesting to notice the tendency to literal interpretation, which is the parent of so many legends, coming out in a mediaeval representation of this scene. In the reliefs of the Chapter-House at Salisbury Abel's blood is shown as a half-length figure emerging from the earth.

[2] That Abraham should be regarded by the later Jews as a recipient of important revelations is only natural. Two facts seem worth mentioning in this connexion. One is the attribution of the Cabalistic books *Sepher Jetzirah* and *Zohar* to Abraham; the other is the tradition reported by R. Manasseh b. Israel in *Nischmath Chajjim* (Eisenmenger, II. 25) that Abraham first learnt and revealed to men the doctrines of the immortality and of the transmigration of souls.

of the Sethians. Some confused belief in an identity of the soul of Abel with that of Seth (cf. Gen. iv. 25) may, as was suggested before, have led members of the Sethian sect to use and to respect a book which paid high honours to the name of Abel.

A xv. p. 95, l. 13. Sarah is here represented as alive. In B xii. she is dead of grief. (See p. 47.)

p. 96, l. 13. Ἰώβ: he is looked upon in accordance with the traditional Jewish view as a contemporary of Abraham.

A xvi. p. 97, l. 10. *ἀρχαγγέλου μορφὴν περικείμενος.* Either to this legend or, more probably, to some account of the Fall resembling that in *Apoc. Mosis* 17 (*τότε ὁ σατανᾶς ἐγένετο ἐν εἴδει ἀγγέλου*) St Paul's words may be held to refer, 'Satan himself is transformed into an angel of light.'

ibid., l. 14. *τὴν σιαγόνα αὐτοῦ τῇ χειρὶ κατέχων.* The conventional attitude of dejection.

A xvii. p. 98, l. 13. *ἠκολούθει δὲ κ. ὁ θάνατος ἕως ἐκεῖ* etc.

> sed timor et minae
> scandunt eodem quo dominus, neque
> decedit aerata triremi et
> post equitem sedet atra cura. Hor. *Od.* iii. 1. 37.

p. 99, l. 3. *τοῖς δὲ ἁμαρτωλοῖς.* Cf. the accounts of the deathbeds of the wicked in *Apoc. Pauli*, Greg. *Dial.* iv. 18 and 38.

l. 17. Seven heads of dragons: these as is subsequently explained correspond to the seven ages of the world (cf. the 7000 years in B vii.), p. 25, l. 21.

l. 18. Fourteen faces; 'seventeen' in R. The faces or aspects appear to be 1 fire, 2 darkness, 3 viper, 4 precipice, 5 asp, 6 lion, 7 cerastes, 8 basilisk, 9 sword of fire, 10 lightning and thunder, 11 sea, 12 river, 13 three-headed dragon, 14 poison-cup.

p. 100, l. 3. The number of servants who die seems to correspond with the number of death's aspects. In Ar. it is eighteen.

p. 101, l. 4. *αὐστηρῷ τῷ προσώπῳ* etc. This behaviour of Abraham closely corresponds to that of Moses in the *Phetirath Moshe* (see p. 66), who even goes further and smites Samael with his rod.

p. 102, l. 9. *θυμοῦ.* I am almost certain that *θανάτου* must be read here: I have further adopted Mr Robinson's excellent suggestion that the words *δρακόντων—βασιλίσκων* which in the MSS follow *θυμοῦ* should be read after *ἰοβόλων* (l. 17). The blank space of two lines in A shows an omission probably of these very words, which may have occurred twice in the archetype by mistake, and were omitted by the scribe on their repetition.

A xx. *ibid.*, l. 24. 72 deaths. The reason for the selection of this number is not quite obvious; probably it is meant to correspond to the number of nations on the earth as given in Genesis and traditional in all Jewish accounts.

p. 103, ll. 23—28. On the third day Abraham's soul is presented to God and adores him. This agrees strikingly with a spurious Homily or Apocalypse

of S. Macarius (Galland, *Bibl. Patr.* III. 237) in which he is described as meeting two angels in the desert, who detail to him the various proceedings of a soul after death.

τὰς γὰρ δύο ἡμέρας συγχωρεῖται τῇ ψυχῇ ἅμα τοῖς συνοῦσιν αὐτοῖς ἀγγέλοις πορεύεσθαι ἔνθα βούλεται ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. This explains Abraham's desire to see the world *ἔτι ἐν σώματι ὑπάρχων*, see p. 122.

On the third day the angels and the soul go up to heaven. *μετὰ οὖν τὸ προσκυνῆσαι τὸν θεὸν γίνεται κέλευσις παρ' αὐτοῦ* to the effect that Paradise be shown to the soul. So here the voice of God bids that Abraham be taken to Paradise. *καὶ ταῦτα πάντα* (i.e. the joys of Paradise) *καταμανθάνει ἡ ψυχὴ ἐν ἓξ ἡμέραις*: whereat the soul, if it be wicked, laments.

Μετὰ δὲ τὸ θεωρῆσαι πᾶσαν τὴν χαρὰν τῶν δικαίων ἐν ταῖς ἓξ ἡμέραις, πάλιν ἀναφέρεται ὑπὸ τῶν ἀγγέλων εἰς προσκύνησιν τοῦ θεοῦ. It is then conducted over the infernal regions in 30 days. On the 40th it again adores God. Hence it is right to offer the Eucharist for the soul on the 3rd, 9th, and 40th days after death.

Of unbaptized souls it is said that *ἀπεινῶς ἄγγελοι ἀπότομοι λαμβάνουσιν τὰς ἀφωτίστους ψυχὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος, τύπτοντες καὶ λέγοντες, Δεῦρο ἀσεβὴς ψυχή κ.τ.λ.*, and that they take them only to the first heaven, and show them the Majesty from a distance.

This presentation of the soul to God appears first, as far as I can tell, in 4 Esdras (the 'Missing Fragment' v. 78), 'recedente inspiratione de corpore ut dimittatur iterum ad eum qui dedit, adorat gloriam Altissimi primum.' Again in v. 101 a definite period for this is mentioned, 'septem diebus erit libertas eorum ut uideant qui praedicti sunt sermones.'

Possibly the words of the Psalm 'unto the God of gods appeareth every-one of them in Sion' may have had some influence on the belief.

In the Legend or Apocalypse of Zosimas (contained in Cod. Par. Gr. 1219 and partly also in Bodl. Canon. 19) we have a prolix account of the same matter. The passage in question is the concluding part of the statement drawn up by the 'Blessed ones' of their mode of life, which document they present to Zosimas. When one of them is about to die the angels come to him and say '*καλεῖ σε ὁ θεός.*' After the summoned one has bidden farewell to his kindred, the soul departs out of the body, and the angels '*ἁπλώσαντες τὰς στολὰς αὐτῶν δέχονται αὐτήν*[1].' Later on we read *καὶ ὅτε ἀπέλθῃ εἰς τὸν τόπον ἐν ᾧ δεῖ προσκυνεῖν τὸν θεόν, αὐτὸς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ μετὰ τῶν ἀγγέλων δέχεται τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ μάκαρος καὶ προσφέρει πρὸς τὸν ἄχραντον πατέρα τῶν αἰώνων· καὶ πάλιν ὅταν ψάλλωσιν οἱ ἄγγελοι ἄνω, ἡμεῖς ὄντες κάτω ὑπακούομεν αὐτῶν, καὶ πάλιν ἡμεῖς ψάλλομεν, καὶ αὐτοὶ ὑπακούουσιν ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ἄνω, καὶ οὕτως ἀνάμεσον ἡμῶν καὶ τῶν ἀγγέλων ἀνέρχεται ἡ δοξολογία τῆς ὑμνολογίας· ὅτε δὲ ἡ ψυχὴ τοῦ μάκαρος πεσοῦσα ἐπὶ πρόσωπον προσκυνῇ τὸν κύριον, τότε καὶ ἡμεῖς πεσόντες προσκυνοῦμεν τῇ αὐτῇ ὥρᾳ τὸν κύριον· ὅτε δὲ ἀναστήσῃ αὐτὴν ὁ κύριος, τότε καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀνιστάμεθα·*

[1] Compare with this the universal fashion in Christian Art by which angels are represented as carrying souls in a linen cloth.

καὶ ὅτε ἀπέρχηται εἰς τὸν ὡρισμένον τόπον, καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀπερχόμεθα ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, πληροῦντες τὴν εὐχαριστίαν τοῦ κυρίου.

Compare also *Apoc. Pauli* quoted above p. 74, 'adorant primum Dominum Deum,' and *Pass. S. Perpetuae* XI., 'Venite prius, introite, et salutate Dominum.' This last reference I owe to the Editor. In date it comes next to 4 Esdras.

Perhaps these instances will suffice to demonstrate the widely spread character of the belief that the soul was presented to God on its departure from the body.

p. 104, l. 1. *ἔνθα εἰσὶν αἱ σκηναὶ κ.τ.λ.* These words, as is often the case with the concluding phrases of ancient documents, have had a liturgical turn imparted to them: they closely resemble phrases in Collects of the Burial Services of both Eastern and Western Churches.

The oldest to be found among Western Offices are probably two in the Gelasian Sacramentary.

1. 'suscipi iubeas animam famuli tui *illius* per manus sanctorum angelorum deducendam in sinum amici tui Abrahae patriarchae.' xci.

2. 'collocare digneris in sinibus Abrahae, Isaac, et Iacob.' cv.

Compare, again, this from the Sarum Manual (Maskell, *Monumenta* I. 116), 'eiusque animam suscipi iubeas per manus sanctorum angelorum tuorum deducendam in sinum patriarcharum tuorum, Abrahae scilicet amici tui, et Isaac electi tui, atque Iacob dilecti tui, quo aufugit dolor et tristitia atque suspirium, fidelium quoque animae felici iocunditate laetantur.'

The references to the Three Patriarchs in early Burial Services are very frequent, and have sometimes suggested to me a suspicion that not impossibly the early popularity of the legends connected with the deaths of the Patriarchs might have influenced the composers of the prayers in some slight degree. That there is a connexion in some cases between the language of liturgies and obscure uncanonical works, may, I think, be shown by one instance. In most of the Western Marriage Services the following sentence occurs in one of the Blessings (e.g. Maskell, l. c. p. 58), 'Sit amabilis ut Rachel uiro: sapiens ut Rebecca: longaeua et fidelis ut Sara.' Compare with this the description of Aseneth in the Book of Aseneth (Batiffol, *Studia Patristica*, I. 40) '*μεγάλη οὖσα ὡς Σάρρα, καὶ ὡραία ὡς Ῥεβέκκα, καὶ καλὴ ὡς Ῥαχήλ.*' In the Latin (p. 89) it runs: 'eratque magna ut Sarra, speciosa ut Rebecca, et formosa ut Rachel.' The resemblance here seems to me close: and when it is coupled with the frequent allusions made to Joseph and Aseneth in some of the Marriage Rites, it seems to be a possible explanation that the two lines of documents are here independent. 'Aseneth' is not an early book, though I should hesitate to place it as late as the fifth century, with M. Batiffol: it is not impossible, then, that the author of Aseneth was the borrower.

Returning to the Burial Services and the Patriarchal Legends, let us collect a few of the allusions to the Patriarchs. The order in the Sarum Manual yields the following:

Commendatio Animarum.

1. 'in sinum Abrahae angeli deducant te.'

2. 'adsit ei angelus testamenti tui Michael et per manus sanctorum angelorum tuorum in sinu Abrahae patriarchae tui collocare digneris.'

Cf. *Apoc. Pauli*, the Latin version (and Syriac): the Greek is here abridged. 'Tradatur ergo Michaelo angelo testamenti et perducat eam in paradiso exultacionis ut et ipsa fiat co(h)eres cum omnibus sanctis.'

3, 4, 5 are practically repetitions of 1.

Inhumatio Defuncti.

6. see above, p. 128.

7. 'maneatque in mansionibus sanctorum et in luce sancta quam olim Abrahae promisisti et semini eius.'

8=1.

9. 'Benedic Domine locum sepulchri huius sicut benedixisti sepulchra Abrahae, Isaac, et Iacob.'

10. 'qui sepultos Abraham, Isaac, et Iacob in spelunca duplici, in libro uitae ac totius gloriae principes annotasti benedicendos.'

11, 12, 13=1.

On 2 it may be noted that a form from a Fleury MS, given by Martene (*de antiq. Eccl. ritibus*, iii. 594) has 'in sinibus Abrahae Isaac et Iacob patriarcharum tuorum,' and similarly on p. 598 the three names occur where in the Sarum Manual the words of 1 only are used.

A Sarum order printed by Martene has 2 in this form (p. 616) 'Assit ei angelus Gabriel, ut per manus.....sinibus Abr. Isaac et Iacob.'

It is not, I think, possible to lay very much stress on these allusions: the reasons for their occurrence may very easily be deduced from the Bible. The use made by our Lord of the popular image of 'Abraham's bosom' has inspired the greater part of the phrases here cited. The number of references in Genesis to the burials and burial-places of the Patriarchs has given rise to others (e.g. 9 and 10), and our Lord's mention of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob as still 'living unto God' may be responsible for the occurrence of the three names in some forms of 2 and in 6; the text Matt. viii. 17, is also responsible for something. Yet I have thought well to put the allusions together: for it is not at all impossible that the influence of the Testaments may be present, and, moreover, it is obvious that the Burial Services abound with ideas drawn either from popular belief or from non-biblical sources. The prayer for protection against the princes of darkness, the conception of the angelic escort warding off the evil powers on the passage from the 'land of Egypt' to the 'promised land and the City of Jerusalem': these and others remind the reader forcibly of the prayers in the Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles, e.g. that of John, (Zahn *Acta Joannis*, p. 249) of Thomas, (Bonnet, *Acta Thomae*, p. 91) of Philip, (Tisch. *Acta Apocrypha*, p. 93) of Joseph the Carpenter (*Evang. Apocr.*, p. 127) of the Virgin (Revillout, *Apocryphes Coptes du N.T.*, p. 99). And a further step towards the connexion of these Apocryphal prayers with actual liturgical forms is gained when we find two

prayers of S. John in Latin in a book of private devotion (W. de Gray Birch, *An Ancient MS.*, pp. 90, 119). The prayers are taken from the tract of Pseudo-Mellitus (Fabric. *Cod. Apocr. N. T.* iii. 604.) The MSS. containing them are Harl. 2965 and 7653. The provenance of the prayers does not seem to be known to the editor.

The Eastern Offices are not so full of allusions to Abraham's bosom as the Western ones; but there is a near approach to the phrase in the Testament of Abraham of which this note treats. This is in *Const. Ap.*, viii. 41. *εἰς κόλπον Ἀβρ. κ. Ἰσ. κ. Ἰακ.....ἔνθα ἀπέδρα ὀδύνη, καὶ λύπη, καὶ στεναγμός.* The offices in the *Euchologion* yield the phrase *εἰς κόλπους Ἀβρ. ἀνάπαυσον.*

Lastly, in this connexion, I would call attention to the *Κανὼν εἰς ψυχορραγοῦντα* in the *Euchologion.* This very striking poem although it makes no definite allusion to Abraham, contains several illustrations of topics treated in the Testament, e.g. the reluctance to die, the chastising angels, the weighing of sins and good deeds, and the fearful spiritual forms which are gathered about the dying man's bed.

M. R. J.

APPENDIX.

THE TESTAMENTS

OF

ABRAHAM, ISAAC AND JACOB.

EXTRACTS TRANSLATED BY

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PREFATORY NOTE.

THE following extracts are translated from a manuscript containing an Arabic version of the 'Testaments' of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. An abstract only is given of the Testament of the last named, for it contains little of apocalyptic or ethical interest. In fact it follows the account found in Gen. XLVII—XLIX very closely, but without giving any interpretation of the difficult passages in Jacob's Blessing.

The translation has had the advantage of a revision at the hands of Professor W. Robertson Smith, who, although very unwell and in great pain at the time, went over my work and supplied me with notes and with several conjectural emendations of passages which baffled me. For the loan of the MS my thanks are due in the first place to the Director of the Bibliothèque Nationale, who courteously extended the time for which it was borrowed, and in the second to the Cambridge University Librarian, who made application for the loan and gave facilities for the use of the MS at the Library.

"The MS is 132 of the Catalogue of Arabic MSS of the Bibliothèque Nationale (De Slane, p. 28 *seq.*); and its contents leave no doubt that it is Egyptian. It was written A.D. 1629 (1345 of the Martyrs). The Arabic is very incorrect and uncultured." (W. R. S.)

The title of the Testaments in the Arabic runs as follows:—"A discourse pronounced by the religious father, our father Athanasius, patriarch of Alexandria, wherein he tells of the departure of the pious fathers, Abraham, Isaac and

Jacob, to their rest on the 28th day of the month Misrâ, from what is found in the Treasury of Sacred Knowledge," etc. The use of *Niyâha*, "departure to rest," in this sense is a Syriacism; cf. Wright Cat. Syr. MSS in B. M., vol. iii, p. 1153, where *tanayyaha*, conj. v, is similarly used in the sense of the Ethpael of the Syriac verb (W. R. S.). "The Treasury of Sacred Knowledge" is probably meant for the title of a book. Two extracts from the Testament of Abraham are here printed. The first is the 'Apocalyptic section' of the book, which is on the whole the most important part of it. The second is selected because it introduces matter not found in the Greek. A somewhat detailed analysis of the Arabic version of the Testament of Abraham, together with a statement of its relation to the Greek, will be found in the Introduction, p. 34 sqq.

W. E. B.

EXTRACTS FROM THE TESTAMENT OF ABRAHAM.

I.

And I say, even I Abraham, he shewed me that place, and in it there was a great door and a little door; and I saw a man clothed in white sitting between the two doors, at one time weeping and at another laughing, but his weeping was more than his laughing twelve times doubled. Fo. vi. vo. cf. A, § xi. p. 88—§ xv. p. 95. B, § viii. p. 112—§ xii. p. 116.

And I said to the angel Michael, What are these two doors? And the angel said to me, This little door is that which leads to the path of life, and this great door which thou seest to be wide is that which leads to death and destruction; and this man that sits between them is Adam, the first man; God hath left him here to watch all the souls that depart from their bodies, as they pass through them in his presence. || Dost thou not see that his weeping is more Fo. vii. than his laughing, because he seeth the souls which go forth from their bodies as they pass by him? and those which enter at the wide gate are more than those which enter at the strait gate into eternal life. And because of this his weeping exceeds his laughing.

And after this I looked upon many souls and myriads to which their angels refused entrance at the strait gate; and they entered the gate that leadeth to destruction. And the angel Michael said to me, Come that we may look upon these souls, perhaps thou wilt find one who is held worthy to enter into eternal joy.

And our Father Abraham and Michael took counsel between themselves concerning these souls; and they searched and they found between them only a single soul whose sins were counterbalanced by her good works. So they took her into eternal life; and as for the rest of the souls they made them enter into the gate of destruction.

And Michael said to me, Woe to these sinners who attain not to enter into life.

And I answered him, I Abraham, and said to him, And I also am a man who dwells in a material body, and I know not, whether they will let me enter by the strait gate without my suffering tortures for twelve years.....

And Michael the chief of the angels said to me, Fear not, O Abraham, thou and the saints, (and they who follow thee and whosoever shall thus walk in thy works,) verily they
Fo. VII. VO. shall enter || into eternal Life. And the angel said to me further, Fear not, O Abraham, verily pleasure and peace and quietness shall be to the soul of him who is in the place in which thou art.

And I said to the angel Michael, These souls which go forth from their bodies, is it God who brings them forth or their angels?

And the angel Michael said to me, Death, which causeth them to depart from their bodies by the command of the Lord, is Michael the holy angel. And I said to him, How many souls go forth from their bodies every day in all the world? and how many souls are born every day? And the angel said, Consider O Abraham that I may instruct thee. And I said to him, Instruct me, O my Lord, for verily I know not. And he said, Hearken, that I may tell thee how many souls go forth from their bodies every day, nine and ninety thousand and nine hundred and nine and ninety.

And while the angel Michael was saying this to me, behold they came with a soul encircling it with opprobrium like a thief and the Judge said, Let us enter into reckoning with it on its works that are written down. So immediately there came forth a man from behind the curtain with a book in his hand, and began to declare the sins of that soul to the

end of its actions; and great anguish laid hold of that soul before the righteous Judge, and it denied what was alleged, and said, Not a thing of all this is so, and I have not done it at all. And the unhappy soul thought that all it had done would not be remembered at all. || And God the righteous Fo. VIII. Judge said, Can there be a lie in this place? Then that soul began saying, O Lord, not one thing of that I am said to have done was so at all. And the righteous Judge gave a glance with His eye and straightway witnesses confronted it. And the first said to it, Look at me, O soul! is it not thou that didst stand and address the spouse of thy daughter with the counsel of women (*or* the counsel of a drunkard), to be with her in place of thy husband, until thou didst kill thy daughter and take her husband from her?

And straightway when that soul heard that it wept and said, Woe is me twice over for my sins, whither shall I flee? I thought that no one knew what I did, and now my deeds put me to silence (*or* rebuke me).

Then a second witness stood up and put her to silence (*or* rebuked her), and said to her, Look, O unhappy soul; while the people of heaven and earth were uttering praises .....and thou didst not regard God or remember His name, but wast occupied in eating and drinking and in all the wicked lusts of thy heart.

And the third witness stood up and said to her, Look, O wretched soul, that thou mayest know me. I am he that presideth over thanksgiving, and the angels and the archangels and the cherubim and seraphim are my agents looking upon the race of the children of Adam; and thou in the night didst do works of deceit.

And when that soul heard this it wept saying, Let this be enough for me, O just Judge; not a word remains to me to speak. And she closed her mouth and was cast into || the Fo.VIII.VO. lowest part of Gehinnom.

And I said, I Abraham, to the angel Michael, Who is this hoary venerable old man who brings forth to light the deeds of these souls?

And he said to me, Enoch the secret writer. When God

saw that he was a trustworthy man, he left him to write good deeds and evil, as often as man doeth them.

II.

Fo. x. cf. A, § xvii. p. 99—§ xx. end, p. 104. B, § xiii. p. 118—§ xiv. end, p. 119.

And our Father Abraham said to him, Then present to me thy fearful form and shape that I may behold thee. And Death said to our Father Abraham, Let thy servants go forth from this dwelling, lest they see me and die all of them, verily none seeth my form of fear and liveth.

And our Father Abraham said, Can any die before the completion of his life and the arrival of his time? And Death said to him, Yes, verily, in times of plague and dearth which GOD appointeth and bringeth upon cities and countries because of their sins, while He maketh His anger to dwell upon them and sendeth to bring forth their souls as the Lord pleaseth. Then I go forth, I Death, and my son, whom I have gotten from the treasury of dread and utter fear and name and call Atarlimos. [Verily he is of all the treasuries of fear and dread.] And we go forth together, executing exemplary judgment in wrath, and we destroy from one end of the world to the other. And of those whom we meet in all places we spare neither young nor old, and we respect not the hoary head of an old man and spare not the young man and have no regard for the young one that sucks the milk of his mother, and we leave neither bride nor bridegroom, but bring them forth even from their marriage feast. And my son Atarlimos smites with blains and terror and fear, and I bring forth their souls from their bodies.

And when he said this he began to show his likeness and the foulness of his aspect and the semblance of his form.

Fo. x. vo. || And behold many heads, some of them with the face of serpents, and some of them breathing flames of fire, until through fear of him eighteen of the servants of Abraham our Father died, and those who were present with his servants fell on their faces, and the shadow of death over-

shadowed them, until the angel Michael raised them up (I mean the servants of our Father Abraham), and set them on their feet; and Death and his companion departed to their places. Then Michael, chief of the angels, took the soul of our Father Abraham, and received it in garments like white snow, and bore it away on his fiery chariot, after the hosts of the angels had met it with praises and thanksgivings, until they laid it up in the regions of refreshing and rest and eternal delights for ever.

EXTRACTS FROM THE TESTAMENT OF ISAAC.

[After a homiletic preface of the usual kind the story begins as follows.]

It came to pass when the days of our Father Isaac the Father of the Fathers drew nigh that he should depart from this world and go forth from this body, the Compassionate, the Merciful sent to him the chief of the angels, Michael, whom He had sent to his Father Abraham, on the morning of the eight and twentieth day of the month Misri.

He said to him "Peace be unto thee, O Elect Son!" Then he came to the faithful old man our Father Isaac, (for the Holy Angels used to converse with him every day.) And he fell on his face and saw that he was like his Father Abraham, and he opened his mouth and cried with a loud voice and said with exultation and praise, Verily I see thy face as if I saw the face of the Creator the Merciful.

Then said the Angel to him, O my friend Isaac, I have been sent to thee from the presence of God the Living One, that I may take thee up to heaven to be with thy Father Abraham and all the saints, because thy Father Abraham expecteth thee, and he hath come to thee, and he hath
Fo. 12. prepared for thee the throne || with thy Father Abraham, even for thee and thy beloved son Jacob, and ye shall be above every one in the Kingdom of the heavens in the glory of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, and ye shall be called by this name to all future generations, "The Fathers;" and ye shall be Fathers to all the world, O faithful old man our Father Isaac.

He answered saying to the Angel, Verily I marvel because of thee; art thou not my Father Abraham? And the Angel said to him, I am not thy Father Abraham, but it is I who minister to thy Father Abraham. And now rejoice and let thy face shine and be not dismayed, for thou shalt not be taken with pain, but with gladness, and thou shalt attain to delight and rest for ever, and thou shalt go forth from straitness into enlargement, and thou shalt depart to the joy that has no ending, and to the light and the joy without bound, and to the praise and exultation that cease not.

And now make thy testament and set in order thy house, for thou goest to rest; and withal blessed be thy father who begat thee, and blessed thy seed which cometh after thee.

And when our Father Jacob heard them conversing in this colloquy one with another, he began to conceal himself from them without speaking. And our Father Isaac said to the Angel with patience and submission, What shall I do this day with the light of my eye, Jacob my beloved? I fear for him because of Esau, and thou knowest all.

And the Angel said unto him, O my beloved Isaac, all the peoples which are in the world, if they were gathered together to one place, would not be able || to cancel (lit. untie) (Fo.12.vo.) thy blessing upon Jacob, because at the time when thou didst bless him, He Who holds all and the Son and the Holy Spirit and thy Father Abraham all answered saying, Amen. His neighbour shall not prevail against him, but he shall be exceeding strong and shall exercise lordship. And he shall be father of many peoples, and twelve tribes shall proceed from him.

And Isaac said to the Angel, Verily thou hast taught me and given me knowledge of good tidings; nevertheless let not Jacob hear, for he will be grieved and dismayed, and I verily have never once grieved his heart.

And the Angel of the Lord said, O my friend Isaac, blessed are all the righteous who depart from their bodies, blessed are they when they see God the Compassionate, the Merciful. Woe, woe, three times to the sinner when he

begetteth children upon the earth, for verily for him are many sorrows. Thou shalt teach thy sons thy ways and all the precepts of thy father which he commanded thee (and fear not at all for Jacob) that they may be a memorial for future generations afterwards, that the faithful may do them and attain by them to the life that endureth, that is eternal. Nevertheless I will observe thy injunction. And verily I come to thee with joy, speedily. The peace which the Lord hath given me I give to thee and go quickly to Him that sent me.

And when the Angel said this he arose from the bed of our Father Isaac and departed from him; and he looked upon him and was filled with wonder at what he had heard and seen and began to say, I shall not see the light until they ask for me.

Fo. 13. And while he was thinking, || Jacob had come to the door of the sleeping-place of his father: and the angel had cast slumber upon him that he should not hear them. And when he entered the sleeping-place of his father he said, Father, with whom wast thou talking? And his father Isaac said to him, You seem to hear me, O my son; they have sent to thy aged father to take him from thee, O my son Jacob. Then he fell on his father's neck and wept and said to him, My strength is departed from me, wilt thou make me an orphan, O father, and today I shall be of no account? And he fell on the neck of our Father Isaac and kissed him and they both wept until they were outworn and weary, while Jacob said, Father, I will go with thee and I will not part from thee. And he said to him, O my son, this is not in my power, O my son and my beloved Jacob. Nevertheless I thank God that thou also art become a father, and thou shalt remain until they ask for (? ἀπαιτοῦσι) thee, because I know the day on which they came forth into the world that vanisheth. [*Here occur some corrupt words which defy translation.*] As my father Abraham told me, I cannot turn aside anything of the decree which is determined for every man, and so it shall be, because that which is written shall not be shaken.

Howbeit God knoweth, O my son, that my heart is grieved for thy sake, though I myself am glad because I go to the Lord. And now thou shalt be established in the Spirit; and put from thee this weeping and lamenting. Hearken, O my son, that I may tell thee and give thee understanding concerning the first man, I mean our Father Adam, who was created, whom God created with His hand, and our mother Eve. Verily Abel and Seth and our Father Enoch, and Mahalaleel the father of Methuselah, and Lamech the father of Jared, and Enosh the father of our father Noah, and his sons || Shem and Ham and Japheth, and after them Fo. 13. vo.
Phinehas and Cainan and Noah and Eber and Reu and Terah and Nahor and my Father Abraham and Lot[1], these all death took away except our Father Enoch the only perfect one, who ascended to heaven.

And hereafter twelve mighty ones shall come forth, and Jesus the Messiah shall come of thy seed of a virgin whose name is Miriam, and God shall abide upon him till a hundred years be fulfilled.

And Isaac used to fast all the day, not breaking his fast until the evening. And he used to offer sacrifices for himself and for all the people of his household, for the salvation of their souls, and they used to rise up for prayer in the middle of the night, and in the day time he would pray to God. And he did this for many years, and he fasted for three periods of forty days, every time the forty days' fast came round, and he ate no flesh and drank no wine for the length of the days of his life, and he never touched fruit nor slept upon a couch, because he was occupied with prayer every day and with supplication before GOD for the length of his life.

And when the multitudes heard that a man of God had appeared, they were gathered together to him from every country and from every place that they might hear his instructions and his life-giving precepts, that he might teach them, because it was the Spirit of God which spake in him. Then the great men who were gathered together

[1] These names are restored from the E.V.

to him said to him, What is this wisdom which has rested upon thee since the time that the light of thine eyes departed from thee, and how is it that thou seest now?

And as for the faithful old man, he smiled and said to
Fo. 14 them, Verily them || who are present I will tell: God healed me when He saw that I had drawn near to the gate of death: he hath appointed for me this consolation in my old age that I should be a priest of the Lord. Then one said to him, Begin me a discourse that I may receive consolation and keep it in mind.

And our Father Isaac said to him, When thou speakest in anger keep thyself from defaming, and beware of vainglory. See that thou speak not of thyself alone[1]; take care that there proceed no corrupt word out of thy mouth. Keep thy body that it may be pure, for it is the temple of the Spirit of Holiness that dwelleth in it. Take heed to thy "vile" body that it may be pure and sanctified. Beware that thou sport not with thy tongue lest a corrupt word proceed from thy mouth. Beware of stretching out thine hand to that which thou dost not own. Do not present thine offering when thou art not clean. Bathe in water when thou wouldest draw near to the altar. Do not mingle thy thoughts with the thoughts of the world. What time thou standest before Him, thy most meritorious offering is to make peace between men. When thou desirest to bring thy offerings to God, when thou drawest near to come before the altar, thou shalt pray to God a hundred times without remission.

At the beginning thou shalt say this thanksgiving, even this, to God Who is not comprehended, Who cannot be searched out, the Lord of Might, the Treasury of Purity. Cleanse me by Thy mercy, of thy free bounty upon me, for I am a thing of flesh and blood fleeing to Thee. And I

[1] Probably a deep-seated corruption. Transpose the words "When thou speakest in anger" to a position behind "See that thou speak not" at the same time striking out "Of thyself alone" as a corrupt doublette. The opening words of the discourse will then run as follows:—"Keep thyself from defaming and beware of vainglory and see that thou speak no word in anger." (From W. R. S.)

know my filthiness and do Thou cleanse me, O Lord! || For lo! my cause is committed unto Thee, and to Thee I flee for refuge. Fo. 14. vo. I know my sins, so cleanse me, O Lord, that I may enter into Thy presence with modesty. Now are my sins heavy. I am near to the fire that burneth. Thy mercy is upon all things; take away all my trespasses! forgive me, even me the sinner! And forgive all Thy creatures whom Thou hast created who obey not and have not the faith; and as for me, I am grieved for everyone bearing Thine image who meets me[1], and towards him are my eyes. I have come to Thee, and I am Thy servant, and I am the son of Thy handmaid, the sinner; And Thou art the forgiving One, forgive me of Thy free bounty, and hear my request that I may be deemed worthy to worship at Thy holy altar. Let this burnt offering be acceptable with Thee. Give me not over to mine ignorance because of my sins; receive me like a lost sheep. The God Who led our father Adam and Abel and Noah and our Father Abraham shall be with thee, O Jacob, and shall be with me again; receiving (?) my offering from me.

And when thou hast drawn near and hast done this before ascending the altar, then offer thy offerings. And beware and take heed that thou grieve not the Spirit of the Lord, for the priest's office is not easy and it is required of all priests from this day till the last of the generations is finished and the world comes to an end, that they be not filled with drinking wine, and be not satisfied with eating bread, and speak not of matters of the world, and listen not to him who speaks of them, but spend all their activities and their life in prayer || and watching and perseverance in the Fo. 15. religious life, that he may make request to the Lord in peace. And it is required of every man upon the earth, be he miserable or be he fortunate, that he keep the testimonies that are appointed. Because after a little time they shall be removed from this world and from its grievous anxieties, and shall be engaged in holy angelic service, because of their purity, and stand in the presence of the Lord and His angels

[1] The text of the preceding three lines is doubtful.

because of their pure offerings and angelic service, because their earthly service resembles their occupation in the heavens, and the angels shall be their companions because of their perfect faith and purity. And great is their honour in the presence of the Lord, and there is neither small nor great to whom the Lord will not give increase, desiring that he be without fault and without sin.

And now be humbling yourselves to God with repentance for your sins, and sin no more. Thus, thou shalt not kill with the sword, thou shalt not kill with the tongue, thou shalt not commit adultery with thy body, thou shalt not keep anger until the setting of the sun, and thou shalt not take to thyself vain praise. Thou shalt not rejoice at the fall of thine enemies nor of thy brethren; thou shalt not revile; beware of slander. Look not upon a woman with thine eye with lust; beware of these sins and what resembles them; take ye heed that ye may be delivered every one of you from the wrath which shall be revealed from heaven.

And as for the multitudes that surrounded them, when they heard this they cried out all together, saying, Verily right and true is all which this righteous old man hath spoken.

He was silent, and the cloak was returned to him, and they covered his face. And as for the assembly and the
Fo. 15 vo. priest who was present, they were silent and said, || Let him rest for a little.

Then came to him the Angel of God, and took him to the heavens and shewed him things in fear, and many wild beasts having left sides, and all their sides were joined (as brethren) so that they could not look one upon another,[1] and their faces were as the faces of camels; others had as it were the faces of dogs, and others as it were the faces of lions and hyænas and leopards, and others had only one eye.

[1] "I saw terrible things and many kinds [*Here some words must have dropped out*] making signs to one another on every side like brethren, (but) unable to wait for one another" (ex emend. W. R. S.)

He said, I saw and behold they brought in a man hurrying him along. And when they came to the lions, those who were conducting him departed from him. Then the lions turned upon him and rent him in the midst and divided him limb by limb and gnawed him and swallowed him. And after this they cast him forth from their mouths and he returned to his former state. And after the lions the other beasts came and they did the same to him. They took him one after the other, and everyone of them gnawed him, swallowing him and casting him forth and he returned each time to his former condition.

Then I said to the Angel, What is the sin, O my Lord, which this man hath sinned that they have done thus unto him? The Angel said to me, This man whom thou seest offended his neighbour five hours ago and he died without being reconciled to him. So he is delivered to five of the tormentors that they may torment him a whole year for each hour of the five during which he remained in enmity with his fellow.

Then the Angel said to me, O my beloved Isaac, look Fo. 16. upon these 60 demons (DEWA) who torment for every hour that a man remains at enmity with his neighbour. And he is brought hither to these who torment him each one for an hour until a whole year is fulfilled, any man who has not made peace and repented of his sin before his departure and separation from his body.

And he brought me to a river of fire, and I saw its waves beating and rising higher than 30 cubits, and the voice thereof was like rushing thunder. And I looked upon many souls sinking in it to a depth of more than nine cubits, and they who were in that river were weeping and crying out with a loud voice and deep groaning. And the river had intelligence in the fire thereof that it should not hurt the righteous but the sinners only, burning them. And it burnt everyone of them because of the stinking and loathsome odour which enwrapt the sinners.

And I considered the deep river whose smoke ascended up before me, and I saw a number of men in the bottom

thereof, crying out, weeping every one of them and groaning. And the Angel said to me, Look into the lowest part that thou mayest see those whom thou wilt see in the lowest depth; these are they that have committed the trespass of Sodom; verily they endure a grievous punishment.

And I looked upon him who was set over the torment, and he was of fire all of him, and he was smiting the satellites of the Infernal Fire and saying to them, Kill them outright and they shall know that God is for everlasting.

Fo. 16. vo. And the Angel said to me, Lift up thine eyes and look || upon all the punishments. Then I said to the Angel, My sight cannot contain them because they are so many, but I desire to know how long these are to continue in this punishment. And he said to me, Until the God of mercy be merciful and have mercy on them.

And after this then the Angel took me to Heaven, and I saw Abraham and worshipped him and he kissed me, he and all the pious ones. And they were all gathered together and did me honour for my Father's sake, and they gave me the hand and brought me to the pulpit of the curtain of the Father. And I prostrated myself to Him and worshipped with my father and all the saints, and we praised and cried aloud saying: Holy, Holy, Holy is the Lord the Sabaoth, the Heaven and the Earth are filled with Thy hallowed Glory.

And the Lord said to me from the top of the sanctuary, Every one who names his son after Isaac my beloved, my blessing shall rest upon him and upon his house for ever. Good is thy coming, O Abraham, and good is thy stock and the presence of the blessed stock. And now whatsoever thou shalt ask in the name of thy beloved son Isaac shall be to thee this day as a covenant for ever. Then answered my Father Abraham and said, Thine is the sovereignty, O Lord, Ruler of the Universe. And the Lord said from the top of the sanctuary to my Father Abraham, Every man who shall name his son by the name of Isaac my beloved, or shall write his testament, shall have a blessing which shall not come to an end, and my blessing in his house shall not cease;

or if he shall give a poor man to eat on the day of the feast of my beloved Isaac, verily I will give him to you in my Kingdom. Then said my Father Abraham, Oh divine Father, Fo. 17. Ruler of the Universe, even if he cannot write his testament or his will, let thy blessing and mercy enfold him, for thou art the Merciful. And the Lord said to Abraham, Let him give the hungry bread to eat, and I will give him a place in my Kingdom and he shall be present with you at the first hour of the banquet of the thousand years.

And the Saviour said to our Father Abraham, And if he is poor and cannot find bread in his house, then let him keep vigil for a whole night in memory of my beloved Isaac without slumbering, and I will give him inheritance in my kingdom. My Father Abraham said, And if he is weak and cannot keep vigil, let thy mercy and compassion enfold him still. And the Lord said to him, Then let him bring a little incense in my name on the memorial day of my beloved Isaac thy son. And if so be that he cannot read, then let him go that he may hear the reading from one who can read it. And if he do not any one of these things, then let him enter his house and shut the door upon him and pray with a hundred prostrations, I repent; then I will give him to you as a son in my Kingdom; but better than all this let him bring an offering on the memorial day of my beloved Isaac. And all who shall do all that I have said, even they shall obtain the inheritance, the Kingdom in my Heavens. And of all who shall take pains and transcribe his will and his testament and his story, and shew mercy even by giving a cup of cold water, and believe from all their heart, my strength and the spirit of my holiness shall be with them for their prosperity in this world, and there shall be no wavering in their religion, and I will give you them in my Kingdom, and they shall be present the first hour at the banquet of the thousand years. Peace be upon you, O my beloved, the saints.

And when He had finished this discourse the Heavenly Ones began to cry out, saying, Holy, Holy, Holy is the Lord Sabaoth, the Heaven and the Earth are full of thy hallowed

Glory. The Father who holdeth all answered from His hallowed place and said, O Michael my faithful servant, call together all the Angels and all the Saints. And ride upon the chariot of the Seraphim, and command the cherubim to go before. And when He had said this, Jacob was carried beyond himself, and he clung to his father and kissed him weeping. Then our Father Isaac made him stand upright and made signs to him, glancing with his eyes, Be silent, O my son.

Then said Abraham to the Lord, O Lord, likewise remember my son Jacob. And the Lord said to him, My strength shall be with him and he shall glorify my name, and he shall be lord of the land of promise, and the enemy shall not have dominion over him. And our Father Isaac said to Jacob, O my son, keep my dying charge, that I make known to thee this day for the safe keeping of my body. Thou shalt not injure the image of GOD in that which thou doest, for the image of man was made in the image of GOD; and thus will GOD do to thee at the time when thou meetest Him and beholdest Him. And this is the beginning and the end as our Father hath said. And when he had said this the Lord took his soul from his body white as snow, and He received it and carried it with Him upon His
Fo. 18. sacred chariot and went up with it || to the heavens, while the Cherubim sang praises before it and His holy Angels, and He gave to him the Kingdom of heaven and all those graces that give satisfaction which our Father desired. GOD gave him them, and the fulfilment of His covenant is for ever.

Such was the decease of our Father Abraham and our Father Isaac son of Abraham on the 28th day of the month Misri, on this selfsame day; and him we regard as holy and as a prophet. And on the day on which our Father Abraham brought the offering to GOD on the eight and twentieth day of the month Amshir, the Heaven and the Earth were filled with the sweet savour of his walk before the Lord.

And our Father Isaac was as silver that is burned, that is melted, that is purified from dross, made pure by fire; and in like manner, whosoever shall display the bounty of our Father Isaac (i.e. give alms in his honour) Father of the Fathers, on the day on which Abraham the Father of the Fathers brought him as an offering to GOD, the sweet savour of his offering shall ascend toward the inner curtain of Him Who holds all. Happy are all who shall shew mercy on the day of the memorial of the Father of the Fathers Abraham and of our Father Isaac, for they shall have a dwelling in the Kingdom of the Heavens, because our Lord hath brought them into His sure covenant for ever. And He will keep it for them and for those who shall come after them, saying to them, All who do mercy in the name of my beloved Isaac, verily I will give them to you in the Kingdom of the Heavens.

And He shall be present with them at the first hour of the feast of the thousand years, that they may keep festival in everlasting light in the Kingdom of our Lord and our GOD and our King and our Saviour Jesus the Christ. This is He to Whom is due glory and majesty and strength and dominion and reverence and honour and praise and worship, with the Merciful Father and the Spirit of Holiness, now and for all times to the ages of the ages and to everlasting of everlasting. Amen.

The story of the decease of our Father Isaac is finished; and the thanks and the praise be to GOD for ever and aye!

TESTAMENT OF JACOB.

(Abstract.)

After the ascription of praise, and a short preamble, the story begins.

When the time of Jacob's death drew near, Michael was sent to him, and bade him write his 'dogmatic and didactic testament.' Jacob, whose custom it was every day to converse with angels, agreed, saying, 'Let the will of the Lord be done.'

A short recapitulation of God's dealings with Jacob follows. After this it is said that Jacob was very old, and the angel of the Lord came to him, seemingly, in the semblance of Isaac (just as in the Testament of Isaac, the angel appears in the likeness of Abraham). Jacob was afraid, but the angel reassured him, reminded him of God's goodness to him in the past, and promised blessings to those who should observe the day of his feast, or give alms in his name; finally bidding him make ready for death, and bid farewell to his household. Jacob's household were accordingly assembled, and wept over him, while he comforted them.

Here follows an extract from Genesis, narrating shortly the last interview of Jacob with Joseph, the blessing of Ephraim and Manasseh, and the assembling of Jacob's sons (Gen. xlvii. 29—xlix. 1). The Blessings in Gen. xlix. are not given.

Immediately after this we have what seems to be a short abstract of a vision seen by Jacob, corresponding to those in the two preceding Testaments, in this form:

'And after this one caused him to pass through the heavens, that he might see the places of rest. And, behold, he came to those who were punishing many who were perverted to idolatry, and they were accustomed to punish sinners, namely, adulterers and adulteresses (various forms of impurity are enumerated), astrologers, oppressors, idolaters, tale-bearers, double-tongued. And as for all these sinners, their punishment was fire unquenchable, where shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth.'

A short account of Jacob's burial follows, taken from Gen. l. 4 sqq. It is then said that the narrative is taken from the 'spiritual books of God,' and the 'holy Treasury of knowledge belonging to our fathers the holy and pure Apostles.'

After a further homiletic passage, we find a quotation from Genesis (xlviii. 3, 4).

Then: 'This have we heard, O my beloved brethren, from our ancestors the patriarchs.... These are they whose names are the Holy Fathers. And Jacob instructed his sons concerning the punishment and called them (*sic*) the Sword of the Lord, which is the river of fire, which punished (?) in order that it might separate the transgressors and the polluted.' (Comp. Test. of Isaac, p. 147.)

An ethical exhortation of some length follows, of which the main heads are these:

Pay attention to prayer and fasting...and ye are they who shall drive out the Satans. Shun the wickedness of this world, a sharp tongue and adultery and all evil works, because the unjust shall not inherit the kingdom of God (the text of part of 1 Cor. vi. 9, 10 follows). Praise the saints, for they are they who shall intercede for you. Practise hospitality and ye will be recompensed as were Abraham and Isaac. Give bread to the poor and God will give you to eat of the tree of life. Clothe the naked, and God will clothe you with the garment of praise, and ye shall rest with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. Read the word of God, and remember those who write holy books, and ye shall be written in the book of life.'

This is said to be taken from the 'ancient book concerning

our holy Fathers.' After a further exhortation, the Testament finally concludes. It has plainly been much worse treated than even the Testament of Isaac; but enough remains to show that it is a companion document constructed on the same principles as the other two Testaments. We have, first, the appearance of Michael to Jacob; next, the summoning of the household, then the scanty remains of a vision of Paradise and Hell; and lastly, displaced, as I take it, the ethical discourse, or Testament proper, which, wholly wanting in the story of Abraham, is so prominent in the Testament of Isaac, and in those of the Twelve Patriarchs. It is prefaced, in the document before us, by a slight reference to the vision of torment.

ON THE TESTAMENTS OF ISAAC AND JACOB.

The following short essay is intended to do duty alike as Introduction and Notes to the two documents whose names stand at its head. The resources at my command do not allow me to hope that I can throw much light on them; and in particular, the ethical element is one which I am forced to leave almost entirely untouched. However, the few facts which I have been able to collect may as well be set down at once.

The existence of books under the names of Isaac and Jacob is hardly noticed by any ancient writer. On p. 11 of this volume will be found a passage from the Apostolic Constitution which speaks of books attributed to the 'Three Patriarchs,' and on p. 12 is a passage from Priscillian's writings which might imply that he knew books under the names of Isaac and Jacob, but which more probably does not imply such knowledge.

Besides this, there is an item in the so-called Gelasian lists of Apocryphal books, which has been cited, though erroneously, in this connexion. It intervenes between the 'Liber Ogiae' (probably identical with a book used by the Manichaeans under the name of ἡ τῶν γιγάντων πραγματεία), and the 'Poenitentia Origenis.' As it stands in our present texts, the entry in question reads thus:

"Liber qui appellatur Testamentum Iob; apocryphus." But Fabricius (*Cod. Pseud. V. T.* I. 438) read 'Iacob' for 'Iob.' As there is an extant Testament of Job (printed by Mai, *Scriptt. Vett. Nova Collectio*, VII. 180) it seems unnecessary to adopt the reading of Fabricius.

The same writer (l. c. p. 437) conjectured that the Ἀναβαθμοὶ Ἰακώβου described by Epiphanius (*Haer.* xxx. 16) had reference to the vision of Jacob in Gen. xxviii., and accordingly renders the title as *Scala Iacobi.* The blunder is a strangely gross one for Fabricius; for the book is an Ebionite production referring to James the brother of the Lord, as Epiphanius plainly tells us[1].

A third conjecture must be mentioned, that of Cotelier on *Const. Apost.* vi. 16, that the entry Πατριάρχαι in the synopsis of Pseudo-Athanasius refers to the Testaments of the Three Patriarchs. But in all probability the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs are meant.

Again, a phrase in the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs has been thought to imply the existence of Testaments of the Three Patriarchs. The passage is *Zabulon* ix., ἔγνων ἐν γραφῇ πατέρων μου ὅτι ἐν ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις ἀποστήσεσθε ἀπὸ κυρίου, κ.τ.λ.; and a similar reference has been suspected in *Benjamin* x. Both are unreliable. It is well known that the numerous references to writings of Enoch in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs find no support from our extant Book of Enoch. And just in the same way the vague references to writings of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob are most likely meant only to add local colour and a certain veri similitude to the prediction of their descendants.

Two entries in Catalogues of MSS have seemed likely to throw further light on our subject. The first was of a Carshunic History of Isaac the Patriarch, in the Bodleian Catalogue of Syriac MSS (Cod. 140 ff. 341—6). This, through the kindness of the Bodleian authorities, I was able to have photographed, and Professor W. Robertson Smith was so good as to read it for me. But it was a disappointment to find that the tract was merely an exaggerated paraphrase of the story of the sacrifice of Isaac: some apocryphal details were added, and in particular the colours of the ram, which was the substitute for Isaac, were dwelt upon. But the document is hardly an Apocryphon in the

[1] See Lightfoot, *Galatians*, p. 330, etc.

accepted sense, and certainly has nothing to do with the Testament of Isaac.

The second of the entries referred to was of a Διαθήκη Ἰακώβ in a Paris MS (Coislin 296. of cent. XII. f. 5). This on examination proved to be merely a transcript of Gen. xlix. But it is interesting to find any document under this title, and the existence of such a thing goes a little way towards confirming the idea that a Testament of Jacob did at one time exist in Greek.

The Testaments here translated exist in other copies and in at least one other language, viz. Ethiopic (see p. 6), while other MSS of the Arabic are in the Vatican library (Mai, *Scriptt. Vett. Nov. Coll.* iv. cod. 171. Assem. *Bibl. or.* i. 986, ii. 285).

The few illustrations of the text which I have been able to collect had better be subjoined here in their order.

Michael is sent to Isaac as he had been sent to Abraham, and comes in the form of Abraham, p. 140. This feature implies that the writer, whether identical or not with the author of the Testament of Abraham, was acquainted with that book; and indeed the general plan of the second Testament inevitably leads us to that conclusion.

'*From straitness into enlargement,*' p. 141. *Test. Abr.* B § vii. p. 111. This probably indicates that the phrase quoted is one belonging to the original form of the Testament of Abraham.

'*Till a hundred years be fulfilled,*' p. 143. It is not clear what the meaning of the number a hundred can be in this connexion. Most probably the number is corrupt, and the prophesied interval was in its true form meant to extend to the time of the end of the world. The Christian prophecy of which this forms part may be easily paralleled from the Ascension of Isaiah (xi.) and the Testament of Adam.

Isaac offered sacrifices for his household. Cf. Job i., and Abraham's sacrifice in Jubilees xvi.

Isaac fasted for three periods of 40 *days in the year, and abstained from flesh, wine, and fruit, and from sleeping on a couch,* p. 143. It is tempting to see in the latter part of this

description a trace of Essene influence. The three periods of forty days are possibly the three '*τεσσαρακοσταί*'[1] of the Greek Church, those of Lent, of the Nativity, and of the Virgin; or something corresponding to the 'three Lents' of the Montanists, in which they practised a *ξηροφαγία*, very like that ascribed to Isaac.

When the multitudes heard that a man of God had appeared, p. 143. The meaning seems to be that the rumour of the appearance of Michael had been spread abroad. It seems plain that all the events narrated are supposed to take place immediately before the death of Isaac.

'*Do not present thine offering when thou art not clean. Bathe in water when thou wouldest draw near to the altar,*' p. 144. Cf. Test. Levi, ix. 8, Jubilees xxi. (tr. Schodde) 'At all times be clean in thy body and wash thyself with water before thou goest to sacrifice upon the altar.' The speech of Abraham to Isaac, in which this phrase occurs, supplies to some extent the want of any ethical or hortatory element in the Testament of Abraham. The dying speech of Isaac to Esau and Jacob (Jub. xxxvi.) is of less general application. It is possible to imagine an Essene influence in the passage which heads this note.

'*I am near to the fire that burneth,*' p. 145. Cf. Is. xxxiii. 14, and the *agraphon* quoted by Origen and Didymus (Resch, p. 98), *ὁ ἐγγύς μου ἐγγὺς τοῦ πυρός.*

'*I am grieved for every one bearing Thine image who meets me, and towards him are my eyes,*' p. 145. Cf. p. 150. "Thou shalt not injure the image of God in that which thou doest, for the image of man was made in the image of God." It seems from this that 'I have compassion upon' would here be a better rendering than 'I am grieved for.'

Injunction to reverence the priests, p. 145. So, in Test. Ruben vi., Juda xxi., Iss. v., Dan vi., Neph. viii., etc., reverence for Levi is enjoined.

The comparison between the priesthood and the angelic

[1] Cf. Anastasius Antiochenus, *de tribus quadragesimis.*

hierarchy finds its fullest development in the works of the Ps.-Dionysius the Areopagite.

Beware of these sins and what resembles them, p. 146. Cf. *Didache* c. 3 Τέκνον μου, φεῦγε ἀπὸ παντὸς πονηροῦ καὶ ἀπὸ παντὸς ὁμοίου αὐτοῦ. That this is a characteristically Jewish saying has been shewn by Dr Taylor, *Lectures on the Teaching &c.* (1886) pp. 23 ff. The moral precepts should throughout be compared with the *Didache* cc. 1—6.

The Vision of Torment, p. 146. Here the employment of the first person is specially noticeable, in connexion with its occurrence in the corresponding sections of the Testament of Abraham. Obviously, again, the vision is much abridged. The Three Testaments concern themselves, seemingly, with different departments of eschatology. Whilst Abraham sees the power of judgment, Isaac sees the torments of Hell, and Jacob is shown the 'places of rest' as well as the torments.

The episode of the lions, p. 147. A striking parallel to this is found in a Jewish book. Eisenmenger and, following him, Stehelin (*Traditions of the Jews*) quote a passage from the *Torath Adam*, f. 97. "R. Jehoshua ben Levi hath said: 'Upon measuring the first house of the dwellings of Hell I found it to contain a hundred miles in length and fifty miles in breadth; in it are many caverns, and in them are fiery lions, and when a man falls into one of these caverns the lions devour him, and when he is consumed he appears again as perfect as if he had not been touched by the fire, and then are they who are thus restored thrown again into the fire of every cavern in the first division of Hell....The angel Kushiel smites them with a fiery scourge (cf. p. 123 of our book)." The Rabbi describes in monotonously similar terms each one of the seven mansions of Hell. For the duration of the torment, *a whole year for every hour*, cf. Hermas, *Sim.* vi. 4. 4.

The fiery river, p. 147. It would be difficult to name any vision of Hell in which this feature does not appear. The 'fiery stream' of Dan. vii. is not there conceived of as an instrument of punishment, it would seem; yet this is its use

in the minds of the later Rabbis[1]. Whether it takes the form of lake or river, the feature is wellnigh universal in Apocalyptic literature. The distinctive trait of the description before us is the statement that 'the river had intelligence in the fire thereof, that it should not hurt the righteous but the sinners only[2].' I am inclined to bring this into connexion with a phrase which occurs in Clem. Alex. *Cohort.* p. 47 (Potter), *πῦρ σωφρονοῦν*. *Paed.* iii. 8, p. 280, *Ecl.* 25, p. 985, *φρόνιμον πῦρ*. Tertullian and Minucius Felix, speaking of fire which destroyed heathen temples, as Clement does in the first passage cited, call it 'sapiens ignis.' In the third of these passages Clement speaks of the fire as *φθαρτικὴ τῶν χειρόνων καὶ σωστικὴ τῶν ἀμεινόνων*, and he adds *διὸ καὶ φρόνιμον λέγεται παρὰ τοῖς προφήταις τοῦτο τὸ πῦρ*. To what prophet he alludes I cannot discover; he may well be drawing on an apocryphal source. Elsewhere (*Exc. Theod.* 81. *Ecl.* 8) he dwells on the double nature of fire, and uses the epithet *νοητόν*, though in a different sense.

The idea that souls are plunged to various depths in the river of fire according to the nature of their sin is one found in several visions, e.g. *Apoc. Pauli* 31.

The pulpit of the curtain of the Father, p. 148. Cf. 'the inner curtain of Him who holds all.' In Clem. Alex. *Exc. Theod.* 38, we find mention both of the river of fire and of the curtain before the throne. *Ποταμὸς ἐκπορεύεται πυρὸς ὑποκάτω τοῦ θρόνου τοῦ τόπου, καὶ ῥεῖ εἰς τὸ κενὸν τοῦ ἐκτισμένου, ὅ ἐστιν ἡ γέεννα...καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ τόπος πύρινός ἐστι. διὰ τοῦτο, φησὶ, καταπέτασμα ἔχει, ἵνα μὴ ἐκ τῆς προσόψεως ἀναλωθῇ τὰ πράγματα.*

Holy, Holy, Holy is the Lord the Sabaoth, the Heaven and the Earth are filled with Thy hallowed Glory, p. 148 (cf. p. 149). The form of this Doxology is exactly that of the Liturgy of S. Mark (Swainson, p. 48): *Ἅγιος, ἅγιος, ἅγιος Κύριος Σαβαώθ· πλήρης ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ τῆς ἁγίας σου δόξης*. Two points are to be noted: (1) 'Heaven and Earth,' as in the Liturgies and the *Te Deum*, but not in

[1] See also Clem. Alex. *Exc. Theod.* 38.

[2] Cf. Commodian *Instr.* ii. 2. 10. *Carm. Ap.* 996.

Isaiah vi. ('the whole earth'); and (2) the addition of *ἁγίας*, which seems to be peculiar to the Alexandrian Liturgy. It may also be observed that there would seem to be a Christian Liturgical element in the Prayer before offering Sacrifice on pp. 144 f., and in the paragraph which follows it.

'*Then said my father Abraham, O divine Father...even if he cannot write his testament, let thy...mercy enfold him, &c.,*' p. 149. This petition and those that follow are closely modelled on the intercession of Abraham in Gen. xviii. A clause has plainly dropped out before the words '*And the Saviour said,*' p. 149. The supplement required is 'And my father Abraham said, And if he is poor and cannot find bread in his house, let thy mercy and compassion enfold him still.'

With the conditions imposed and the blessings promised in this paragraph should be compared a passage in an Egyptian apocryphal book which I have already had occasion to cite, the History of Joseph the Carpenter, c. xxvi. "Whatever man shall pay heed to the offering on the day of thy memorial, I will bless him and reward him in the congregation of virgins. And whosoever shall give good to the wretched, the poor, the widow, and the orphan from the labour of his hands, on the day when thy memorial is celebrated, and in thy name, he shall not be in want all the days of his life. And whosoever shall give a cup of water or wine to the widow or the orphan in thy name, I will give him to thee, that thou mayest go in with him into the banquet of the thousand years....And whosoever shall write the story of thy life and of thy labour and thy departure from this world, and this word that is spoken by my mouth, I will put him under thy protection as long as he liveth."

M. R. J.

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Zosimas; see *Apocalypse*

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TEXTS AND STUDIES

CONTRIBUTIONS TO

BIBLICAL AND PATRISTIC LITERATURE

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APOCRYPHA ANECDOTA

A COLLECTION OF THIRTEEN
APOCRYPHAL BOOKS AND FRAGMENTS

NOW FIRST EDITED FROM MANUSCRIPTS

BY

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FELLOW DEAN AND DIVINITY LECTURER OF KING'S COLLEGE
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR OF THE FITZWILLIAM MUSEUM

CAMBRIDGE
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS
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ETONAE

STVDIORVM FAVTRICI

PRAE CETERIS DILECTAE

PREFACE.

THIS collection of documents represents the result of three years' gleaning in English and foreign libraries, carried on by no means continuously, and extending over no very wide field. Oxford, London, Cheltenham, Paris and Trèves have furnished all the material, and even under these conditions more has been collected than appears here. The moral of these remarks is plain: if a not very systematic research adds as many as thirteen new documents to the apocryphal literature, how much more may be waiting in very accessible places for future explorers! If any such explorer chooses to digress into the field of Oriental and of Slavonic literature, there are not less than fifty books and fragments which he will find ready to his hand and worthy of his editorial pains.

But it seems that no one cares very much to investigate apocryphal books: though, if professed theologians are pressed on the point, they allow unanimously that it is extremely important that investigations should be made in this field. I can forgive them in a measure for not undertaking the task themselves, for I am very well content to do things which not everyone else is doing at the same time: but I cannot altogether sympathise with the contempt that is rather freely showered upon the literature as a whole. It is plain to be seen that most of the books are very badly written, some of them very savage and horrible, all of them

most obviously unhistorical. But ought we not to be alive to the interest which they possess as being the products of human minds? To me there is real pathos in the crude attempts of these ignorant or perverted souls to tell their friends or their disciples what—to be feared or hoped for—lies in the unseen future, or on the other side of the grave. But if the pathos is obscured to many readers by the crude fancy or the barbarous language, not many will deny that these books possess considerable historical value. The high-road will serve us well enough if we want to visit our cathedral cities: but in order to get an idea of the popular architecture of a district we must often digress into obscure and devious by-paths. The apocryphal books stand in the relation of by-paths—not always clean or pleasant—to the broad and well-trodden high-roads of orthodox patristic literature. If a future historian wants to realise vividly what were the beliefs of many large classes of ordinary Christians in our time, he will derive great help, I doubt not, from the 'Sunday Stories' of the last thirty years: and not less information can be gathered from the apocryphal books as to the popular beliefs of average Christians in far earlier times. These remarks will be recognised as truisms: it is time to say something about the individual items of which this collection is composed, in order to direct the attention of possible readers to salient points of interest. The Latin *Visio Pauli* is a completer form than any yet known of a book in which, after an interval of a century, the apocalyptic branch of literature reappeared, to be continued without any considerable break down to the time of Dante. The 'Sunday Story' of the early Christians is thoroughly well illustrated by the *Acts of Xanthippe and Polyxena:* which also yields us, as I think, some new knowledge of the early and important lost *Acts of Paul.* The *Story of Zosimus* is an important contribution to the mythology of the Lost Ten Tribes and of the Earthly Paradise. Incidentally it testifies to the popularity of that puzzling book the *Protevangelium* of James.

The *Apocalypse of the Virgin* touches a lower level, alike in subject and treatment. It may have acted as a deterrent from vice in some cases, and if it did I think it must have satisfied the

highest ideals of its author. The *Apocalypse of Sedrach* has a certain pathos and a certain literary interest of its own. The writer's view of life is a sad one: 'life,' he says, 'is very full of labour, and there is no time to repent.' It is interesting to find that at a date so late as his the 4th Book of Esdras was still existing in Greek.

The eight fragments which follow this last document are of a more venerable antiquity. The *Description of Antichrist* from Trèves may just possibly be a fragment of the *Apocalypse of Peter:* if it is not, it comes from a hitherto unimagined Latin version of the *Testament of the Lord.* The *Apocalypse of Adam* has excited a good deal of interest in its time: the fragment here published restores to us a small portion of the Greek text. The *Book of Enoch* is more famous: the British Museum now yields proof which seems satisfactory that the whole book existed in Latin down to a comparatively late date. The *Translation of Philip* ought to possess some value for students of the spurious Gospels as well as for those interested in the spurious Acts. The four fragments from a Cheltenham MS. which end the book include what I believe to be a part of the *Assumption of Moses,* as well as three striking supplements to the books of Judges and 1 Samuel, which shew no trace of Christian origin, and are quite probably not later than the first century A.D. It is curious to compare the Song of David, which is the last item in this collection, with the modern treatment of the same theme in Browning's 'Saul.'

Two more documents there are which at one time I had thought of including in this collection: to the amateur in hagiology they would be interesting, but they are neither of them really important, so far as I can judge; for even to the enthusiast not everything need be important because it is uncanonical.

One is the *Life of John the Baptist* by his disciple Eurippus, which occurs very commonly in menologies. I have not been able to discover that it contains much early matter, but it is certainly under obligations to the *Protevangelium.* The other is an account of the *Exploits* (*ἀνδραγαθήματα*) *of the Three Holy Children,* also

a common tract. The Basilian Menology contains an abstract of the latter part of it, and so do the printed Greek Menaea. It represents the Three Children and Daniel as having been beheaded by Atticus, a successor of Nebuchadnezzar; and narrates their temporary resurrection at the time of the Crucifixion. It contains one plain reference—almost the only one known to me—to the *Rest of the Words of Baruch:* but it is on the whole late and rhetorical, and is couched in the homiletic form.

I have been obliged to append a few *Additional Notes* on points which were cleared up after the introductions to the various documents had been written. The Greek and Latin *Indices* are not intended to be exhaustive; they only include the more remarkable words and phrases.

The Editor of this series has deserved here as elsewhere my best thanks for his patient supervision of my proofs: and so, too, have those who are in charge of the various libraries whence my material has been drawn.

M. R. J.

King's College,
May 19, 1893.

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ON THE LATIN VERSION OF THE VISIO PAULI.

In my edition of the Testament of Abraham (*Texts and Studies*, ii. 2, p. 21 etc.) I have given some particulars of the document here printed, and a few extracts from it. These particulars are to be here repeated and supplemented.

The materials hitherto accessible for the study of the Apocalypse of Paul are the following:

(*a*) The original Greek, edited by Tischendorf in *Apocalypses Apocryphae* 34—69, from two MSS., one at Milan, the other at Munich. The latter is of cent. xiii, and is the archetype of the former.

(*b*) The Syriac version, translated by the Rev. Justin Perkins, an American missionary, from a MS. at Urûmiah, and published in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society* (1864, vol. viii.), and in the *Journal of Sacred Literature* (i. p. 372): it was also translated into German by Zingerle in Heidenheim's *Vierteljahrsschrift* iv. 139—183, from Cod. Vat. Syr. 180.

(*c*) Abbreviated Latin versions published by Hermann Brandes (*Visio S. Pauli*, Halle, 1885). The existence of a Latin Apocalypse of Paul had been noted by Grabe (*Spicil. SS. Patr.* i. 84) from a Merton MS. Brandes prints two recensions from Vienna MSS., and describes three more forms of the book in Latin. He further prints an old German version, and gives particulars of French, English, Danish and Slavonic forms of the legend, of which several have been printed. But as all save the Slavonic are directly dependent upon the Latin Versions, it seems unnecessary to follow Brandes through this part of his investigations, interesting as they are. His tract is a most important contribution to the literature of the subject.

To these materials is now added what I would call the complete Latin Version of the book. It exists, so far as I am aware, in but one MS. This is a volume now in the *Bibliothèque Nationale* at Paris (*Nouv. acq. Lat.* 1631). It is one of the volumes stolen by Libri from the Public Library at Orleans, sold by him to Lord Ashburnham, and subsequently repurchased by the Paris Library. M. Delisle's description of the MS. (*Cat. des MSS. des fonds Libri et Barrois*, 1888, p. 108) may be abridged here.

The volume consists of two parts united at an early date, as it seems; and, like most of the MSS. at Orleans, it must have come from the Abbey of Fleury on the Loire.

Part I (ff. 1—26) is of cent. viii., and is written in double columns.

ff. 1, 2 contain the end of a Lectionary, entitled *Liber ecclesiasticus*, written apparently by a scribe Gauzlenus.

ff. 3—25 *a* contain the *Visio Pauli.*

f. 25 *b* has a "*computus Grecorum sive Latinorum de concordia mensuum*" (sic).

f. 26 *b* some later prayers.

These leaves formed quires xvii, xviii, xviiii, xx of a larger volume. They are numbered in Roman figures.

Part II (ff. 27—173), of cent. x, in single lines, contains the *Breviarium Alarici*, and a portion of a glossary.

The leaves containing the Vision of Paul have in some cases suffered slightly at the upper corners. A corrector, possibly contemporary, has gone carefully through the text. Except where the sense is affected I have not deemed it necessary to notice his corrections (which are mainly orthographical) in detail; and I have throughout preserved the spelling of the original scribe Gauzlin with its extremely erratic aspirates. Contractions, which are freely employed, I have expanded without comment; such emendations as the sense requires I have incorporated in the text and noted in the *Apparatus Criticus.* My transcript of the text was made in Sept. 1890.

It is not my purpose in the present edition of the text to give any commentary upon the origins of the book or its sources: that I must reserve for a future discussion. But it seems necessary to provide the reader with a short statement of the relations sub-

sisting between the Greek, Latin, and Syriac recensions in which we possess the work: and I think the result undoubtedly goes to show that the Latin version now published is on the whole the completest of the three forms.

I also add a table which shows the relation of the three recensions printed by Brandes to the fuller Latin. In one or two places (e.g. p. 14, l. 35) these help in the emendation of the text.

I add four indices, which will speak for themselves: with respect to the orthographical Index, I cannot be sure that it contains all the forms which may be interesting to students of later Latin; but it probably contains the most important ones.

Among the MSS. of the *Visio Pauli* named by Brandes (pp. 211—23), there are three which merit further examination on account of their age: but none seems to contain a full text. They are:

S. Gall. Stiftsbibliothek, *cod.* 682, ixth cent., 8°, pp. 193—204.

S. Gall. Stadtbibliothek, *cod.* 317, ixth cent., ff. 56—68.

Vatican, *cod. Palat.* ix—xth cent., 8°, f. 126 *b*.

Nos. 1 and 3 begin with a description of a tree with 1000 branches filled with fruit (§ 22, p. 22), and both seem to end with the punishment of those who dishonoured their parents (which does not occur in the original document). No. 2 begins with the exodus of the righteous soul (§ 14, p. 16) and ends with the thanksgiving of the lost for the respite granted to them (§ 43, p. 36, l. 23).

TABLE I.

[Items italicised are such as appear in one or other of the versions of the book.]

GR.	SYR. A (Perkins.)	SYR. B (Zingerle.)	LAT.
Sect. 1, 2. Heading. *History of the discovery of the book.*	Preface by the Syr. translator.	No preface.	Heading from 2 Cor. xii. History of the discovery of the book.
3. *The Apocalypse begins: Exhortation to Repentance.*	3. as Gr.		3. As Gr.
4. *Appeal of the Sun against man, and God's answer.*	4. ,,		4. ,,
5. *Appeal of the Moon and Stars.*	5. ,,		5. ,,
6. *Appeal of the Sea.*	6. ,,		6. ,,
	Appeal of the Rivers, and of the Earth.		Appeal of the Waters, and of the Earth.
	A	B	
7. (*a*) *Exhortation to Repentance.* (*b*) *Appearance of the Angels before God at sunset.*	7. As Gr.	Omits 7 (*b*)—10.	7. As Gr.
8. *The Angels of the pious.*	8. Omitted.		8. Partly omitted.
9. *The Angels of the ascetics.*	9. As Gr.		9. As Gr.
10. *The Angels of the wicked.*	10. ,,		10. ,,
11. *Paul is taken by an Angel and sees the Angels who are sent to the death beds of the wicked.*	11. ,,	11. As Gr.	11. ,,
12. *He sees the Angels who are sent to the death beds of the good.*		12. As Gr.	12. As Gr.

GR.	SYR.	LAT.
	A / B	
13. *He sees the world, and a fiery cloud (the sin of the world).*	13. As Gr.	13. As Gr.
14. *The death bed of a good man: the reception of his soul, and its destiny.*	14. ,,	14. ,,
15, 16. *The death and judgment of a wicked man.*	15, 16. ,,	15, 16 ,,
17, 18. *The trial of another wicked soul, and its condemnation.*	17, 18. ,, [Apparently the soul is identical with that in §§ 15, 16.]	17, 18 ,,
19. *Paul is taken to the city of the just. Their names inscribed on golden pillars.*	19. As Gr.	19. ,,
20. *He meets Enoch.*	20. ,, And Elias.	20. ,, and 'sol' (=Elias).
21. *He hears unspeakable words.* *The river Oceanus: the land of the meek.*	21. Omitted. As Gr.	21. As Gr.
22. *The trees of that land: the ἀχέρουσα λίμνη.*	22. Shortened. The married persons who are righteous.	22. Fuller than Gr. The married righteous.
23. *The city: the four rivers, of honey, milk, oil and wine.*	23. Paul crosses the lake to the city in a gold ship, with 3000 angels. The city has A: seven / B: twelve walls: The names of the rivers are given.	23. As Syr. Twelve walls. The names of the rivers given.
24. *The fruitless trees, and the proud outside the city.*	24. As Gr.	24. As Gr.

GR.	SYR.	LAT.
25. *Paul meets the prophets.*	25. He meets Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Moses, and all the Prophets.	25. At the river of honey he meets Isa., Jer., Ezek., Amos, Micah, Zech., and all the prophets.
26. *At the river of milk he sees the souls of the Innocents.*	26. As Gr.	26. As Gr.
27. *He meets the patriarchs.*	27. ,,	27. At the river of wine he meets Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Lot, Job and others.
28. *At the river of oil he meets the souls of those devoted to God.*	28. ,,	28. As Gr.
29. *The altar in the city: David.*	29. The walls: thrones and crowns for the simple: rest as Gr.	29. As Syr.
30. *Interpretation of Alleluia.*	30. As Gr.	30. As Gr.
31. *He leaves the New Jerusalem: the river Oceanus: a river of fire: souls plunged in it to various depths.* Adulterers.	31. As Gr.: the land of promise mentioned. A river of fiery coals. Those plunged in it up to the knees are talkers in Church, and so forth.	31. As Syr. Two classes of sinners are added, (1) those neither hot nor cold, the indifferent, (2) those plunged up to the eyebrows, who are the traitors.
32. *The River of fire:* thieves and slanderers in it: *the river has no bottom.*	32. Those who did not trust in God are in the river: its depth is dwelt upon.	32. As Syr.
33. *Paul weeps, and is admonished.*	33. As Gr.	33. As Gr.
34. *Torment of a wicked priest.*	34. ,,	34. ,,
35. *Of a wicked bishop.*	35. ,,	35. ,,
36. *Of a wicked deacon.*	36. ,, Also, of a wicked reader. Fire and worms, the torment of those who trusted in riches.	36. ,, As Syr. But substitutes usurers.
37. *Of talkers in Church.*	37. As Gr.	37. As Gr.
38. *Of sorcerers.*	38. ,, Darkness: the torment of patriarchs, bishops, etc.	38. ,, The torment of adulterers.

GR.	SYR.	LAT.
39. *Of those incontinent before marriage.*	39. AB omit.	39. As Gr. Of oppressors, of the breakers of the fast, of adulterers, and of impure.
40. *Of infanticides.*	40. AB omit.	40. As Gr. but fuller. Hypocritical ascetics: Paul weeps, and is admonished.
41. *The well: in it are unbelievers.*	41. As Gr.	41. As Gr.
42. *Weeping and gnashing of teeth: deniers of the resurrection.*	42. AB omit.	42. ,, The great cold is dwelt upon.
43. *Paul weeps:* Gabriel *and angels descend. Dialogue of Gabriel with the sinners.*	43. Michael for Gabriel.	43. Michael.
44. *The Son descends and grants the respite of Sunday.*	44. A omits the latter half of this section.	44. As Gr.
45. *Paul is taken to Paradise. The forbidden tree, the four rivers, the tree of life.*	45. AB omit.	45. ,,
46. *The Virgin greets Paul.*	46. AB omit.	46. As Gr.: but fuller.
47. *The three patriarchs:* a gap in the text: then *the twelve patriarchs: Joseph's speech.*	47. AB omit.	47. As Gr.: no gap.
48. *Moses meets Paul.*	48. As Gr.	48. As Gr.
49. *The twelve prophets: Isaiah, Jeremiah and Ezekiel.*	49. As Gr. Lot and Job are added.	49. As Syr. The speeches of Lot and Job are fuller.
50. *Noah.*	50. As Gr.	50. As Gr. Fuller than either Gr. or Syr.
51. Enoch and *Elijah:* ends abruptly with the words 'send rain upon the earth.'	51. Elijah and Elisha: Paul is led out by the angel. Story of the discovery of the book (Gr. Lat. § 1).	51. Elijah and Elisha: end as in Gr.

TABLE II (*a*).

BRANDES'S RECENSION I.

PAGE	FULL LATIN.
65. Introductory sentence	
l. 5. Oceanus	= § 31, p. 18
l. 10. [Interpolation: names of rivers of hell. Fiery dragon named Parthemon*]	
l. 21. Fiery river	= p. 18
66, l. 11. Abyss	= § 32, p. 19
l. 19. Paul's weeping	= § 33
l. 23. Punishment of usurers	= §§ 37, 39, pp. 20, 21
l. 29. Punishment of those who broke the fast	= § 39, p. 22
l. 33. Punishment of the impure	= § 40, p. 23
67, l. 3. The well	= § 41, pp. 23, 24
l. 8. [Interpolation: the *limbus patrum*]	
l. 17. Unbaptized heathen	= § 41, p. 24
l. 21. Prayer of the lost	= §§ 43, 44, pp. 24—26
The respite of Sunday granted	
l. 32, to p. 68, l. 13 [Conclusion, and exhortation to avoid the pains of hell]	
68, l. 14. Begins abruptly, condemnation of the wicked soul	= § 17, p. 10, l. 17
68, l. 18. Paul taken to the land of the just: the gate and the pillars	= § 19, p. 11
l. 28. Enoch	= § 20, p. 11
l. 38. Elias	,,
69, l. 5. Prohibition to reveal what he sees	= § 21, p. 12
l. 8. Oceanus	,,
l. 12. River and trees of the land of life	= § 22, p. 12
l. 19. The city: its walls, towers and four rivers	= § 23, p. 14
l. 28. The fruitless trees, and the souls of the proud	= § 24, pp. 14, 15
70, l. 12. The river of honey: the prophets	= § 25, p. 15
l. 20. The river of milk: the innocents	= § 26, p. 15
l. 24. The river of wine: Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Lot, Job	= § 27, p. 16
l. 30. Those who devote themselves to God	= § 28, p. 16
l. 34. The thrones of the humble	= § 29, pp. 16, 17
71, ll. 2—13. The altar: David	= § 29, p. 17

* The fiery dragon's name, which appears in various copies and versions as Bachimach, Parthemon, Partimor, Patinot, is doubtless Behemoth.

On p. 95 is printed a further section on Hell-torments, apparently found continuously following on to what has just been analysed. It occupies about a page and a half, and contains:

Visit to Oceanus	= § 31, p. 18
Fiery river	,,
Abyss	= § 32, p. 19
Paul's weeping	= § 33, p. 19
Torment of an evil priest	= § 34, p. 19
96. ,, ,, bishop	= § 35, p. 20
,, ,, deacon	= § 36, p. 20
,, ,, reader	,,
,, usurers	= § 37, p. 20
,, talkers in church	= § 37, p. 21

TABLE II (*b*).

BRANDES'S RECENSION II.

PAGE	FULL LATIN.
75, l. 1—p. 76, l. 16. [Introduction: *Dies dominicus dies est electus*, etc.	
The fiery trees of hell	
The wheel	
The river	
The bridge]	
l. 16. The souls in the river	= § 31, pp. 18, 19
,, Torment of usurers	= § 37, p. 20
77, l. 2. Of impure, and infanticides	= § 40, p. 23
l. 13. Of oppressors of orphans	= § 39, p. 21
l. 15. Of breakers of the fast	= § 39, p. 22
l. 18. Of an evil bishop	= § 35, p. 20
l. 24. Paul's weeping	= § 40, p. 23
l. 26. The well	= § 41, pp. 23, 24
78, l. 8. The worms	= § 42, p. 24 and § 32, p. 19
ll. 12—20. Exodus of a wicked soul	= §§ 16, 17, pp. 8—10
l. 22. Of a just soul	= § 14, p. 6
l. 30. Prayer of the lost	= § 43, p. 24
79. Christ grants them rest on Sundays (there are two short interpolations)	= p. 26
l. 29 and 80, 1—4. (The number of the pains of hell)	

The Old German recension (Brandes, pp. 83—88) has parts of §§ 31, 39, 40, 15, 14, 43, with many interpolations.

Pointed brackets < > indicate my own supplements; the MS. being either injured or faulty in these places.

INCIPIT VISIO SANCTI PAVLI APOSTOLI.

Veniam autem ad uisiones et reuelaciones domini; scio hominem in Christo ante annos quatuordecim, siue in corpore nescio siue extra corpus nescio, deus scit—raptum huiusmodi usque ad tercium caelum: et scio huiusmodi hominem, siue in corpore siue extra corpus nescio, deus scit; quoniam raptus est in paradisum et audiuit archana uerba que non licet hominibus loqui: pro huiusmodi gloriabor, pro me autem nihil gloriabor nisi in infirmitatibus meis.

1 Quo tempore palam facta est? Consule Theudosio Augusto minore et Cynegio, tunc[1] habitante quodam[2] honorato Tharso, in domum quę fuerat sancti Pauli, angelus per noctem apparens reuelauit ei dicens ut[3] fundamenta domus dissolueret[4] et quod inuenisset palam faceret; haec autem fantasmata esse putauit. 2 Tercio autem ueniens angelus flagellauit eum et coegit eum ut dissolueret fundamentum. Et fodiens inuenit locellum marmoreum in lateribus scriptum: ibi erat reuelacio sancti Pauli, et gallicolę eius in quibus ambulabat docens uerbum dei. Hic autem uerebatur apperire locellum ipsum, et obtulit eum iudici: accepto eo iudex, secundum eo quod erat signatum plumbo, misit imperatori Theudosio, timens nequid aliud[5] esset: quod acceptum imperator reserauit et inuenit reuelacionem sancti Pauli: exemplar <eius> misit ad Ierosoli<ma>, et autenticam re<tinuit> apud se.

3 Qui dum in <cor>pore essem <in> quo[6] raptus sum usque ad tercium celum, et factum est uerbum domini <ad> me dicens: Loquere populo huic: Vsque quo delinquetis[7] et apponitis peccatum super peccatum, et temptatis dominum qui uos fecit?

[1] consol et theudosio aug min est. quinegio hunc habitante [2] quidam
[3] et [4] dissolue [5] aliū est [6] qua [7] delinquentes

Vos estis filii dei, opera diaboli facientes in fiducia Christi propter impedimenta mundi. Memoramini ergo et cognoscite quia omnis creatura seruiens deo, humanum autem genus solum peccat. Imperat autem omni facture, et plus quam omnis natura peccat. 4 Multum[1] etenim sol quidem, luminare magnum, interpellauit dominum, dicens: Domine deus omnipotens, ego prospicio super impietates et iniusticias hominum: permitte me et faciam eis, <quę> sunt uirtutes meae, ut cognoscant quia tu es solus deus. Et facta est uox ad eum dicens: Haec omnia noui; oculus enim meus uidet et auris audit, sed paciencia mea sustinet eos dum ad usque conuertentes peniteantur. Sin uero non reuertuntur ad me omnes ego iudicabo. 5 Nonnunquam enim luna et stelle interpellauerunt dominum dicentes: Domine deus omnipotens, nobis dedisti potestatem noctis: usque quo respiciemus super impietates et fornicaciones et homicidia quas faciunt filii hominum? permitte nobis ut faciamus in eis, quae sunt uirtutes nostrae, ut cognoscant[2] quia tu es deus solus. Et facta est uox ad eos dicens: Ego omnia agnosco haec, et oculus meus prospicit et auris audit, sed paciencia mea sustinet eos dum ad usque conuertantur et peniteant. Sin uero non reuertuntur ad me, ego eos iudicabo. 6 Et frequenter etiam mare exclamauit dicens: Domine deus omnipotens, intaminauerunt homines sanctum nomen tuum in me; permitte me exurgam et cooperiam omnem siluam et arbusta et omnem mundum, donec deleam omnes filios hominum a facie tua, ut cognoscant quoniam tu es deus solus. Et facta est iterum uox et dixit: Noui omnia; oculus enim meus uidet cuncta et auris audit, sed paciencia mea sustinet eos[3] dum ad usque conuertantur et peniteant. Sin uero non reuertuntur, ego eos iudicabo. Nonnunquam et aquae interpellauerunt aduersus filios hominum dicentes: Domine deus omnipotens, fili hominum contaminauerunt omnes sanctum nomen tuum. Et facta est uox dicens: Ego agnosco omnia priusquam fierent, oculus enim meus uidet et auris[4] audit omnia, sed paciencia mea sustinet eos dum ad usque conuertantur. Sin minus[5], ego iudicab<o>. Frequenter etiam

[1] Multas (ū) [2] cognoscamus [3] h'os [4] aures [5] siminus

et terra exclamauit ad dominum aduersus filios hominum dicens: Domine deus omnipotens, ego super omnem creaturam tuam noceor supportans[1] fornicationes adulteria homicidia furta periuria magia maleficia hominum et omnia mala quae faciunt, ita ut pater exurgat in filium et filius super patrem, alienigena super alienigenam, ut coinquinet unusquisque mulierem proximi sui. Pater ascendit super cubile filii sui, et filius similiter ascendit stratum patris sui: et in his omnibus malis coinquinauerunt sanctum[2] locum tuum qui offerant hostiam nomini tuo. Propterea ego noceor super omnem creaturam, nolens et mihi pre<bere> uirtutem meam et fruct<us> meos filiis hominum. Permitte mihi et contera<m> uirtutem fructuum <m>eorum. Et facta est uox et dixit: Ego omnia noui, et non est qui possit abscondere se a peccato suo. Impietates autem eorum ego agnosco: sed mea sanctitas patitur eos dum adusque conuertantur et peniteant. Sin uero non reuertantur ad me, ego eos iudicabo. 7 Videte, filii hominum; subdita creatura deo est; humanum autem genus solum peccat.

Propterea ergo, filii hominum, benedicite dominum deum inc<es>sabiliter omnibus horis et omnibus diebus; magis autem cum hocciderit sol: hac[3] enim ho<ra> omnes angeli proficiscuntur ad dominum <ado>rare eum et offerre opera hominum que operatur unusquisque <ho>mo a mane usque ad uesperam, siue bona siue mala. Et est quidam angelus qui procedit gaudens de homine quem inhabitat. Cum ergo occiderit sol prima hora noctis, in eadem hora angelus uniuscuiusque populi et uniuscuiusque uiri et mulieris[4], qui protegunt[5] et conseruant eos, quia imago dei est homo; similiter etiam et hora matutina quae est duodecima noctis, omnes occurrunt deo angeli uirorum et mulierum adorare deum et offerre omnem operam quam operatus est unusquisque homo siue bona siue mala. Omni autem die ac nocte racionem omnium actorum[6] humani generis offerunt angeli deo. Vobis ergo dico, filii hominum, benedicite dominum deum indeficienter omnibus diebus uite uestrae.

8 Statuta ergo hora omnes angeli quicumque gaudens simul in unum procedunt ante deum, ut hoccurrant adorare in hora

[1] in portunos Fornicationes [2] secdm̄ [3] haec [4] mulieres
[5] protegent [6] omí úauct*orum*

constituta. Et ecce subito facta est[1] hora occursio, et angeli uenerunt adorare in conspectu dei, et spiritus processit[2] in occursum eis: et facta est uox et dixit: Vnde aduenistis nostri angeli referentes pondera nuncii? 9 Responderunt et dixerunt: Nos uenimus ab illis qui abrenunciauerunt mundo huic propter nomen sanctum tuum, oberrantes peregrini et in spelunca petrarum et flentes omnibus horis quibus[3] inabitant terram et esurientes et sicientes propter nomen tuum, accinctos lumbis[4], abentes in manibus incensa cordis eorum, et orantes et benedicentes omnibus horis, angustiantes et domantes semedipsos prae ceteris qui abitant in terra flentes et lugentes. Et nos quidem angeli eorum conlugemus eos: quo ergo tibi placuerit iube nos ire et ministrare, ne et alii fecerint sed inopes pr<ae> ceteris qui sunt in terra. Et facta est uox dei ad eos dicens: Scitote quoniam uobis hinc nunc constituetur mea gratia, et meum adiutorium, qui est filius meus dilectissimus, aderit eis gubernans eos omni hora; etiam administrans eis nunquam derelinquid eos, quoniam locus eorum habitacio eius est. 10 His ergo angelis recedentibus ecce angeli alii uenerunt adorare in conspectu honoris[5] in occursionem, qui flebant; et spiritus dei processit in occursum eis; et facta est uox dei et dixit: Vnde aduenistis nostri angeli portantes pondera ministri nunciorum mundi? Respondentes dixerunt in conspectu dei: Nos aduenimus ab illis qui inuocauerunt nomen tuum et inpedimenta mundi fecerunt eos miseros, adinuenientes occasiones multas omni hora, unam quidem orationem puram non facientes neque ex toto corde omni tempore uitae suae; quid ergo necesse est a<desse> hominibus peccator<ibus>? Et facta est uox dei <ad eos>: Necesse est minis-tr<etis> eis quoadusque conue<rtantur> et peniteant: sin uero <non> reuertantur ad me, ego illos iudicabo.

Cognoscite ergo, filii hominum, quia quecunque operantur a uobis, haec angeli *re*ferunt[6] deo, siue bona, siue mala.

11 Et respondens angelus dixit mihi: Sequere me, et ostendam tibi locum iustorum[7] ubi ducuntur cum defuncti fuerint,

[1] *fors.* + statuta [2] *proecessit* solū [3] qui [4] lumbos *sec. manu* [5] honores
[6] re- *secunda manu* [7] so...

et post hec adsumens te in abyssum ostendam tibi animas peccatorum, in qualem locum[1] ducuntur cum defuncti fuerint. Et profectus sum retro post angelum, et duxit me in celum, et respexi[2] firmamentum, et uidi ibidem potestatem, et erat ibi obliuio que fallit[3] et deducit[3] ad se[4] corda hominum, et spiritus detraccionis et spiritus <fornication>is et spiritus furoris et spiritus audacie, et ibi erant principes maliciarum: hec uidi sub firmamento caeli: et iterum respexi et ui<di> angelos sine misericordia, nullam habentes pietatem, quorum[5] uultus plenus erat furore et dentes eorum extra os eminentes[6]; oculi eorum fulgebant ut stella matutina orientis[7], et de capillis capitis eorum scintille ignis exiebant, siue de ore eorum. Et interrogaui[8] angelum dicens: Qui sunt isti, domine? Et respondens angelus dixit mihi: Hii sunt qui destinantur ad animas impiorum in ora necessitatis, qui non crediderunt dominum habere se adiutorem nec sperauerunt in eum. 12 Et respexi in altum et uidi alios angelos quorum[5] uultus fulgebat ut sol, succinctis[9] lumbis zonis aureis, abentes palmas in manibus eorum[10], et signum dei, induti uestimenta quod scriptum erat nomen filii dei, repleti[11] autem omni mansuetudine et misericordia; et interrogaui angelum et dixi: Qui sunt isti, domine, in tanta pulcritudine et misericordia? Et respondens angelus dixit mihi: Hii sunt angeli iusticiae qui mittuntur adducere animas iustorum in ora necessitatis, qui crediderunt dominum se habere adiutorem. Et dixi ei: Necessario iusti et peccatores occurrunt testes cum mortui fuerunt? Et respondens angelus dixit mihi: Vna est uia per quam omnes transeunt ad deum, sed iusti habentes secum sanctum adiutorem non conturbantur euntes a<p[10]>parere in conspectu dei.

13 Et dixi angelo: Volebam uidere animas iustorum et peccatorum exeuntes de mundo. Et respondens angelus dixit mihi: Respice deorsum in terra. Et respexi de celo in terra, et uidi totum mundum, et erat quasi nihil in conspectu meo: et uidi filios hominum quasi nihil essent, et deficientes,

v
[1] loco [2] respexit [3] -et [4] ad se a.... [5] corum [6] inminentes
i..ctis
[7] orientes [8] -it [9] succensis [10] *secunda manu* [11] repleta *prima manu.*

et miratus sum et dixi angelo: Haec est magnitudo hominum? Et respondens angelus dixit mihi: Haec est, et hi sunt qui noceant a mane usque ad uesperam. Et respexi et uidi nubem magnam igne spansam[1] per omnem mundum, et dixi angelo: Quid est hoc, domine? Et dixit mihi: Haec <est> iniusticia obmixta a principibus peccatorum.

14 Ego uero cum hoc audissem suspirans fleui, et dixi angelo: Volebam expectare animas iustorum et peccatorum, et uidere quo scemate[2] exeunt de corpore. Et respondens angelus dixit mihi: Iterum aspice in terram. Et respexi et uidi omnem mundum, et erant homines quasi nihil et deficientes: et inspexi et uidi q<uen>dam hominem moritur<um>, et dixit mihi angelus: Hu<nc> quem uides iustus est. Et <ite>rum aspexi et uidi om<nia> opera eius quecunque fecerat propter nomen dei, et omnia studia eius quorum memini<t> et[3] quorum non memini<t>, omnia steterunt in conspectum eius in hora necessitatis[4]; et uidi iustum profecisse[5] et inuenisse refectionem et fiduciam, et ante quam exiret de mundo asteterunt sancti angeli simul et impii: et uidi eos omnes, set impii non inuenerunt locum habitacionis in eum, sancti autem dominati sunt anime eius, gubernantes eam quo usque exiret[6] de corpore: et comouerunt animam dicentes: Anima, cognosce corpus tuum unde existi, necesse est enim te reuertere in eodem corpore in die resurrec<tion>is, ut recipias promissa omnibus iustis. Sus<cipi>entes ergo animam de <co>rpore, statim osculati sunt <eam> quasi cotidie sibi no<t>am, dicentes ei: Viriliter age, fecisti enim uoluntatem dei constituta in terra. Et uenit ei in occursum angelus qui obseruabat eam singulis diebus, et dixit ei: Viriliter age, anima; ego enim gaudeo in te, quia fecisti uoluntatem dei in terris: ego enim referebam ad deum omnia opera tua qualiter se abent[7]. Similiter etiam et spiritus in occursum processit ei et dixit: Anima, ne uerearis neque turberis quousque ueneris in locum quem non noueras umquam, sed ero tibi adiutor: inueni[8] enim in te locum refectionis in tempore quo habitaui in te dum essem in terra. Et spiritus

sparsa*m*
[1] spansam [2] scismate [3] eo [4] necessitatibus [5] *pro*ficiscae
s e s
t h
[6] exire [7] abet [8] inuenio

eius confirmauit eam et angelus eius suscepit eam <et> deduxit in celo: et ait angelus: Vbi curris[1], anima, et audes ingredi celum? expecta et uideamus si est aliquid nostrum in te: et ecce nihil inuenimus in te. Video etiam adiutorium diuinum et angelum tuum, et spiritus congaudens est tibi quoniam fecisti uoluntatem dei in terris. Et deduxerunt eam dum adusque adoraret in conspectu dei. Cumque dessinuissent statim Michael et omnis exercitus angelorum concidentes adhorauerunt scabellum pedum eius et ostia eius si<mul>[2] anime dicentes: Hic est deus omnium uester[3], qui fecit ad imaginem et similitudinem suam. Recurrit[4] autem angelus et indicauit dicens: Deus, memo<ra>re laborum eius: haec est enim anima cuius tibi, domine, operam referebam, faciens secundum iudicium tuum. Et spiritus similiter ait: Ego sum spiritus uiuificacionis adspirans in eam; habui enim in eam refeccionem in tempore quo habitaui[5] in eam faciens secundum iudicium tuum. Et facta est uox dei et dixit: Quemadmodum haec me non contristauit, nec ego eam non contristabo; sicut enim[6] miserta est, et ego[7] miserebor. Tradatur ergo[8] Michaelo angelo testamenti, et perducat eam in paradiso exultacionis, ut et ipsa fiat co<h>eres cum omnibus sanctis. Et audiui[9] uoces post haec milia milium angelorum et archangelorum et cherubin et uiginti quatuor seniorum[10] ymnos dicencium et glorificantium dominum et clamantium: Iustus es, domine, et iusta iudicia tua, et non est personarum acceptio apud te, sed retribues[11] unicuique secundum tuum iudicium. Et respondens angelus dixit mihi: Credidisti et cognouisti quoniam <que>cunque fecerit unusquisq<ue> vestrum uidet ad oram[12] necessitatis suae? Et dixi: Ita[13], domine.

15 Et ait mihi: Iterum aspice deorsum in terram et expecta animam impii exeuntem de corpore, que inritauit[14] dominum die hac[15] nocte dicens: Nichil aliut noui in hoc mundo, manduco et bibo et fruor que sunt in mundo. Quis enim est qui descendit ad inferos et ascendens denunciauit nobis quia est

i r
[1] currus [2] sl [3] u [4] -et [5] h^{in}abitaui [6] +mei *ins. corrector* [7] +sui *ins. corrector* [8] Trad*itur* ei [9] audiuit [10] seniores [11] -ens [12] ador*et* [13] dixit ite [14] in ritur [15] *sc.* ac

iudicium illic? Et iterum respexi et uidi omnem contemptum peccatoris et omnia que egit, et in unum asteterunt ante eum in hora necessitatis: et factum est ei in illa ora qua minabatur de corpore eius ad iudicium, et dixi: Melius erat ei si non fuisset natus. Et post haec uenerunt simul sancti angeli et maligni et anima peccatoris, et sancti angeli locum non inuenerunt in ea. Maligni autem angeli comminati sunt ipsius; qui cum educerent eam de corpore commonuerunt eam angeli tercio, dicentes: O misera anima, prospice carnem tuam unde existi: necesse est enim te reuertere in carne tua in diem resurreccionis, ut recipias peccatis tuis condignum, et impietatum tuarum. 16 Et <cum> produxissent, praecessit eam consuetus angelus, et ait ad illam: O misera anima, ego sum angelus aderens tibi, referens cotidie ad dominum opera tua maligna quecunque egisti per noctem uel diem: et si fuissem meae potestatis, nec una quidem die ministrassem tibi, sed nichil orum ualui[1] facere: misericors est et iudex iustus, et ipse precepit nobis ut non cessemus ministrare anime[2] quousque peniteamini: tu autem perdidisti tempus penitenciae. Ego tibi quidem alienus factus sum, et tu mihi. Pergamus ergo ad iudicem iustum; non te dimittam <ante>quam ab odierna die scio quia alienus tibi factus sum. Et spiritus confundebat eum et angelus conturbabat. Cum ergo peruenissent ad potestatem, cum iam ingredi celum abiret, labor impositus est ei super alium laborem; <error et> [3]obliuio et susurracio obuiauerunt eam, et spiritus fornicacionis et relique potestates[4], et dicebant ei: Vbi perges, misera anima, et audes[4] praecurrere in celo? sustine, ut uideamus si abemus in te peculiaria nostra, quia non uidemus tibi sanctum adiutorem. Et post haec audiui uoces in excelso celorum dicentes: Offerte miseram animam deo, ut cognoscat quia est deus ut contempsit. Cum ergo ingressa esset coelum, uiderunt eam omnes angeli milia miliorum exclamauerunt una uoce omnes dicentes: Ve tibi, misera anima, pro operibus tuis que fecisti in terra; quid[5] responsum datura es deo cum accesseris adorare eum? Respondit angelus qui erat cum ea et dixit: Flete mecum, mei dilectissimi, requiem enim non inueni in hac anima. Et responderunt

[1] ualuit [2] anime ę [3] uio *erasum* [4] -is [5] que

ei angeli et dixerunt: Auferatur talis anima de medio nostrorum: ex quo enim ingressa est, putor eius transiuit ad <nos> angelos. Et post haec ob<la>ta est ut adoraret in conspectu dei, et monstrauit ei angelus dominum deum qui eam fecit secundum imaginem et similitudinem suam. Angelus autem eius praecucurrit dicens: Domine deus omnipotens, ego sum angelus anime istius cuius tibi opera offerebam die ac nocte, non faciens secundum tuum iudicium. Et spiritus similiter ait: Ego sum spiritus qui inhabitabam in eam ex quo facta est, in se autem noui, et non est secuta meam uoluntatem: iudica eam, domine, secundum tuum iudicium. Et facta est uox dei ad eam et dixit: Vbi est fructus tuus quem fecisti pro his quibus accepisti bonis dignum? numquid[1] posui distanciam inter te et iustum unius diei? nunquid[2] non f<a>ciebam oriri[3] solem super te <si>cut et super iustum? Illa autem conticuit, non habens[4] quod responderet: et facta est uox iterum dicens: Iustum iudicium dei, et non est personarum acceptio aput deum, quicunque enim fecerit misericordiam eius ipse miserebitur, et quicunque non misertus fuerit, neque ei miserebitur deus. Tradatur ergo angelo Tartarucho qui prepositus est penis, et mitat eum in tenebris exterioribus ubi est fletus et stridor dencium, et sit ibi usque in diem magnum iudicii. Et post haec audiui uocem angelorum et archangelorum dicencium: Iustus es, domine, et iustum iudicium tuum.

17 Et iterum uidi, et ecce anima que adducebatur a duobus angelis flens et dicens: Miserere mei, deus iustus, deus iudex; hodie enim septem dies habeo ex quo exiui de corpore meo, et tradita sum duobus angelis istis et perduxerunt me ad ea loca que[5] nunquam uideram. Et ait ei deus iustus iudex: Quid fecisti? tu enim misericordiam nunquam fecisti, propterea tradita es talibus angelis qui non abent misericordiam, et quia[6] non fecisti[7] rectum, ideo neque tecum pie gesserunt[8] in hora necessitatis tuae. Confitere[9] ergo peccata tua que commisisti in seculo constituta. Et respondit et dixit: Domine, non peccaui. Et iratus est in furore dominus deus iustus dicente

v i i

[1] qui [2] nonquid [3] orire [4] conticuet non habet [5] quem
[6] que [7] fecis [8] pia egesserunt [9] constari

ea Non peccaui, quoniam est mentita; et dixit deus: Adhuc reputas in seculum permanere? si hunus quisque uestrum illic peccans caelat et abscondit peccatum suum proximo suo; hic uero non absconditur quicquam: cum enim uenerint adorare anime in conspectu troni et opera bona unius cuiusque et peccata eius manifestatur. Et haec audiens conticuit anima, non habens responsionem. Et audiui dominum deum iustum iudicem iterum dicentem: Veni, angele anime huius, et sta in medium. Et uenit angelus anime peccatricis habens in manibus cirographum, et dixit: Aec sunt, domine, in manibus meis[1] omnia peccata anime istius a iuuentute eius usquae in odiernum diem, hab annis ·x· natiuitatis eius: et si iubes, domine, et narro hactos eius ex quo caepit annorum ·xv·. Et dixit dominus deus iustus iudex: <Tibi> dico, angelae, non te ex<pec>to racionem ex quo ce<pit> ·xv· esse annorum, sed expone peccata eius ante annos ·v· quam moriretur et ante quam huc ueniret. Et iterum dixit deus iudex iustus: Per me enim ipsum iuro et per sanctos angelos meos uirtutemquae meam[2], quoniam si penituisset ante ·v· annum quam moriretur, propter unius anni conuersacionem obliuio[3] nunc fieret omnium que peccauit retro malorum, et indulgenciam et remissa peccatorum haberet: nunc uero pereat. Et respondit angelus anime peccatricis et dixit: Iube, domine, angelum illum exiber<e> animas illas. 18 Et illa ead <h>ora exibite sunt anime in medio et cognouit eas anima peccatoris; et dixit dominus ad animam peccatoris: Tibi dico, anima, operam tuam confiteri quam gesseris in his quas uides animas cum essent in mundo. Et respondens dixit: Domine, nondum completum est annum ex quo hanc interfeci[4] et sanguinem eius fudi in[5] terra, et cum alia fornicatus sum: non solum autem hoc, sed et nocui[6] eam ualde substollere[7] facultatem eius. Et dixit dominus deus iudex iustus: Aut nesciebas quia qui uim alio facit, si prior mortuus fuerit qui uim sustinuit, seruatur in hunc[8] locum usque quo moriatur nocens, et tunc assistunt utrique in conspectu iudicis, et nunc unusquisque recepit secundum que fecerit. Et audiui uocem dicentis[9]: Anima ista in manibus Tartari tradatur, et duci[10] deorsum ad

[1] omis̄ [2] mearum [3] obliuione [4] interfecit [5] fodi intra
[6] noui [7] substolle [8] in hib hic [9] dicentes [10] educe

inferos debet: ducat eam in carcere inferiorum, et mittatur in tormentis et relinquatur illic ad magnum iudicii diem. Et iterum audiui milia milium angelorum ymnum dicencium domino et clamancium: Iustus es, domine, et iusta iudicia tua.

19 Respondit angelus et dixit mihi: Cognouisti aec omnia? et dixi: Ita, domine. Et dixit mihi: Iterum sequere me, et adsumens te hostendam tibi loca iustorum. Et secutus sum angelum[1] et substullit me usque ad[2] tercium celum et statuit me ad ganuam porte: et intendens uidi, et erat porta aurea, et due columnae aureae plene desuper literis aureis; et conuertit[3] se iterum angelus ad me et dixit: Beatus es si ingressus fueris in his portis, eo quod non concedatur ingredi nisi solis qui habent bonitatem et innocenciam corporum. Et in omnibus[4] interrogaui[5] angelum et dixi: Domine, dic mihi cuius rei gratiam posite sunt aec litere super tabulas istas? Respondit angelus et dixit mihi: Haec sunt nomina iustorum ministrancium deo ex toto corde qui habitant terram. Et iterum dixi: Domine, ergo nomina eorum[6] et uultus eorum et similitudo ministrancium deo est in caelo, et noti sunt angelis: sciunt enim qui sunt ministri dei ex toto corde priusquam exeant de mundo.

20 Et cum ingressus fuissem interiora portae[7] paradisi, exiuit in hoccursum[8] mihi homo senior cuius uultus fulgebat <ut> sol; et complexsus me <dixit:> Aue, Paule, dilecti<ssi>me deo. Et hosculatus est me ilare uultu. Fle<bat>, et dixi ei: Frater, quare ploras? Et iterum suspirans et plorans dixit: Nocemur[9] enim ab hominibus[10] et contristant nos ualde; multa sunt enim bona que praeparauit dominus et magna repromissio est eius, set multi non percipiunt ea. Et interrogaui[11] angelum et dixi: Quis est hic, domine? Et dixit mihi: Hic[12] est Enoc scriba iusticiae. Et ingressus sum <in> interiori loci illius, et statim uidi solem[13] et ueniens salutauit me ilarens et gaudens. Cumque uidisset, au<er>tit se et fleuit et dixit mihi: Paule, utinam <tu> recipias labores tuos <quos fec>eris in genere humano. Mihi quidem[14] uidi magna et multa bona quae prae-

[1] angelorum [2] a [3] -et [4] ? in omnibus, et [5] -it [6] *aliquid omissum per homœoteleuton* [7] porta [8] hocc: h mihi [9] Vocemur (? uexamur) [10] omnibus [11] -it [12] Haec [13] *sc.* Heliam [14] quidaē

parauit deus omnibus iustis, et magnae repromissiones sunt dei, sed plures non percipiunt ea; sed et per multos labores uix unus et unus ingreditur in ea loca.

21 Et respondit angelus et dixit mihi: Quecunque hic nunc[1] ostendo tibi, et quecunque audieris, ne indices ea omni in terris. Et duxit me et ostendit mihi et audiui[2] illuc uerba que non licet omini loqui: et iterum dixit: Adhuc enim sequere me, et monstrabo tibi que hennarrare palam et referre debeas.

Et deposuit me de tercio celo, et induxit me in secundo caelo, et iterum duxit me in firmamento, et de firmamento duxit super ganuas celi; erat inicium eius fundamenti super flumen quod inrigat omnem terram. Et interrogaui angelum et dixi: Domine, quis est hic fluuius aque? Et dixit mihi: Hic[3] est oceanus. Et subito[4] exiui de celo et intellexi quia lumen caeli est quod lucet omni[5] terre. Illic autem terra clarior argento septiaes. Et dixi: Domine, quis est hic locus? et dixit mihi: Haec est terra repromissionis. Adhuc non audisti quod scriptum est: Beati mansueti quoniam ipsi haereditabunt terram? Anime ergo iustorum cum exierint de corpore, in hunc locum interim dimittuntur. Et dixi angelo: Ergo terra haec[6] manifestabitur ante tempus? Respondit angelus et dixit mihi: Quando uenit Christus quem tu praedicas ut regnet, tunc sentencia dei dissoluitur terra prima et acc terra repromissionis tunc hostendetur, et erit sicut ros aut nebula, et tunc manifestabitur dominus Ihesus Christus rex etternus et cum omnes sanctos suos ueniet habitare in eam et regnabit super illos mille annos et manducabunt de bonis quae[7] nunc ostendam tibi.

22 Et circumspexi terram illam, et uidi flumen currentem lac et mel, et erant al litus fluminis ipsius arbores plantate plene fructibus; una quaeque[8] autem arbor erat adferens fructus ·XII· in anno uarios et diuersos fructos abentes: et uidi creaturam loci illius et omnem facturam dei, et uidi ibi palmas cubitorum ·XX·, alias autem cubitorum ·X·; terra autem illa clar<ior> argento septies. Et e<rant> arbores plene fruct-<ibus> ar radice usque ad sum<mos> ordines ·X· miliorum[9]

[1] h nunc [2] -it [3] hec [4] subdito [5] omne*m* [6] hac [7] quasi [8] quoque [9] miliar

fru<ctuum> palmarum super ·x· milia fructos; uineae autem uitis habebant ·x· milia arbusta. In singulis autem uitibus erant ·x· milia milia butriones et in miliorum his singuli butr<io>nes; singulae[1] autem arb<ores> ille adferebant mil<ia> fructuum. Et dixi[2] angelo: Quare una queque arb<or> milia fructuum adferet? Respondens angelus dixit mihi: Quoniam dominus deus ab<un>dans fluenter prestat dona[3] condignis[4], quia et il proprio uoto adflicx<erunt>[5] semetipsos cons<titu>ti in mundo omnia <fa>cientes propter nomen sanctum <eius>. Et iterum dixi angelo: Domine, haec sunt sole repromissiones[6] quas promittit sanctissimus dominus deus? Et respondens dixit mihi: Non: sunt enim his maiora septies. Ego autem dico tibi quia cum iusti exierint de corpore, uidebunt repromissiones et bona quae praeparauit eis deus. Adhuc iterum suspirabunt et plorabunt dicentes: Vt quid uerbum emisimus[7] de ore nostro ad inritandum proximum uel una die? Ego uero interrogaui et dixi iterum: Si aec sunt tantum promissa dei? Et respondens angelus dixit mihi: Haec quc nunc uides nuptorum[8] sunt et seruancium castitatem nuptiarum continencium se. Virginibus autem et esurientibus et sicientibus iusticiam et adfligentibus se propter nomen domini dabit deus maiora his septies, quae[1] nunc ostendam tibi.

Et post haec adsumpsit me ex loco illo <ubi> aec uidi, et ecce flumen et[9] aqae eius erant aque candide ualde desuper lac, et dixi angelo: Quid[6] est hoc? et dixit[1] mihi: Hic[10] est aceriosus[11] lacus ubi est ciuitas Christi, sed non omnis homo permittetur ingredi in ciuitatem illam; hoc est enim iter quod ducit ad deum[12], et si quis est fornicator et impius, et conversus penituerit et fecerit fructum dignum[13] penitenciae, primum quidem cum exierit[14] de corpore, ducitur et adorat[15] deum et inde iussu domini traditur Michaelo angelo et baptizat eum in aceriosium lacum; sic inducit[16] eum in ciuitatem Christi iusta[17] eos qui nihil peccauerunt. Ego autem admiratus sum et benedixi dominum deum in omnibus que uidi.

23 Et responsit angelus et dixit[1] mihi: Sequere me, et

[1] -i [2] -it [3] presta do [4] -es [5] -erunt *secunda manu* [6] -is
[7] -emus [8] -iorum [9] flumina [10] haec [11] *sc.* Ἀχερούσιος
[12] ad eum [13] lignum [14] -int [15] adora [16] -et [17] *sc.* iuxta

inducam te in ciuitatem Christi. Et erat stans super aceriosium lacum, et misit <me> in nauem auream, et angeli quasi tria milia ymnum ante me dicentes erant donec peruenirem usque[1] ad ciuitatem Christi. Inhabitantes autem ciuitatem Christi gauisi ualde super me euntem ad eos, et ingressus uidi[2] ciuitatem Christi et erat tota aurea, et duodecim muri circuibant eam, et ·XII· pirgi[3] interiores[4], et singuli muri abebant inter se singula stadia in circuitu: et dixi angelo: Domine, quanto est[5] stadium hunum? Respondit angelus et dixit mihi: Tantum est quantum inter dominum deum et homines qui sunt in terris, quia sola est enim magna ciuitas Christi. Et ·XII· porte erant in circuitu <ci>uitatis pulcritudi<ne> magna, et quatuor f<lu>mina qui circuibant <eam>. Erat autem flumen mellis et <flu>men lactis et flumen uini <et> flumen olei. <Et> dixi ange<lo>: Que sunt flumina haec c<ir>cuiencia ciuitatem histam? Et ait mihi: Haec sunt IIII[or] flumina que decurrunt sufficienter his qui sunt in ac terra repro<mis>sionis quorum nomina sunt, flumen mellis dicitur Fison et flumen lactis Eufrat<es> et flumen oleÿ Gion et flumen uini Tigris: quales ergo in seculo constituti <sunt> non sunt usi[6] potestatem[7] arum rerum, sed esurie<runt> ab his et adflixerunt se propter dominum deum. Ideo ingredientibus his in ha<n>c ciuitatem, trib<uet> eis hec dominus supernum super omnem modum.

24 Ego uero ingrediens porta uidi arbores magnas et altas ualde ante ianuas ciuitatis non habentes fructum nisi folia tantum; et uidi paucos uiros dispersos in medio arborum, et plorabant ualde cum uiderent aliquem ingredi in ciuitatem. Et arbores ille penitebant pro ipsis umiliantes semetipsos et inclinantes et rursus se erigebant. <Et> ego uidi et fleui[2] cum eis et interrogaui[2] angelum et dixi[2]: Domine, qui sunt isti qui non sunt admissi ingredi in ciuitatem Christi? Et dixit mihi: Hi sunt qui abrenunciauerunt studenter die hac[8] nocte geiuniis, set cor superbum abuerunt prae ceteros homines, semetipsos glorificantes et laudantes et nichilum facientes proximis. Alios enim salutabant amichabiliter, aliis uero nec

[1] peruenireremus que [2] -it [3] pigre [4] -is [5] es [6] uisi [7] -um [8] *sc.* ac

aue di<c>cbant et quidem[1] cui uolebant aperiebant et si quid faciebant aliquid proximo modicum inflati erant. Et dixi: Domine, quid ergo? superbia eorum proibuit eos ingredi in ciuitatem Christi? Et respondens angelus dixit mihi: Radix omnium malorum est superbia. Nunquid meliores sunt filio dei qui[2] ad Iudeos cum multa humilitate uenit? Et interrogaui[3] eum et dixi: Quid est ergo quod arbores humiliant se et iterum eriguntur? Et respondit angelus et dixit mihi: Tempus omne quod exegerunt[4] isti in terris deseruihentes deo propter confusionem et obprobria hominum ad tempus erubescentes umiliauerunt se, sed non sunt contristati neque penituerunt ut recederent a superbia sua que erat in cis. Hoc est quod arbores humiliant se et iterum eriguntur. Et interrogaui et dixi: Cuius rei gratia admissi sunt in ganuas ciuitatis? Respondit angelus et dixit mihi: Propter multam bonitatem dei, et quoniam hic est ingressus homnium sanctorum eius ingrediencium in ac ciuitate: propterea derelicti sunt in hooc loco, ut quando ingreditur cum sanctis suis rex aeternus Christus, introeunte[5] eo homnes iusti petant[6] pro his et tunc cum illis ingrediantur[7] in ciuitate; set tamen non ualet aliquis eorum habere fiduciam qualem[8] illi qui humiliauerunt se seruientes domino deo in omni uita sua.

25 Ego autem incedebam docente me angelo, et tulit me a<d> flumen mellis, et uidi illic Aesaỳam et Geremiam et Aezehiel et Ammos et Micheam et Zachaream, profetas minores et maiores, <et> salutauerunt me in ciuitate. Dixi angelo: Que est uia haec? et dixit[9] mihi: Haec est uia prophetarum: omnis qui contristauerit animam suam et non facit propriam uoluntatem suam propter deum, cum exierit de mundo et ductus fuerit ad dominum deum et adorauerit eum, tunc iussu dei traditur Michaelo, et inducit eum in ciuitate in locum[10] hunc prophetarum, et salutant eum sicut amicum et proximum suum quoniam fecit uoluntatem dei.

26 Iterum duxit me ubi erat fluuius lactis, et uidi omnes infantes in illo loco quos hoccisit rex Aerodes propter nomen Christi, et salutauerunt me; et dixit mihi angelus: Omnes

[1] quidae*m* [2] que [3] -it [4] -ig- [5] introente [6] petunt [7] -untur [8] quale [9] -i [10] -o

qui seruiunt castitatem cum puritate, cum exierint de corpore, postquam adorant dominum deum traduntur Michaelo et aducuntur ad infantes et salutant eos dicentes quia Fratres nostri sunt et amici et membra; in ipsis aereditabunt promissa dei.

27 Iterum adsumpsit me et tulit me ad aquilonem ciuitatis et duxit me ubi erat flumen uini, et uidi illic Abraam, Hisaac et Iacob, Lot et Iop et alios sanctos: <et> salutauerunt me: et interrogaui et dixi: Quis est hic locus, domine? Respondit angelus et dixit mihi: Omnes qui susceptores peregrinorum sunt, cum exierint de mundo, adorant primum dominum deum, et tra<d>untur Michaelo et per hanc uiam inducuntur in ciuitatem, et omnes iusti salutant eum sicut filium et fratrem et dicunt ei: Quoniam seruasti humanitatem et susceptionem peregrinorum, ueni aereditatem abe in ciuitatem domini dei nostri: unusquisque iustus secundum proprium hactum recipiet in ciuitate bona dei.

28 Et iterum tulit me iusta[1] flumen olei ab oriente[2] ciuitatis. Et uidi illic uiros exultantes et psalmos dicentes et dixi: Qui sunt isti, domine? et ait angelus mihi: Histi sunt qui deuouerunt se deo ex toto corde, et non abentes in se superbiam. Omnes enim qui exultant in domino deo et psallent in toto corde domino hic inducuntur in ac ciuitate.

29 Et tulit me in medio ciuitatis iusta[1] ·XII· muros. Erat autem in hoc loco murus excelsior; et interrogaui[3] et dixi: Est in ciuitate Christi murus praecedens in honore huic loco? Et respondens angelus[4] dixit[5] mihi: Est secundus melior primo[6] et similiter tercius secundo, quia unus unum praecedit[7] usque ad ·XII·mum[8] murum. Et dixi: Obquare, domine, unus alium praecedit in gloriam, significa mihi. Et respondens angelus[4] dixit mihi: Omnes qui abent in se uel modicam detractionem aut zelum aut superbiam, euacuatur aliquid de gloria ipsius etiam<si> in ciuitate Christi esset: uide a tergo[9].

Et conuersus me uidi tronos aureos positos per singulas portas, et super eos <uiros habentes> diademas aureas <et> gemas: et respexi et uidi interiora inter ·XII· uiros alio hordine tronos positos qui[10] multa gloria uidebantur, ita ut nemo ualeat

[1] *sc.* iuxta [2] orae [3] -it [4] +et [5] -i [6] primus [7] -et [8] -mo [9] uideatur... [10] -e

hennarrare laudem eorum. Et interrogaui[1] angelum et dixi: Domine, quis est super tronum? Et respondens angelus[2] dixit mihi: Ii troni[3] eorum sunt qui bonitatem et intellectum habebant cordis et semetipsos stultos fecerunt propter dominum deum neque scientes scripturas neque psalmos plures set uni<us> cappituli memores de preceptis dei audi<en>tes[4] haec operati sun<t> in his in multa deligencia et studium rectum habentes coram dominum deum; et de his admiracio adprehendet omnes sanctos coram dominum deum [et de his adprehendet omnes sanctos], colloquentes enim ad alterutrum dicunt: Expectate et uidete imperitos qui nihil amplius sciunt; quomodo meruerunt tantum et tale indumentum et tantam gloriam propter innocenciam suam.

Et uidi[1] in medio ciuitatis altare magnum excelsum ualde; et erat quidam[5] stans iusta altare cuius uultus fulgebat sicut sol, et tenebat et manibus eius psalterium et citharam, et psallebat dicens: Alleluia. Et uox eius replebat omnem ciuitatem: simul quando exaudiebant eum omnes qui erant super turres et portas et respondebant: Alleluia; ita ut commouerentur fundamenta ciuitatis; et interrogaui[1] angelum et dixi[1]: Quis est hic, domine, tante potestatis? Et dixit mihi angelus: Hic est Dauid: haec est Hierusalem ciuitas: cum autem uenerit Christus rex aeternitatis cum fiducia[6] regni sui, ipse iterum praecedet ut psallat, et iusti omnes simul psallant respondentes: Alleluia. Et dixi: Domine, quomodo solus Dauid prae ceteris sanctis inicium fecit psallende? Et respondens angelus[2] dixit mihi: Quia Christus filius dei sedet ad dexteram patris sui, et hic Dauid psallet ante eum in vii[mo] celo, et sicut[7] fiunt in celis, ita et inferius[8] similiter, quia non licet sine Dauid ostiam offerre deo set necesse est ut psallat Dauid in hora oblacionis corporis et sanguinis Christi: quemadmodum in celis proficitur, ita et in terra. 30 Et dixi angelo: Domine, quid[9] est alleluia? Et respondens angelus[2] dixit mihi; Scrutaris[10] et queris[10] in homnibus. Et dixit[11] mihi: Dicitur alleluia Ebraÿca loquella dei et angelorum: narracio autem alleluia haec est: tecel · cat · marith · macha. Et dixi: Domine, quid est tecel · cat · marith ·

[1] -it [2] +et [3] In trono [4] audiaudi..tes [5] -em [6] -am
[7] sicut ita[et] [8] infernis [9] qui [10] -es [11] -i

macha? Et respondens angelus dixit mihi: Haec est tecel · cat · marith · macha. Benedicamus eum omnes in unum. Interrogaui[1] angelum et dixi: Domine, omnes qui dicunt alleluia benedicunt deum? Et respondit angelus et dixit mihi: Ita est; et iterum si quis ergo psallet alleluia, et praesentes qui sunt non simul psallent, peccata faciunt, quia non compsallent. <Et dixi: Domine, etiam> similiter <peccat si> tricans aut multum senex est[2]? Respondit angelus et dixit mihi: Non sic; qui autem ualet et non compsallet, contemptorem uerbi cognos-cit<e> talem: et superbum esset et indignum ut non benedicat dominum deum factorem suum. 31 Cum autem quieuit loqui mihi, duxit me foras extra ciuitatem per medias arbores et recesse a locis terre bonorum, et statuit me super flumen lactis et mellis: et post aec duxit me super oceanum qui portat fundamenta celi.

Respondit angelus et dixit mihi: Intelligis[3] quod hinc cas? Et dixi: Ita, domine. Et dixit mihi: Veni et sequere me, et ostendam tibi animas impiorum et peccatorum, ut cognoscas qualis[3] sit locus. Et profectus sum cum angelo, et tulit me per occasum solis, et uidi principium celi fundatum super flumine aque magno, et interrogaui: Quis est hic fluuius aque? Et dixit mihi: Hic[4] est oceanus qui circuit omnem terram. Et cum fuissem ad exteriora oceani, aspexi, et non erat lumen in illo loco, sed tenebre et tristicia <et> mesticia: et suspiraui.

Et uidi illic fluuium ignis feruentem, et ingressus multitudo uirorum et mulierum dimersus usque ad ienua et alios uiros usque ad umbiculum[5], alios enim usque ad labia, alios autem usque ad capillos; et interrogaui angelum et dixi: Domine, qui sunt isti in flumine igneo? Et respondit angelus et dixit mihi: Neque calidi neque frigidi sunt, quia neque in numero iustorum inuenti sunt neque in numero impiorum. Isti enim inpenderunt tempus[6] uite suae in terris dies aliquos facientes in oracionibus[7], alios uero dies in peccatis et fornicacionibus usque ad mortem. Et interrogaui et dixi: Qui sunt hii, domine, dimersi usque ad ienua in igne? Respondens dixit mihi: Hi sunt qui cum exierint de aecclesia inmitunt se in sermonibus alienis dis-

[1] -it [2] Similiter tri . tricans aut multum senes est [3] -es [4] haec
[5] *sc.* umbilicum [6] +in [7] +De (? dei)

ceptare. Histi uero qui dimersi sunt usque ad umbiculum, hi sunt qui cum sumpserunt corpus et sanguinem Christi eunt et fornicant et non cessauerunt a peccatis suis usque quo morerentur[1]. Dimersi autem usque ad labia hi sunt detractores alterutrum conuenientes in aecclesiam dei; usque ad superlicia[2] uero dimersi hii sunt qui innuunt sibi, malignitatem insidiantur proximo suo.

32 Et uidi ad septentrionem[3] locum uariarum et diuersarum penarum repletum uiris et mulieribus, et flumen igneum decurrebat in eum. Conspexi autem et uidi foueas in profundo ualde, et in eas animas plurimas in unum, et erat profunditas loci illius quasi tria milia cubitorum, et uidi eas gementes et flentes et dicentes: Miserere nobis, domine; et nemo misertus est eis. Et interrogaui angelum et dixi: Qui sunt isti, domine? Et respondens angelus dixit mihi: Hii sunt qui non sperauerunt in domino quod possunt abere eum adiutorem. Et interrogaui et dixi: Domine, si fuerint anime iste ante treginta generaciones aut quadraginta sic permanentes huna super hun<am>, si mittantur profundius, foueae credo non caper<ent> eos. Et dixit mihi: Abẏ<s>sus mensuram non habet tra hoc etiam subtussecuta est enim eum <qui> subtus fuerit; et ita est ut si forte aliquis accipiat lapidem et mittat in puteum ualde profundum et post multarum orarum perueniat ad terram, sic est abẏssus. Cum enim mittantur illic anime, uix post quingentos annos perueniunt in profundum. 33 Ego uero cum audissem ploraui et ingemui super genus hominum. Respondit angelus et dixit mihi: Quare ploras? numquid tu magis misericors e<s> quam deus? cum sit enim deus bonus et scit quoniam sunt pene, pac<ien>ter fert genus homin<um>, dimittens unum quemque propria uoluntate facere in tempore quo inabitat super terram.

34 Respexi adhuc in flumine igneo et uidi illic hominem subfocari ab* angelos tartarucos abentes in manibus suis ferrum trium angulorum de quo perfodiebant uiscera senis[4] illius: et interrogaui angelum et dixi: Domine, quis est iste senes cui talia ponuntur tormenta? Et respondens angelus[5] dixit mihi: Istum quem uides presbyter fuit qui non consummauit minis-

[1] morarentur [2] *sc.* supercilia [3] -rem [4] -es
* *aliquid omissum* [5] +et

terium suum bene; cum erat manducans et bibens[1] et fornicans, offerebat hostiam domino ad sanctum altare eius.

35 Et uidi non longe alium senem quem adducebant currentes cum festinacione quatuor angeli maligni, et dimiserunt eum usque in genua in flumine igneo, et lapidibus percuciebant eum et uulnerabant faciem eius sicut procella et non permiserunt eum dicere: Miserere mei. Et interrogaui angelum, et dixit mihi: Hunc quem uides episcopus fuit, et non bene consummauit episcopatum suum, qui equidem nomen accepit magnum sed non est ingressus in sanctitatem eius qui dedit ei nomen in omni uita sua, quoniam non fecit iudicium iustum, et uiduas[2] et orfanos non est misertus; nunc autem retributum est ei secundum iniquitatem et opera sua.

36 Et uidi alium hominem in flumine igneo usque ad genua[3]. Erant autem manus eius extensae[4] et sanguine<e> et uermes procedebant ex ore eius et de naribus eius, et erat gemens et plorans et clamans dicebat: Miserere mei, quoniam ego noceor prae ceteris qui sunt in hanc penam. Et interrogaui: Quis est hic, domine? Et dixit mihi: Istum quem uides diacconus fuit qui edebat oblaciones et fornicabatur et rectum non fecit in conspectu dei; propterea incessabiliter persoluit penam istam.

Et inspexi et uidi allatere eius alium hominem quem exibuerunt cum festinacioni et proicerunt eum in flumine igneo, et erat usque ad ienua; et uenit angelus qui super penas erat, abens nouaculam grandem ignitam, et de ea scindebat labia hominis illius et linguam similiter. Et suspirans[5] ego ploraui, et interrogaui: Quis est iste, domine? Et dixit mihi: Istum quem uides lector fuit et legerat ad populum: ipse autem praecepta dei non seruabat; nunc quoque <persoluit penam propriam.

37 Et uidi> aliam multitudinem foucarum in eodem loco, et in medium illius flum<en repletum> multitudine uirorum <et> mulierum, et uermes <co>medebant eos. Ego uero ploraui et suspirans[6] interrogaui angelum et dixi: Domine, qui sunt isti? Et dixit mihi: Hii sunt qui usuras usurarum exigentes et

d

[1] erat manducat et bibet [2] -ae [3] -am [4] exiensse [5] +et [6] -ui

confidentes[1] in diuiciis suis non sperantes in deum, sibi eum adiutorem esse.

Et postea aspexi et uidi alium locum angustum ualde, et erat sicut murus[2], et in circuitu eius ignis. Et uidi intus uiros hac mulieres manducantes linguas suas, et interrogaui: Qui sunt isti, domine? Et dixit mihi: Hii sunt qui detraunt in aecclesia uerbo dei, non intendentes eo[3], sed quasi nihil facientes dominum et angelos eius: ideo nunc <si>militer persoluunt[4] propriam <p>enam.

38 Et inspexi et uidi alium senem deorsum in fouea, et erat aspectus eius sicut <s>anguis, et interrogaui et dixi: Domine, quis est hic locus? Et dixit mihi: In istam foueam influunt omnes pene. Et uidi uiros ac mulieres dimersos usque ad labia et interrogaui: Qui sunt isti, domine? Et dixit mihi: Hii sunt malefici qui prestiterunt uiris ac mulieribus maleficia magica et non inuenerunt requiescere eos usque dum morirentur.

Et iterum uidi uiros hac mulieres uultu nigro ualde in fouea ignis, et suspiraui <et> ploraui et interrogaui: Qui sunt hii, domine? Et dixit mihi: Hii sunt fornicatores et mouechi qui abent<es> proprias uxores mechati sunt; similiter et mulieres eodem more mechauerunt abentes proprios uiros; propterea indeficienter persoluunt penas.

39 Et uidi illic puellas abentes indumenta nigra et IIII^{or} angelos metuendos abentes in manibus suis cathenas ignitas, et miserunt eas in ceruicibus earum et duxerunt eas in tenebras: et iterum ego plorans[5] interrogaui angelum: Quae sunt iste, domine? Et dixit mihi: Haec sunt que cum essent uirgines constitute[6] inquinauerunt uirginitates suas nescientibus parentibus suis; propter quod indeficienter persoluunt penas proprias.

Et iterum aspexi illic uiros ac mulieres incisis manibus et pedibus constitutos ac nudos in locum glacie et niue, et uermes comedebant eos. Videns autem ego ploraui et interrogaui: Qui sunt isti, domine? Et dixit mihi: Hii sunt qui orfanos et uiduas et pauperes nocuerunt et non sperauerunt in dominum, propter quod indeficienter persoluunt proprias penas.

[1] contendentes [2] mon [3] ea [4] peruoluunt [5] -ui [6] +et

Et respexi et uidi alios pendentes super canela aque, et lingue eorum siccae satis, et multi fructus constituti in conspectu eorum, et non permittebantur sumere ex his, et interrogaui: Qui sunt hii, domine? Et dixit mihi: Hii sunt qui ante constituta ora soluunt ieiunium: propterea indeficienter persoluunt as penas.

Et uidi alios uiros ac mulieres suspensos a superciliis et capillis suis et igneum[1] flumen traebat eos et dixi: Qui sunt hii, domine? Et dixit mihi: Hii sunt comitentes se non propriis uiris ac mulieribus sed mecis, et ideo indeficienter persoluunt proprias penas.

Et uidi alios uiros ac <mu>lieres puluer<ul>entos, <et> aspectus eorum tanquam <san>guis et erant in <fo>uea picis et sulfor<is> et decurrentes in flumine igneo: et interrogaui: Qui sunt hi, domine? Et dixit mihi: Hi sunt qui fecerunt impietatem Sodome et Gomorre, masculi in masculos, propter quod indeficienter persoluunt penas.

40 Et inspexi et uidi uiros ac mulieres indutos uestimenta clara, cecos oculos abentes, constitutos in foueam, et interrogaui: Qui sunt hi, domine? Et dixit mihi: Hi sunt de gentibus qui fecerunt elemosinas, et dominum deum non cognouerunt, propter quod indeficienter persoluunt proprias penas. Et inspexi et uidi alios uiros ac mulieres super oboliscum[2] igneum, et bestias discerpentes eos, et non permittebantur dicere Miserere nobis, domine: et uidi angelum penarum ualidissime[3] penam superponentem[4] eis[5] et dicentem: Agnoscite[6] filium dei; praedictum est enim uobis, cum legerentur uobis scripturae diuinae[7] non attendebatis; propter quod iustum est iudicium dei[8]; adprehenderunt enim uos actus[9] uestri mali et adduxerunt uos in as penas[10]. Ego autem suspiraui et fleui: et interrogaui et dixi: Qui sunt isti uiri et mulieres qui strangulantur[11] in igne et luunt penas? Et respondit mihi: Haec sunt mulieres commaculantes plasmam dei proferentes ex utero infantes, et ii sunt uiri concubentes cum eis. Infantes autem earum interpellant dominum deum et angelos qui super penas erant, dicentes: Nefanda ora† genitoribus nostris: ipsi enim commaculauerunt

[1] -os [2] -o [3] ualadissime [4] -es [5] eius [6] Magnum et scire [7] -a [8] +et [9] -os [10] asperas [11] stangilantur

plasma dei, nomen dei abentes, sed praecepta eius nòn obseruantes dederunt nos in escam canibus et in conculcationem porcis: alios proiecerunt in flumine. Infantes autem illi traditi sunt angelis tartari qui erant super penas, ut ducerent[1] eos in locum spaciosum misericordiae. Patres autem et matres eorum strangulabantur in perpetuam[2] penam.

Et post haec uidi uiros ac mulieres indutos[3] pannis picem plenis et sulforem ignis, et erant drachones circumuoluti collis[4] eorum et umeris et pedibus, et contenebant eos angeli abentes ignea cornua[5] et percuciebant eos et cludebant nares eorum dicentes eis: Quare non cognouistis tempus in quo iustum erat uos penitere et deseruire deo, et non fecistis? Et interrogaui: Qui sunt isti, domine? Et dixit mihi: Hii sunt qui uidentur abrenunciare deo, abitum nostrum induentes, sed inpedimenta mundi fecerunt eos miseros non exibendas agapes, et uiduas[6] et orfanos non sunt miserti; aduenam[6] et peregrinum non susceperunt[7] neque oblacionem[6] offerentes et proximo non sunt miserti: oracio autem eorum nec una die pura ascendit ad dominum deum; multa autem inpedimenta mundi detenuerunt eos et non potuerunt rectum facere in conspectu dei, et angeli circumdabant eos in locum penarum. Videbant autem eos qui erant in penis et dicebant eis: Nos quidem secu<lo> uiuentes negleximus <deum>, et quidem uos similiter e<gis>tis; sicut et nos quidem cum in seculo esse<mus> sciebamus uos peccatores esse. Vos autem dicebamini: Hii sunt iusti et serui dei; nunc cognouimus quoniam uocati estis nomen domini; propter quod et ipsi soluunt[8] proprias penas.

Et suspirans fleui, et dixi: Ve hominibus, ue peccatoribus, ob quid[9] nati sunt? Et respondens angelus[10] dixit mihi: Quare ploras? numquid tu magis misericors es quam dominus deus qui est[11] benedictus in secula, qui constituit iudicium et dimisit unumquemque in propria uoluntate eligere bonum et malum et facere quod ei placet? Aduc iterum ploraui ua<li>dissime, et dixit mihi: <P>loras, cum aduc necdum uideris maiora supplicia? Sequere me, et uidebis orum maiora septies. 41 Et tulit me a septentrionale et statuit me super puteum, et inueni[12]

[1] doceret [2] -um [3] -us [4] -es [5] -ea [6] -e [7] susciepieter [8] soluuntur [9] qui [10] +et [11] es [12] -it

eum signatum septem signaculis: et respondens angelus qui mecum est[1] dixit angelo loci illius: Aperi os putei, ut dilectissimus dei Paulus expectet, quia data est ei potestas ut uideat[2] omnes penas inferni. Et dixit mihi angelus: Longe sta, ut ualeas sustinere[3] fetorem loci istius. Cum ergo apertus fuisset puteus, statim surrexit ex eo fetor quidam durus et malignus ualde, qui superaret omnes penas; et respexi in puteo et uidi massas igneas ex omni parte ardentes, et angustia, et angustum erat in ore putei ad capiendum unum hominem solum. Et respondit angelus et dixit mihi: Si quis missus fuerit in hunc puteum abyssi et signatum fuerit super eum, nunquam[4] commemoracio eius fit in conspectu patris et filii et spiritus sancti et sanctorum angelorum. Et dixi: Qui sunt hii, domine, qui[5] mituntur in hunc puteum? Et dixit mihi: Ii sunt quicunque non confessus fuerit Christum uenisse in carne et quia genuit eum Maria uirgo, et quicunque panis et calicis eucharistiae benedictionis non esse hoc corpus et sanguinem Christi.

42 Et respexi[6] ad septentrionem in hocchasum et uidi illic uermem inquietum[7], et in eo loco erat stridor dencium: abeba<n>t autem uermes mensura cubitum unum, et capita duo erant in eis: et uidi illic uiros ac mulieres in frigore et stridor<e> dencium. Et interrogaui et dixi: Domine, qui sunt hii in hoc loco? Et dixit mihi: Hii sunt qui dicunt quoniam Christus non resurrexit a mortuis et quoniam haec caro non resurgit. Et interrogaui et dixi: Domine, non est ignis neque calor in hoc loco? Et dixit mihi: In hoc loco aliut nihil est nisi frigus et niues: et iterum dixit mihi: Etiam si sol oriatur super eos, non calefiunt propterea superabundans frigus loci istius et niues.

Haec autem audiens extendi[8] manus meas et fleui et suspirans iterum dixi: Melius erat nobis si non fuissemus nati nos omnes qui sumus peccatores. 43 <Cum autem ii> qui erant[9] in eodem loco uiderunt me flentem cum angelo, clamauerunt et ipsi <et> fleuerunt dicentes: Domine deus, miserere nobis. Et post haec uidi celum apertum, et Michael archangelum descendentem de[10] celum et cum <eo> omnis exercitus angelorum, et peruenerunt ad eos qui erant in penis constituti: et

[1] +et [2] -ant [3] -eas [4] nunc quam [5] que [6] et resp. *bis*
[7] -em [8] -it [9] q[l] erant [10] de h

videntes eum iterum flentes clamauerunt et dixerunt: Miserere nobis, Michael archangele, miserere nobis et generi umano, quia propter tuas oraciones stat terra. Vidimus nunc iudicium, et cognouimus filium dei. Inpossibile nobis fuit ante aec pro hoc orare, quam incederimus in hoc loco. Audiuimus enim quia esset iudicium priusquam exiremus de mundo, set inpedimenta et uita saecularis <n>os penitere non sinuerunt. <Et> respondit Michael et dixit: Audite Michaelo loquente: ego sum qui consisto in conspectu dei omne ora. Viuit dominus in cuius consisto conspectu quia non intermitto uno die uel una[1] nocte orans indeficienter pro ienere umano; et ego quidem oro pro eis qui sunt super terram. Ipsi autem non cessant facientes iniquitatem et fornicationes, et non adferunt mihi[2] in bono constituti in terris: et uos consumpsistis[3] tempus in uanitate in quo debuistis penitere. Ego autem oraui semper sic et nunc deprecor ut mittat deus ros et pluuia destinetur super terram, et iam peto quo usque et terra producat[4] fructos suos et qui<dem> dico quoniam si quis modicum boni fecerit, ego agonizabo pro illo, protegens eum quo usque euadat iudicium penarum. Vbi sunt ergo oraciones uestre? ubi penitenciae uestre? perdidistis tempus contempte. Tunc autem flete et ego flebo[5] uobiscum et qui mecum sunt angeli cum dilectissimo[6] Paulo[6] si forte misereatur[7] misericors deus ut det uobis refrigerium. Audientes autem illi uerba aec exclamauerunt et fleuerunt ualde et dixerunt una uoce omnes: Miserere nobis, filius dei. Et suspiraui ego Paulus et dixi: Domine deus, miserere plasmae[8] tuae, miserere filiis ominum, miserere imagini tue.

44 Ego aspexi et uidi mouere celum uelut arborem a uento[6] comotam: subito autem proiecerunt se in faciem in conspectu throni: et uidi XX · IIII^{or} seniores et IIII^{or} milia[9] adorancia deo, et uidi altare et uelamen et thronum, et erant omnia exultancia: et eleuatus est fumus odoris boni iusta altare throni dei, et audiui uocem dicentis[10]: Cui<us> rei gratiam deprecamini, nostri angeli, nostrique ministri? Et exclamauerunt dicentes: Deprecamur uidentes multam bonitatem tuam in genere umano. Et post haec uidi filium dei descendentem de

[1] uno [2] ? nihil [3] contempsistis [4] perducat [5] fleueo
[6] -um [7] -or [8] -a [9] ? animalia [10] -es

celo, et erat diadema in capite eius. Videntes autem eum qui constituti erant in penis exclamauerunt omnes una uoce dicentes: Miserere, filius dei excelse; tu es qui omnibus refrigerium praestitisti in celis et in terra, et nobis similiter miserere: ex quo enim uidi<mus> te, refrigerium abuim<us>. Et exiuit[1] uox a filio dei per omnes penas dicens: Aecquid opus fecistis[1] ut postuletis a me refrigerium? Sanguis meus propter uos fusus est, et nec sic[1] penituistis: propter uos coronam de spinis in capite meo portaui; pro uobis alapas in maxillas meas accepi, et nec sic penituistis. Aquam petiui pendens in crucem, et dederunt mihi acetum cum felle mixtum: lancea aperuerunt latus meum dextrum[2]: propter nomen meum seruos meos prophetas et iustos hocciderunt; et in his omnibus dedi uobis locum penitencie, et noluistis. Nunc uero, propter Michaelum[3] archangelum[3] testamenti mei, et qui cum ips<o>sunt angeli, et propter Paulum delectissimum meum, quem nolo contristare, propter fratres uestros qui sunt in mundo et offerunt oblaciones, et propter filios uestros, quoniam sunt in his praecepta mea, et magis propter meam ipsius bonitatem,—in die enim qua resurrexi a mortuis, dono uobis omnibus qui estis in penis noctem et diem refrigerium in perpetuum. Et exclamauerunt omnes et dixerunt: Benedicimus te, filius dei, quia donasti nobis noctem et diem refeccionem. Melius est enim nobis refrigerium die u<n>ius super[4] omne tempus uite nostre quod fuimus super terram: et si manifeste cognouisemus quoniam propositus hic est qui peccant, aliut laboris nihil omnino operati essemus, nihil negociati fuisemus et nullam iniquitatem fecissemus: quod opus fuit nobis nasum in mundo? hic enim superbia nostra comprehensa est que ascendit de ore nostro aduersus proximum, molestia ac nimiae angustie nostrae et lacrime et uermes qui sub nos sunt, ec magis peiora nobis sunt quam pene que decinemus† nos. Haec illis loquentibus irati sunt aeis angeli maligni et penarum, dicentes: Vsque quo plorastis et suspirastis? non enim abuistis misericordiam. Est enim aec iudicium dei qui non fecit misericordiam. Anc autem magnam percepistis gratiam nocte et die dominice refrigerium propter Paulum dilectissimum dei qui descendit ad uos.

[1] -i [2] destructum [3] -o [4] +enim

45 Et post aec dixit mihi angelus: Vidisti aec omnia? Et dixi: Ita, domine. Et dixit mihi: Sequere me, et ducam te in paradiso et uideant te qui illic sunt iusti, ecce enim sperant te uidere et parati sunt obuiam tibi uenire in gaudio et exultacione. Et secutus sum angelum impetu spiritus sancti[1], et posuit me in paradiso et dixit mihi: Hic est paradisus in quo errauit Adam et mulier eius. Ingressus sum autem in paradisum, et uidi initium[2] aquarum, et erat innuens mihi angelus et dixit mihi: Aspice, inquid, aquas; hic[3] est enim fluuius Phẏson qui circuit[4] omnem terram Euillae[5], et alius est Geon qui circuit[4] totam terram Egypti et <E>thiopie, et alius est Thigris qui est contra Assirios, et alius est Eufrates qui inrigat terram Mesophothamiae. Ingressus autem interius[6] uidi arborem plantatum de cuius[7] radicibus aque emanabant, et erat ex ac inicium IIII^{or} fluminum: spiritus autem dei requiescebat super arborem illam, et cum flasset spiritus, efflabant[8] aque, et dixi: Domine, arbor aec ipsa est que fluet aquas? Et dixit mihi: Quia ab inicio, priusquam celum et terra manifestarentur, erant autem omnia inuisibilia, spiritus [autem] dei ferebatur super aquas; ex quo autem praeceptum dei apparuit[9] celum et terram, spiritus requieuit super arborem hunc: propterea cum flauerit spiritus emanant aque ex arbore. Et tenuit mihi manum et duxit me iuxta arborem cognoscende bone et male; et dixit[10]: Haec est arbor per quem mors ingressa est in saeculo et ex ea accipiens a muliere sua Adam[11] manducauit et ingressa est mors in mundo. Et ostendit mihi aliam arborem in medio paradisi, et ait ad me: Haec est arbor uite.

46 Me autem adhuc intendente lignum, uidi uirginem a longe uenientem et ducentos angelos ante ipsam hymnos dicentes: et interrogaui et dixi: Domine, que[12] est ista in tanta gloria[13] ueniens? Et dixit mihi: Haec est Maria uirgo mater domini. Veniens autem iuxta salutauit me et dixit: Aue, Paule, dilectissime dei et angelorum et hominum. Omnes enim sancti precati sunt filium meum Ihesum qui est dominus meus,

[1] impetum spiritum sanctum [2] -arum [3] h$\overset{\text{i}}{\text{a}}$e̤c̤ [4] currit
[5] eui̤l̤l̤$\overset{\text{a}}{\text{a}}$e [6] +et [7] dechoris: ? decoris, de cuius [8] ? effluebant
[9] ? = ἐφανέρωσεν [10] -i [11] +et [12] qui [13] -am

ut uenires hic in corpore ut uiderent te priusquam exires de saeculo: et dixit eis dominus: Sustinete et pacienter agite; adhuc modicum et uidebitis eum et erit in aeternum uobiscum: et iterum communiter omnes dixerunt ei: Ne contristes nos; uolumus eum uidere enim in carne constitutum, per hunc enim glorificatum est nomen tuum in saeculo ualde, et uidimus quia omnia opera substullit minorum siue maiorum; ab[1] aduenientibus enim in haec nos condiscimus dicentes: Quis est hic qui direxit uos in mundo? Et retullerunt nobis: Est quidam in mundo cuius nomen est Paulus; hic Christum adnunciat praedicans, et credimus quia per uirtute<m> et dulcitudinem sermonum eius ingressi sunt multi in regno. Ecce ipsi omnes iusti sunt retro me uenientes obuiam tibi. <Tibi> dico autem, Paule, quia ego prior obuiam eius[2] ueni eis[3] qui fecerunt uoluntatem filii mei et domini mei Ihesu Christi, ego prior obuiam uado eis et non dimitto eos esse tanquam peregrinos usque quo in pace occurrunt.

47 Adhuc ea loquente uidi tres uenientes a longe pulcros ualde speciac Christi, et imagines eorum fulgentes, <et> angelos ipsorum, et interrogaui: Qui sunt hii, domine? Et dixit mihi: Nescis eos? Et dixi: Nescio, domine. Et respondit: Hii sunt patres populi, Abraham, Hŷsaac, et Iacob. Et uenientes iuxta salutauerunt me et dixerunt: Aue, Paule, dilectissime dei et hominum; beatus est qui uim sustinet propter dominum. Et respondit mihi Abraham <et> dixit: Hic est filius meus Hŷsaac, et Iacob dilectissimus meus, et cognouimus dominum et secuti sumus eum; beati omnes qui crediderunt uerbo tuo, ut possint hereditare regnum dei per laborem, abrenunciacione et sanctificatione et humilitate et caritate et mansuetudine et recta fide ad dominum; et nos quoque abuimus deuocionem ad dominum quem tu praedicas testamento ut omnes[4] anime credencium ei adsistamus et ministremus sicut patres ministrant filiis suis.

Adhuc eos loquentes uidi alios a longe xii uenientes in honore et interrogaui: Qui sunt hii, domine? et dixit: Hii sunt patriarche. Et accedentes salutauerunt me et dixerunt: Aue, Paule, dilectissime dei et hominum: dominus non contris-

[1] adab [2] eius gratia = τούτου χάριν [3] es [4] ? omni

tauit nos, ut uiderimus te adhuc in corpore constitutum priusquam exires de mundo. Et subgerubat mih<i> unusquisque nomen suum secundum ordinem, de Ruben usque Beniamin, et dixit mihi Ioseph: Ego sum qui fui uenditus: dico autem tibi, Paule, qui<a> omnia quecunque mihi fecerunt fratres mei, in nullo maliciose egi cum eis neque in omni labore quem inposuerunt mihi, neque in omnibus lesus sum eos ab his a mane usque ad uesperam; beatus est ille qui nocetur quid propter dominum et sustinuit, quia dominus retribuet ei multipliciter cum exierit[1] de mundum.

48 Adhuc eo loquente, uidi alium a longe uenientem pulcrum et angelos eius hymnos dicentes, et interrogaui: Quis est hic, domine, pulcher uultu? Et dicit mihi: Non cognoscis eum? Et dixi: Non, domine. Et dixit mihi: Hic est Moyses legis dator, cui deus legem dedit. Et iuxta me factus statim fleuit, et post aec salutauit me; et dixi ei: Quid ploras? audi<ui> enim quia tu superas omnem hominem in mansuetudine. Et respondit dicens: Fleueo ego pro his de quibus plantaui cum labore, quia fructum non attulerunt, nec aliquis proficit de eis; et uidi omnes oues quas pascebam quia dispersi sunt et facti sunt quasi non abentes pastorem, et quia omnes labores quos pertuli propter filios Israel ad nihilum disputati <sunt,> et quantascunque uirtutes feci in medio illorum et non intellexerunt, et miror quia alienigine et non circumcisi et idola adorantes conuertentes ingressi sunt in repromissa dei, Israel autem non est ingressus; et iam dico tibi, frater Paule, quia in illa hora quando populus suspendit Ihesum quem tu praedicas, quia pater deus omnium qui dedit mihi legem et Michael et omnes angeli et archangeli et Abraham et Hysaac et Iacob et omnes iusti fleuerunt super filium dei suspensum in crucem. Adtendebant in me in illa hora omnes sancti intuentes et dicebant mihi: Vide, Moyses, quid fecerunt filio dei de populo tuo. Propterea tu beatus es, Paule, et beata generacio et gens qui credidit uerbo tuo.

49 Adhuc eo loquente uenerunt alii duodecim et uidentes me dixerunt: Tu es Paulus glorificatus in celo et super terram?

[1] exirent

Et respondi et dixi: Quid estis uos? Respondit primus et dixit: Ego sum Esaÿas cui[1] secauit Manasses <c>aput serra linnea[2]. Et secundus similiter ait: Ego sum Hieremias qui lapidatus sum a filiis Israel et interfectus[3]. Et tercius dixit: Ego sum Ezechiel quem traxerunt per pedes filii Israel super petram in montem dum ad usque excuterent cerebrum meum[4] foris, et omnes hos labores pertullimus, uolentes salua<re> filios Israel; et dico tibi quia post labores quos intulerunt mihi proiciebam me in faciem meam in conspectu domini orans pro eis curuans genua usque in secunda<m> horam dominice, usque quo uenerit Michael et eleuaret me de terra. Beatus es tu, Paule, et beata gens quae credidit per te.

His autem transeuntibus, uidi alium pulcrum facie, et interrogaui: Quis est hic, domine? Qui cum uidisset me, gauisus est, et dixit mihi: Hec est Lot qui in Sodoma iustus inventus est. Et adproprians salutauit me et dixit: Beatus es tu, Paule, et beata generacio quam administrasti. Et respondens dixi ei: Tu es Loth qui in Sodoma <iu>stus inventus es? Et dixit: Ego suscepi angelos in domo mea peregrinos et quando uoluerunt de ciuitate uiolare eos, obtuli ei<s> duas filias meas uirgines que nundum nouerant uiros, et dedi eis dicens: Vtimini quemadmodum uultis, tantum uiris his nihil faciatis male; propter hoc introierunt sub tectum domus meae. Ideo ergo confidere debemus et scire quia si quid[5] fecerit unusquisque, deus[6] retribuit eis multipliciter cum uenerint ad eum. Beatus es tu, Paule, et beata gens qui crediderit uerbo tuo.

Cum ergo quieuisset loqui[7] mihi, uidi alium a longe uenientem pulcrum ualde faciae subridentem, et angelos <eius hymnos dicentes: et dixi angelo qui mecum erat: Ergo angelum> unus quisque iustorum abet socium? Et dicit mihi: Unusquisque sanctorum[8] abet proprium adsistentem et hymnum dicentem et non recedit alter ab alio. Et dixi: Quis est hic, domine? Et dixit: Hic est Iob. Et accedens salutauit me et dixit: Paule frater, magnam laudem habes[9] aput deum et homines. Ego autem sum Iob qui multum laboraui ·xxx· anno-

[1] qui [2] *sc.* lignea [3] interiectus [4] ad usque omnterent pede*m* meu*m* c
[5] quis [6] du*m* [7] loque [8] sc̄m [9] habens

rum tempus ex ichore plagae[1]; et quidem inter inicia uulnera que exiebant de corpore meo erant sicut grana tritici. Tercia uero die facti sunt sicut pes asini; uermes autem qui cadebant IIII^{or} digitos longitudinem: et apparuit mihi tercio diabolus <et> dicit mihi: Dic uerbum aliquid in dominum et morere. Ego dixi ad eum: Si sic est uoluntas dei ut permaneam in plaga omne tempus uite meae usque quo moriar, non quiescam benedicens dominum deum, et plus mercedem accipiam. Scio enim quia labores saeculi istius nihil sunt ad refrigerium quod est postea: propter quod beatus es tu, Paule, et beata gens que crediderit per te.

50 Adhuc eo loquente, uenit alius clamans a longe et dicens: Beatus es tu, Paule, et ego beatus quia uidi te dilectum domino. Et interrogaui angelum: Quis est hic, domine? Et respondens dicit mihi: Haec est Noe in tempore diluuii. Et statim salutauimus uos alterutrum: gaudens autem ualde dixit mihi: Tu es Paulus dilectissimus dei. Et ego interrogaui eum: Tu quis es? Et dixit: Ego sum Noe qui fui[2] in tempore diluuii. Dico autem tibi, Paule, quia ·C· annos feci operans archam, non exuens tunicam quam uestiebar, et non tundi comam capitis mei. Adhuc quoque continenciam studui[3] non propinquans mulieri[4] propriae: in illis ·C· annis non creuit capillus capitis mei in magnitudinem neque insordidate sunt uestes meae: et deprecatus sum homines tempore illo dicens[5]: Penitemini, ueniet enim diluuium aquarum super uos. Ipsi autem inridebant me et subsanabantur uerba mea; et iterum dicebant mihi: Sed tempus hoc est eorum qui possunt ludere[6] et peccare libenter uolentes cui possibile est fornicari non pauca: deus enim hoc non aspicit et non agnoscit[7] que agunt<ur> a nobis ominibus et prorsus non est aque diluuium ueniens in hunc mundum: et non cessauerunt a peccatis quoadusque deus deleret homnem carnem que abuit spiritum uitae in semetipsum. Cognosce autem quia deus plus diligit unum iustum super omnem saeculum impiorum. Ideo <beatus> es tu, Paule, et beata gens qui crediderit per te.

51 Et conuertens uidi[8] alios iustos a longe uenientes, <et>

[1] exi cuo; plaga [2] fuit [3] studii [4] -e [5] dicentes
[6] que ei possunt ledere [7] -cat [8] uidit

interrogaui angelum : Qui sunt ii, domine ? Et respondit mihi : Ii sunt Elias et Elyseus. Et salutauerunt me ; et dixi eis : Qui estis uos ? Et respondit unus ex is et dixit : Ego sum Elyas propheta dei ; ego sum Elyas qui horaui, et propter uerbum meum non pluit celum annis tribus et mensibus ·VI· propter iniusticias hominum. Iustus deus et uerax, qui facit uoluntatem famulorum suorum : sepe etenim angeli deprecati sunt dominum propter pluuiam, et dixit : Pacienter agite quoadusque seruus meus Elyas horet et precetur propter hoc, et ego mitam pluuiam super terram ;

EXPLICIT VISIO SANCTI PAVLI ;

INTRODUCTION TO THE ACTS OF XANTHIPPE AND POLYXENA.

History of the Acts.

The Acts of SS. Xanthippe, Polyxena and Rebecca, are here printed for the first time from what seems to be the only known copy. This is in *Cod. Par. Gr.* 1458, a fine folio of the eleventh century, written in double columns and containing lives of Saints, mostly for the month of December. The Acts before us are the second item in the volume: the first is the Book of Nahum, with Theodoret's commentary, and Ps.-Epiphanius's Life of the Prophet (Dec. 1); then follow the Acts, from f. 5—f. 17; third is the Book of Habakkuk, with commentary and Life (Dec. 2); and this is followed by the Book of Zephaniah (Dec. 3), the Acts of SS. Inda and Domna; of S. Saba (Dec. 5), S. Barbara (Dec. 4), S. Nicolas (Dec. 6), and so forth. Why SS. Xanthippe and Polyxena are here associated with December feasts I do not understand: their proper day is Sept. 23.

Allusions to the story are rare: the earliest is probably a passage in the Basilian Menology (Cent. x.) which has the following notice on Sept. 23:

Xanthippe lived in the time of Claudius Caesar, and was the wife of Probos, ruler of Spain. She had a maiden sister, Polyxena. When Paul came to Spain, Xanthippe was baptized and Polyxena converted. *Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ὑποχώρησιν αὐτοῦ ἀκούσασα (ἡ Πολυξένη) κηρύττειν τὴν πίστιν τῆς ἀληθείας Ἀνδρέαν τὸν μέγαν ἀπόστολον ἐν Πατραῖς τῆς Ἀχαίας, ἀπῆλθε πρὸς αὐτὸν, καὶ μαθοῦσα τὰ περὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ τελεώτερον, ἐβαπτίσθη· καὶ πάλιν ὑποστρέψασα εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν χώραν εὗρε τὴν αὐτῆς ἀδελφὴν Ξανθίππην πάσαις ἀρεταῖς διαλάμπουσαν καὶ μετὰ χαρᾶς ἀποδεξαμένην αὐτήν· καὶ ἀμφότεραι πολλοὺς διδάξασαι τὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ πίστιν ἐτελειώθησαν.*

The painting prefixed to this notice shows simply the two saints standing, before a building.

The notice in the present Menaea, which may as well be placed here for purposes of comparison, runs as follows:

Αὗται ὑπῆρχον ἐκ τῆς Ἰσπανῶν χώρας, ἐπὶ Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος. ὧν ἡ μὲν Ξανθίππη γυνὴ ὑπῆρχε Πρόβου, ἀνδρὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς χώρας ἰθύνοντος. αὐτὴ δὲ ἐμαθητεύθη παρὰ τοῦ ἀποστόλου Παύλου κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἐνδημήσαντος, μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων δὲ καὶ ὁ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς. ἡ δὲ Πολυξένη ἡρπάγη παρά τινος κακοσχόλου, ἀλλὰ χάριτι θεοῦ ἄφθορος ἔμεινε, καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀποστόλου Ἀνδρέου ἐβαπτίσθη· πολλῶν δὲ πιστευσάντων δι' αὐτῆς, παραλαβοῦσα Ὀνήσιμον τὸν ἀπόστολον, ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ τὴν πατρίδα αὐτῆς τὴν Ἰσπανίαν, καὶ μετὰ τὸν πολὺν ἐκεῖνον πλοῦν καὶ τὰς ἀπείρους φυγάς, συνεπαγομένην ἔχουσα καὶ τὴν Ῥεββέκαν, μεθ' ἧς ἐβαπτίσθη, κατέλαβε τὴν ἑαυτῆς ἀδελφὴν Ξανθίππην· αὗται τὸν ἐπίλοιπον βίον καλῶς διανύσασαι, καὶ πολλὰς δυνάμεις ἐπιδειξάμεναι, πρὸς κύριον ἐξεδήμησαν.

An authority possibly earlier than these is the *ὑπόμνημα* ascribed to Symeon Metaphrastes and fully described by Lipsius *Apokr. Apostelgesch.* ii. 217: of which the Greek Text, with a Latin version by Sirlet and Lipomannus, is to be found in the *Acta SS.* for June 29, *Junii* V. 411—424 (VII. 374—386 in new ed.). The document is in two books, one dealing with S. Peter, the other with S. Paul: in book II. p. 422 (385) is the following passage:

Εὐσέβιος...φησὶ, τὸν Παῦλον τότε μὲν ἐπὶ Νέρωνος ἀπολυθῆναι καὶ τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ λόγον ἀνέτην ἐν Ῥώμῃ διατρίβοντα κηρῦξαι ἐφ' ὅλοις ἔτεσι δέκα, ἐν οἷς λέγεται ἀποδημίαν εἴς τε Ἰσπανίαν καὶ Γαλλίας καὶ Ἰταλίαν στείλασθαι τὸν τοῦ Χριστοῦ κήρυκα...καὶ δὴ πρὸς τῇ Ἰσπανίᾳ γενομένῳ τότε τοιόνδε τι τούτῳ συμβῆναι λέγουσιν. γύναιόν τι τῶν ἐπισήμων ἐπί τε περιφανείᾳ γένους καὶ πλούτου βάρει καὶ σοφίᾳ τῇ περὶ λόγους, τὴν ἀκοὴν ἔκπαλαι τὴν ἀποστολικὴν δεξάμενον ἐπεθύμει καὶ αὐταῖς ὄψεσιν ἰδεῖν τὸν κήρυκα τῆς ἀληθείας, καὶ τοῖς ὡσὶ τὰ τῆς ὄντως ζωῆς ἐνηχηθῆναι δόγματα. δόξαν οὖν αὐτῇ, κατὰ δή τι θεῖον εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν προκύψαι καθ' ὃν καιρὸν καὶ ὁ ἐκ μόνης φήμης αὐτῇ Παῦλος ἀγαπώμενος μέσην διήρχετο ταύτην. ἰδεῖν δὲ αὐτὸν λέγεται ταύτην πρᾳῶς βαδίζοντα (ὡς ἐκεῖνος κεχαριτωμένον ἔχων οὐ μόνον τὸν ἄλλον τρόπον ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ βάδισμα) καὶ θεόθεν ὁρμη-

θεῖσαν πεῖσαι τὸν ἑαυτῆς ἄνδρα, Πρόβον τοὔνομα, τῶν ἐκεῖσε πρωτεύοντα, ἐντὸς οἴκου τοῦ οἰκείου τὸν ξένον δέξασθαι· ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ προσεβλήθη, καὶ πλησίον αὐτοῖς ἐγεγόνει, θαῦμά τι περὶ τὴν γυναῖκα συμβῆναι τοιοῦτον· ἀνακαλυφθέντων αὐτῆς τῶν τοῦ νοὸς ὀφθαλμῶν ἰδεῖν περὶ τοῦ μετώπου τοῦ ἐπιξενωθέντος αὐτοῖς ἐπίχρυσα γράμματα, 'Παῦλος ὁ τοῦ Χριστοῦ κῆρυξ' διαγορεύοντα, τὴν δὲ τῷ ἀνελπίστῳ τῆς ὄψεως ἡδονή τε καὶ δέος εἰσῄει, καὶ δακρύων περίπλεως τοῖς ποσὶ τοῦ ἀποστόλου προσέπιπτε, κατηχηθεῖσά τε παρ' αὐτοῦ, πρῶτον μὲν αὐτὴ τὸ βάπτισμα δέχεται, Ξανθίππη κληθεῖσα, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Πρόβος ὁ ταύτης ἀνὴρ, Νέρωνι γνωστὸς ὢν, ἔπειτα καὶ Φιλόθεος ὕπαρχος, καὶ καθεξῆς πάντες οἱ τῆς χώρας ἐκείνης οἰκήτορες.

From this passage Michael Glycas (cir. 1150) has epitomised his account in the *Annales*, p. 237 ed. Par., 441 ed. Bonn.

The rest of the literature relating to our Acts is easily accessible in the volumes of the *Acta Sanctorum*.

In the *Acta* for February 16 II. 855 (887) in the Life of S. Onesimus the following passage occurs:

Among the countries imbued with the faith of Christ by S. Onesimus Spain is reckoned by some. For this reason he is included in the Spanish Martyrology of Io. Tamayo de Salazar, in this form: Hispaniae celebris est memoria S. Onesimi, discipuli B. Pauli, et totius Carpetaniae regionis magistri, qui cum a Philemone hero manu missus, Colossos deveniret, inde ad Patras, ibidem beatam Virginem Polyxenam Hispanam et Sarram pedissequam B. Andreae discipulas adinuenit, quibus Hispaniam contendens, post plurima nauigationis dissidia Nostras ingressus, Carpetanos lustrauit, etc., etc.

Earlier Spanish authorities were Julianus Petri, archpriest of S. Justa, and Flavius Lucius Dexter, or the authors of the *Adversaria* and *Chronica* published under those names. Julianus Petri is then quoted for the following facts (*Adv.* c. 73): 'Inde (Onesimus) profectus est Colossos, et venit Patras, ubi reperit Polyxenam Hispanam et anno LXX venit in Hispaniam, etc. In the *Chronicon*, c. 44, under the year 108, 'Xantippe et Polyxena eius uxor (*sic!*) Virgo sanctissima et eius socia Rebecca, item Virgo, et S. Onesimus, S. Pauli discipulus' are said to have frequently come from Laminium to Toledo to consult S. Eugenius, and to

have returned greatly cheered: cap. 46, under the year 109, says 'Xantippe et Polyxena ad meliorem uitam demigrant.' Lastly the *Chronicon* of Ps.-Dexter under the year 71 says: 'S. Onesimus, S. Pauli discipulus, ex urbe Patararum in Achaia cum Sanctis Virginibus Polyxena et Sarra, discipulis Andreae apostoli, per Hispanias praedicat.'

In the *Acta* for September 23 (*Sept.* vi. 635) is a notice of the contents of our Acts, evidently drawn from the Paris MS. from which they are now printed, or rather from a transcript of this MS. which the Bollandist writer had before him. They are rejected as fabulous, and indeed the critic (seemingly J. Stilting) makes rather merry over them. As a mark of their late date he instances the employment of the Latin words *κουβούκλιον* and *ἀκούμβιτος*. He further remarks that the author had read the Acts of S. Thecla, and finally expresses a doubt as to whether such persons as the heroines ever existed: the mere mention of their names in the Martyrologies does not imply any 'cultus ecclesiasticus.'

Tillemont, *Mém. Eccl.* note 73 on S. Paul, mentions and criticises the legend shortly: his authorities are the Menaea, of which he quotes a somewhat fuller form than I have been able to find, the Bollandists, and Leo Allatius, *de Simeonibus*, p. 112[1], who knew of our Acts,—'for the want of which,' adds Tillemont, 'we can easily console ourselves.'

Lipsius, *Apokr. Apostelg.* ii. 227, refers to the Menaea, the Bollandists, and Glycas; but had not seen the Acts. 'Whether,' he says, 'the detailed notices of the conversion of Xanthippe and of her husband Probus, as well as that of Philotheos the *ὕπαρχος*, were mentioned in the Gnostic *περίοδοι Παύλου*, cannot with our present materials be further decided.' In iii. 217 he expresses the opinion that the acquaintance of the Spanish Christians with the legend, whether due directly or not to the Byzantines who allude to it, cannot date from a time anterior to the 10th century, and is very likely later: he does not attempt to decide whether the Byzantine writers drew on an older Greek source or not.

The passages which make distinct use of our Acts are, then, few in number and late in date. I think, however, that their

[1] Allatius l.c. inserts these Acts (from the Paris MS.) in a list of the works attributed to Simeon the Metaphrast.

indebtedness to the document here printed is plain in all cases It is true that the account in the Basilian Menology diverges in two particulars from the proper history: in the first place, no mention is made of Rebecca; but the case is one of simple omission. In the second place, it is said that Polyxena went to Greece after S. Paul left Spain, because she heard that S. Andrew was preaching there. That is not the situation presented in our Acts, and I venture to say that it is a careless perversion of the legend. If there had been any rival account of the two Saints in circulation, more traces of it would most likely have been left in the Menaea. But the rest of the Basilian account agrees with the Acts.

The notice in the Menaea is nothing but a meagre abstract of the Acts. That in the *ὑπόμνημα* (copied by Glycas) is a moderately full extract from cc. vii, viii.

The late Spanish authorities—the forged Julianus and Dexter, and the Martyrology of Tamayo de Salazar—most likely drew from the Menaea. To put it more accurately, Ps.-Julianus seems to have used the Menaea, and Dexter and Salazar copied from him or one from the other. Ps.-Dexter and Salazar agree in substituting the name of Sarra for that of Rebecca: this seems to be merely due to the vague recollection that one of the heroines of the story bore the name of one of the wives of the Patriarchs. Dexter's forgery was printed in 1619, Salazar's book in 1650, so that the author of Dexter[1] is responsible for the blunder.

Sources of the Acts.

Our Acts show a knowledge of at least six early romances: these are the Acts of Paul and Thecla, the (Gnostic or orthodox) Acts of Paul, the Actus Petri Vercellenses, and the Acts of Andrew, Philip, and Thomas.

1. *Acta Pauli et Theclae.* The only overt reference is that in c. xxxvii. where the son of the *ἔπαρχος* in Greece says: 'There was a man of glorious countenance at Antioch some years ago who proclaimed this god, and a certain virgin believed, and followed

[1] The author of most of these Spanish forgeries was apparently Geronimo Romano de la Higuera, born in 1538.

him, and incurred danger through her beauty; her name was Thecla, and I heard that she was condemned to the beasts.'

Throughout the book, however, coincidences of thought are to be seen. In cc. vii, viii. Paul's first appearance is described: this should be compared with *Paul et Th.* § 3. In c. xiii. Xanthippe bribes her porter with gold and a girdle. Thecla (§ 18) bribes hers with her bracelets. The unsuccessful suitor Thamyris, and Polyxena's more violent *μνηστὴρ*, are not dissimilar: in both stories a ruler falls in love with the heroine, and in both there is an unsuccessful exposure to wild beasts, and also a sagacious lioness; the disparagement of the married state is a feature common to many of the spurious Acts. Further instances of borrowing I reserve for the notes on the text.

2. *Acta Pauli.* This large and important book is at present for the most part unknown. The two writers who have treated of it most fully in recent years are R. A. Lipsius *Apokr. Apostelg.* ii. *passim*, and Zahn *N. T. Kanon* ii. 865—891.

They differ radically in their estimate of the book. Lipsius regards it as having been a Gnostic production of the same nature as the *Actus Petri Vercellenses;* Zahn believes it to have been an orthodox romance of the second century. A specially interesting feature in Zahn's discussion is his enumeration of the extant remains. These it will be worth while to indicate shortly:

(1) Two short sentences quoted by Origen.

(2) A fragment in Clem. Alex. usually called a fragment of the *Preaching of Paul.*

(3) The correspondence between Paul and the Corinthian Church extant in Armenian and in Latin: the latter version is a recent discovery made by Berger at Milan. Still more lately, Bratke has found the two letters in a MS. at Laon, and printed them in *Theolog. Litteraturzeitung*, 1892.

(4) The story of the *θηριομαχία* at Ephesus, preserved by Nicephorus, *H. E.* ii. 25.

(5) (6) Quotations from a *Pauli praedicatio*, in the tract *de rebaptismate* and in Lactantius *Div. Inst.* iv. 21, 2.

(7) The extant *Martyrium Pauli*[1].

The most striking point of Zahn's theory lies in the attribution

[1] See further the note at the end of this Introduction.

of Fragment 3 to these Acts. I think he is right here: and if that be the case, it is well nigh certain that the Acts were not Gnostic; for the whole fragment is directed against a Gnosis of a Docetic and anti-Judaic kind. Lipsius (l. c. p. 270) has little that is Gnostic to point to in the extant remains of the Acts of Paul (in which he has not thought of including Zahn's 3rd fragment): he instances the fact of a Hebrew prayer being attributed to the Apostle in the *Martyrium*, and points to the general resemblance between Fragment 4 and such books as the Acts of Thomas. These he would certainly allow to be insufficient arguments, if taken by themselves: what he chiefly relies upon is the homogeneous character which he attributes to the περίοδοι Πέτρου and πράξεις (or περίοδοι) Παύλου. The *Actus Petri Vercellenses*, which are part of the περίοδοι Πέτρου, are clearly Gnostic. If the περίοδοι Παύλου be essentially homogeneous with them, they too must be Gnostic. But is this homogeneity proven? To my thinking, the position of Lipsius must be reconsidered in face of the arguments advanced by Zahn for the collocation of his 3rd fragment among the remains of the Acts of Paul.

To these lost or fragmentary Acts I believe that our novel of Xanthippe and Polyxena is considerably indebted. In the first place, Zahn's 3rd and 4th fragments have one feature in common, namely, the mention of distinguished female converts and companions of Paul. Fragment 3 speaks of Stratonice the wife of Apollophanes, on account of whom Paul was imprisoned at Philippi. Fragment 4 tells of Eubula and Artemilla, wives of Ephesian nobles, who visited Paul in prison, and were baptized by him. Besides this, we find mention in Chrysostom of a παλλακὶς of Nero whom Paul converted; and Chrysostom is allowed to have used the *Acta Pauli* (Lipsius, p. 246). Very likely the idea is one borrowed from the very early Thecla-legend; still it was evidently a frequently recurring *motif* in the Acts of Paul. The same situation is the leading one in the first half of our romance.

Again, the Acts of Paul made mention of his journey to Spain. Whether or no the *Actus Petri Vercellenses* were contemporaneous with the Acts of Paul, they were certainly not earlier: and they do as certainly imply a consciousness of Acts of Paul which already existed either in conception or in actual fact. The first

three chapters are occupied with the departure of Paul from Rome for Spain, and with incidents connected with it[1]. The following quotations (from c. i.) are to the purpose: and the odd Latin of the document must not excite surprise: 'Pauli tempus demorantis Romae et multos confirmantis in fide, contigit etiam quendam nomine Candidam, uxorem Quarti a praeclusionibus, audire Paulum et intueri sermonibus illius et credere.' Quartus was also converted, and gave Paul permission to leave the city. 'Et ieiunans triduo Paulus et petens a domino quod aptum sibi esset, uidit itaque uisionem, dicentem sibi dominum: Paule, surge, et qui in Spania sunt corpori tuo (*sic:* Lipsius conjectures 'conpariturus') medicus esto.'[2]

From c. iv. onwards, Paul disappears, and Peter is the hero of the book. To my mind we have in the words quoted above a clear instance of the dovetailing of the Peter legend into that of Paul. The destiny of the latter is left hanging in the air: he sets out on his voyage, and after having been for a brief four pages the hero, he entirely vanishes. Surely this implies that in some other book, whether a work contemplated by the same author, or one already in his readers' hands, information was to be found as to what Paul did when he got to Spain, and what happened to him after that. What book save the Acts of Paul could have contained that information?

Further, whatever be the true meaning of the corrupt clause in the Muratorian Fragment which relates to the Acts, it seems clear enough that the author knew of books in which the 'passio Petri' and the 'profectio Pauli ab urbe ad Spaniam proficiscentis' were set forth in detail: and these books must surely have been Acts of Peter and Acts of Paul.

Now the novel before us contains one large episode of Paul's Spanish journey: cc. i.—xxii. tell the story of the conversion of Xanthippe and Probus by his means. And, as I hope to be able to shew more clearly in the course of this discussion, the relation of our author to his earlier authorities is such that this episode may be reasonably regarded as an amplification of one in the

[1] *Acta Petri et Pauli*, ed. Lipsius, p. 45.

[2] The occurrence of another noble convert, Candida, is to be noticed: on p. 48 two matrons, Berenice and Filostrate, occur.

Acta Pauli. There are strong resemblances, too, between the fragment of the Acts of Paul preserved by Nicephorus, and our book. The occurrence of noble female converts has been mentioned: a nocturnal visit to Paul for the purpose of baptism is another common feature. The conversion of the ruler is a third, and the introduction of a sagacious lion is a fourth. Here again the Thecla-legend has been imitated by the author of the Acts of Paul. Yet the supposition that our author has been influenced by the Thecla-legend will not account for all the resemblances between his work and the *Acta Pauli.*

3. The *Actus Petri cum Simone* (= *Vercellenses*). There is a plain quotation from these in the Acts of Xanthippe and Polyxena, c. xxiv., where it is said that while Polyxena was on her forced voyage to Greece 'the great Apostle of the Lord, Peter, was passing in a ship, hastening to get to Rome in consequence of a vision, because, when Paul had gone forth to Spain, a certain impostor and magician named Simon had entered the city, and destroyed the Church which Paul had gathered together.' Compare the *Actus Petri* v. (p. 49) where, after Paul's departure, it is said that God was informing Peter of the state of affairs, he being at Jerusalem, and that Christ showed him a vision, saying that Simon, whom he had cast out of Judaea, was now at Rome, and bidding him set out at once for that place.

Again in cc. i. ii. of our Acts, Paul is spoken of as a 'physician': similarly in *Act. Pet.* i. Christ says to Paul: 'Go to Spain and be a physician (*medicus*) to those who are there.'

These proofs of borrowing from the Acts of Peter may suffice for the present.

4. *The Acts of Andrew.* The introduction of S. Andrew into the story (cc. xxviii.—xxxi.), and that in the proper traditional sphere of his preaching, namely, Greece, is the chief hint that the compiler of our story knew of a romance dealing with the adventures of this Apostle. One or two other probable traces of a use of these Acts do appear: in c. xxvi. an army is routed by the sign of the cross. In the *Miracula B. Andreae* by Gregory of Tours (an undoubted abstract of the *περίοδοι*) Andrew routs an army in Thrace by similar means. Again, in c. xxxii. the drover tells how a beggar inspired by Satan refused to receive alms from

him. In the *Miracula* c. 2, a blind beggar is inspired by Satan to refuse to receive his sight. Lastly, the arrival of Polyxena in Greece (c. xxiv.) is somewhat like the situation in the *Miracula* c. 24.

5. *The Acts of Philip.* In this case again the introduction of Philip as an actor in our book is a principal reason for supposing that Acts of Philip were known to the author. The scene is the right one: the second πρᾶξις (ed. Tischdf. p. 95 sqq.) and the fifth, sixth, seventh, and beginning of the eighth (ed. Batiffol, *Anal. Bolland.* ix. 204—248) all treat of Philip's mission to Greece. Besides this, in our Acts c. xxv. there is an allusion to the ἐπενδύτης of Philip, which is also mentioned in *Act. Phil. in Hellade* § 1. The appearance of a shining inscription on Paul's brow (c. viii.) may be compared with Act 5th § 16, where Philip is seen as μέγα τι φῶς, and the speaking lioness in c. xxx. resembles the leopard of Act 8th §§ 4 and 7.

6. *The Acts of Thomas* (ed. Bonnet). With this romance, the completest Gnostic novel which we possess, the Acts before us show a certain number of coincidences of language. On p. 58 we have a dream in which an eagle plays a principal part: so in the dream of Probus, c. xvii. In our Acts, the utterers of prayer often profess their inability to speak aright (cc. iv. xiv. xxx.): so do various speakers in the Acts of Thomas (pp. 13, 54, 73) and in very similar terms. There is also a certain resemblance in vocabulary: ἐκφᾶναι (c. i. and p. 53) ἐπιζητῶ (cc. iv. viii. etc.: p. 13, etc.) are two instances: the condescension of Christ, and in particular the Descent into Hell, are dwelt upon (cc. iii. xii.: pp. 10, 13, 81). And, speaking generally, the style of the speeches and prayers in our book resembles very strongly those in the Acts of Thomas. The other points are insignificant, but a comparison of the speeches in cc. iv. vi. xii. xiv. with those on pp. 13, 43, 53, etc. of the Acts of Thomas will go further than any amount of detail to show that the latter has served to mould the style of the former.

What conclusions can we draw from the facts here collected as to the date and character of our book? One point may have struck the reader: it is that a sharp line of demarcation may be drawn between cc. i.—xxi. and xxii.—xlii. Paul, Xanthippe and

Probus are the principal figures in the first half. The second half introduces us to Polyxena, Peter, Philip, Andrew and Rebecca, besides a host of minor characters, and is moreover a much more obvious mosaic than Part I. Traces of the use of the Acts of *Paul and Thecla*, *of Paul*, *of Peter* and *of Thomas*, seem to be present throughout, but in the first part they are more deftly concealed. In Part II. we have cases of plain quotation from *Paul and Thecla* and *Peter*, and two more sources, the *Acts of Andrew* and *Acts of Philip*, appear for the first time. Again, in Part I. the scale of treatment is different to that in Part II. In Part I. there are not less than nine speeches or prayers of considerable length: in Part II. there are at most three (cc. xxvii. xxxii.) and the events are more crowded by far, and more briefly treated. At the same time, there is no marked diversity of style between the two halves of the book; and I do not wish to advance any theory of interpolation, or of dual authorship for the two parts. What does seem certain is that the book is throughout a mosaic: episodes are borrowed from distinct written sources which can be identified. And what seems likely is that in cc. i.—xxi. the source chiefly employed is one, whereas in cc. xxii.—xlii. the sources employed are many. In other words Part I. is more homogeneous and coherent than Part II. Further, in view of our previous investigation, it seems a reasonable conjecture that the main source of Part I. is the Acts of Paul. If we look at the kind of use which our author has made of the documents before him, we shall see that he has borrowed distinct episodes from the Acts of Paul and Thecla, from those of Peter, and, in a less degree, from those of Andrew and Philip: he has introduced those Apostles in scenes for which he found authority in their Acts. Is it not more than likely that he used the Acts of Paul, his chief hero, to a still larger extent? Resemblances have been already pointed out between our scanty fragments of those Acts and the book before us: and when the paucity of those fragments is considered, I think it must be allowed that the resemblances even exceed anything that we had a right to expect. A *terminus a quo* for determining the date of the book is furnished by its use of the Acts of Philip. This is allowed to be the latest of the six romances named here, and is placed somewhere in the first half of the third century. It is by

no means certain that it should not be placed quite early in that century. For our book the middle of the third century seems a reasonable date.

To those who are interested in all branches of early Christian literature, and who appreciate the importance of understanding what books were popular and what mental *pabulum* attracted the ordinary reader in the early centuries of the Church, it will not appear ridiculous to spend time and trouble in editing and in trying to elucidate a novel of the kind here printed. I am glad to think that the number of those who do appreciate these matters is an increasing one. But I further venture to think that the story of Xanthippe and Polyxena merits the attention of those who study the development of pagan literature in later times. Nothing is plainer than that one purpose of these Acts, and of books resembling them, was to provide a substitute for the pagan novel of the day. Those who have read the *Aethiopica* of Heliodorus, and the novels ascribed to Xenophon of Ephesus, Achilles Tatius and Charito of Aphrodisias, will recognise in the kidnappings, shipwrecks and innocent intrigues of the Christian story a reflection of some of the most familiar devices of the pagan novelists. I do not know that anything in the way of actual literary obligation can be traced on either side: but it is abundantly clear that while amusement or excitement is intended to be produced by the perusal of the story of Clitophon and Leucippe, it is the aim of the biographer of Xanthippe and Polyxena to blend instruction with amusement.

NOTE ON OTHER FRAGMENTS OF THE ACTS OF PAUL.

I should like to add a note on some additional fragments of the Acts of Paul which Zahn does not notice. The first is furnished by a passage of Commodian's *Carmen Apologeticum* (618—24 Ludwig, 624—30 Dombart):

Et quidquid uoluerit, faciet; ut muta loquantur.
Balaam sedenti (v. l. caedenti) asinam suam conloqui fecit
Et canem, ut Simoni diceret: Clamaris a Petro!
Paulo praedicanti dicerent ut multi (*al.* muti, muli) de illo,
Leonem populo fecit loqui uoce diuina.
Deinde, quod ipsa non patitur nostra natura,
Infantem fecit quinto mense proloqui uulgo.

Lipsius (ii. 446) has a note on these lines, which, in part, he believes to refer to the Acts of Paul and Thecla. But it will be well to go into the matter somewhat more in detail. The object of the poet is to collect instances of speech being given to animals or human beings in a miraculous manner. His first example is the story of Balaam's ass: the second, of the dog and Simon Magus, is drawn from the *Actus Petri Vercellenses* (ix.—xii., pp. 56—60): the third (ll. 627, 8) may refer to one or to two incidents in the Acts of Paul, according as various readings are adopted. The text adopted by Dombart gives this sense: 'For Paul when preaching, *in order that many* might speak concerning him, God made a lion speak to the people with a human voice.' Here we read *multi* (with the unique MS.), and make one sentence of the two lines. Another view, apparently supported by Pitra, Hilgenfeld, Ludwig and Lipsius, substitutes *muti* for *multi* and would translate thus: 'God brought it about for Paul when preaching, that dumb persons spoke concerning him: He also made a lion speak, etc.' A third conjecture suggests itself to me; in 624 Pitra suggested *muti* or *muli* for the supposed *multi* of the MS. To me it seems quite likely that in 627 *muli* may be the right reading: and for a parallel to such an event we may refer to the *Acta Thomae* (Bonnet, pp. 52—54), where an ὄναγρος speaks for a whole page. But whether *muti* or *muli* be read, I think that the interpretation which makes two events, and not one, to be mentioned is the right one. And I take it that we have here allusions to two events in the Acts of Paul. Lipsius, relying mainly on Jerome's allusion to the 'fabula de baptizato leone,' sees in l. 628 a reference to an unexpurgated text of the Acts of Paul and Thecla, which we no longer possess: Zahn (l. c. p. 897) gives what seem good reasons for believing that no such episode ever occurred in that book. And indeed it seems more likely that some story like that of the Ephesian lion (in Nicephorus) is in Commodian's mind.

In line 629 our poet probably returns to the *Actus Petri Vercellenses*, where, in c. xv. (p. 61), an infant *seven* months old speaks, and refutes Simon Magus. But a similar incident may very probably have occurred also in the Acts of Paul.

So much for Commodian's contribution. Another possible trace of the *Acta Pauli* is to be found in the Acts of Titus by Zenas. The fullest form of this book known to me is an epitome contained in *Cod. Par. Gr.* 548, f. 192—196, which I read, but did not copy, in 1890. The Menaea give a much shorter analysis, and this latter was the only material accessible to Lipsius (iii. 401). Among the facts not given in the Menaea are these: that Paul when preaching at Damascus cast a devil out of Apphia, the wife of the governor (another noble matron, be it noted); that Titus accompanied Paul on the first missionary journey, and that at Ephesus Paul fought (ἐθηριομάχησεν) with a lion. In this last clause undoubted use of the Acts of Paul is made; and it is surely a most probable conjecture—if not something more—that the cure of Apphia (who has no connection with Titus) was described in the lost book as well. After the incident at Ephesus, the story takes us to Crete, and from that point is either pure fiction or local legend.

A third source, as yet not examined, which may yield fragments of these Acts, is the Arabic (and Ethiopic) life of Paul. In the late and corrupt MS. from which Mr Malan translated his *Conflicts of the Holy Apostles*, only the Martyrdom of Paul was narrated; but in Nicoll and Pusey's *Cat. MSS. Or. Bodl.*, No. xlix. of the Christian Arabic MSS. has on ff. 99—103 a *Praedicatio Apostoli Pauli electi, et quid per eum egerit Deus in urbe dicta Ignorantiae:* and in Wright's *Catalogue of*

the Magdala Collection of Ethiopic MSS. in the British Museum, six MSS. (cii.—cvii.) contain long lives of Paul prefixed to the Martyrdom. In the title of the chapter next before the Martyrdom, mention is made of the city Warikon. The rest of the life, which is doubtless translated from the Arabic, seems to be based on the canonical Acts.

Fourthly, the Saints Zenaïs and Philonilla (11 Oct.) are described in their Acts as disciples of S. Paul. These Acts are, for the rest, not to our purpose; but possibly the names were borrowed from the lost book. This book may also be the same whence the name of Petronius as a disciple of Paul was drawn by the author of the Acts of S. Hermione, daughter of Philip, which are epitomised in the Menaea on Sept. 4. Lastly, the Acts of S. Aquila should be examined; they are contained in *Cod. Par. Gr.* 1219, ff. 37—45. The very cursory examination which I was able to make yielded nothing of interest; but it is to these Acts of Apostolic men and of supposed members of the band of the Seventy Disciples, that we must look for further light on the lost Acts of the Apostles.

One quite mediaeval Western book supplies what may be an extract from the Acts of Paul. I owe the knowledge of it to Mr Webb, Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford. John of Salisbury, in the *Policraticus*, a work finished in 1156 (iv. 3), in speaking of the duties of a king, introduces the stories of the self-sacrifice of Codrus and Lycurgus; and proceeds thus: 'His quidem exemplis eo libentius utor, quod Apostolum Paulum eisdem usum dum Atheniensibus praedicaret inuenio. Studuit praedicator egregius Iesum Christum, et hunc crucifixum, sic mentibus eorum ingerere, ut per ignominiam crucis liberationem multorum exemplo gentium prouenisse doceret. Sed et ista persuasit fieri non solere nisi in sanguine iustorum et eorum qui populi gererent magistratum. Porro ad liberationem omnium, scilicet Iudaeorum et gentium, nemo sufficiens potuit inueniri, nisi ille cui in hereditatem datae sunt gentes et praefinita est omnis terra possessio eius. Hunc autem alium esse non posse quam filium omnipotentis Dei asseruit, quum praeter Deum gentes et terras omnes nemo subegerit. Dum ergo sic crucis ignominiam praedicaret ut gentium paulatim euacuaretur stultitia, sensim ad Dei uerbum Deique sapientiam, et ipsum etiam diuinae maiestatis solium, uerbum fidei et linguam praedicatoris erexit. Et ne uirtus Euangelii sub carnis infirmitate uilesceret, a scandalo Iudaeorum gentiumque stultitia, opera crucifixi, quae etiam famae testimonio roborabantur, exposuit; quum apud omnes constaret quod ea non posset facere nisi Deus. Sed quia multa in utramque partem crebro fama mentitur, ipsam iuuabat famam quod discipuli eius maiora faciebant, dum ad umbram discipuli a quacunque infirmitate sanabantur aegroti. Quid multa? Astutias Aristotelis, Chrysippi acumina, omniumque philosophorum tendiculas resurgens mortuus confutabat.'

In this interesting passage we have the abstract of a sermon delivered by Paul at Athens: and it is certainly not the sermon which is recorded in Acts xviii. Nor is there, so far as I know, any source whence it could come save the apocryphal Acts of Paul—unless it were the *Praedicatio Pauli*, a work whose existence does not seem quite clearly established. It seems not unlikely that, if the Acta Pauli contained much didactic matter, as Frag. 3 seems to indicate that they did, the name *Praedicatio Pauli* might reasonably be given to them in a Latin version.

The use of examples from Greek history, which forms the excuse for John of Salisbury's quotation, finds a parallel in a passage quoted by Clement of Alexandria

as from 'Paul the Apostle,' in which the Gentiles are exhorted to consult 'Ἑλληνικαὶ βίβλοι,' especially Hystaspes and the Sibylline books, and to read the prophecies of Christ which they contain. This passage is one which Zahn assigns to the Acts of Paul—not, as Hilgenfeld, to a Preaching of Paul (or of Peter and Paul): and it seems to me most probable that he is right.

The closing sentences of the passage quoted from the *Policraticus* admit of two interpretations, according as we understand the words 'eius discipuli' to mean 'disciples of Paul' or 'disciples of Christ.' If the latter interpretation be adopted, we must see in the sentence a reference to the cures recorded in the Acts of the Apostles (v. 15) as having been wrought, or expected to be wrought, by the shadow of Peter: and this seems a straightforward and simple explanation. But if 'eius discipuli' are Paul's companions, we must suppose that the source used by John of Salisbury contained an account of cures effected by the shadow of Silas or Timotheus. Similarly, the words 'resurgens mortuus,' lower down, may be taken to apply either to our Lord, or to a miracle of raising a dead person performed by Paul at Athens in presence of the philosophers: and this last seems to me the most natural interpretation of the words. It seems more forcible to say that the resurrection of a dead man, actually witnessed, confuted the subtleties of the schools, than that the report or preaching of the resurrection of Christ did so.

Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τῶν ὁσίων γυναικῶν ξανθίππης πολυξένης καὶ ῥεβέκκας.

I. Τοῦ μακαρίου Παύλου ὄντος ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ διὰ τὸν λόγον τοῦ κυρίου, ἔτυχέν τινα δοῦλον ἀνδρὸς βασιλικοῦ τῆς Ἱσπανίας καταντῆσαι ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ μετὰ γραμμάτων τοῦ κυρίου αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀκοῦσαι τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ παρὰ Παύλου, τῆς χρυσῆς ὄντως καὶ καλῆς ἀηδόνος. Κατανυγέντος δὲ σφόδρα τοῦ δούλου ἐκείνου, καὶ μὴ δυναμένου προσπαραμεῖναι καὶ κορεσθῆναι τοῦ θείου λόγου διὰ τὸ ἐπείγεσθαι αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τῶν γραμμάτων, μετὰ λύπης μεγάλης ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς τὴν Ἱσπανίαν, καὶ μὴ δυνάμενος ἐκφᾶναι τινὶ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν αὐτοῦ διὰ τὸ εἶναι τὸν κύριον αὐτοῦ εἰδωλολάτρην, ἦν κατώδυνος ἀεὶ τῇ ψυχῇ καὶ στενάζων πάνυ· οὗτος δὲ ὁ δοῦλος ἦν ἔντιμος καὶ πιστὸς τοῖς κυρίοις αὐτοῦ· χρόνου δὲ διϊππεύσαντος, ἠσθένει ὁ παῖς καὶ ἐλεπτύνετο τῇ σαρκί· καὶ προσεσχηκὼς αὐτῷ ὁ κύριος αὐτοῦ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτόν· Τί σοι γέγονεν ὅτι οὕτως συμπέπτωκας τῷ προσώπῳ; λέγει ὁ παῖς· Πόνος μέγας τυγχάνει ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ μου, καὶ οὐδαμῶς δύναμαι ἀναπαυθῆναι. λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ κύριος αὐτοῦ· Καὶ τίς ἐστιν ὁ πόνος ὃς οὐ δύναται ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐμοῦ ἀρχιϊατροῦ θεραπείας τυχεῖν; ἔφη ὁ παῖς· Ἔτι μου ὄντος ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ, ὑπέμνησέ με ὁ πόνος οὗτος, καὶ ἡ ἀνακλητικὴ αὐτοῦ συμφορά. λέγει ὁ κύριος αὐτοῦ· Καὶ οὐκ ἔγνως τινὰς τούτῳ τῷ πάθει περιπεσόντας καὶ θεραπείας τυχόντας; λέγει ὁ παῖς· Ναί· ἀλλὰ ποῦ ἐστιν ὁ ἰατρὸς ἐκεῖνος οὐκ οἶδα· ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ γὰρ αὐτὸν κατέλιπον· ὅσοι τοίνυν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἰατροῦ ἐκείνου περιοδεύθησαν, καὶ διὰ τοῦ ὕδατος ὑπ' ἐκείνου διῆλθον, ἔτυχον καὶ θεραπείας παραχρῆμα. ὁ δὲ κύριος αὐτοῦ εἶπεν· Οὐκ ὀκνητέον μοι καὶ πάλιν πέμψαι σε εἰς Ῥώμην, εἴ πως ἰάσεως τύχοις.

II. Καὶ ἐν τῷ λέγειν αὐτοὺς ταῦτα, ἰδοὺ ἡ κυρία αὐτοῦ ὀνόματι Ξανθίππη, ἐπακροασαμένη τῶν λόγων τούτων, καὶ μαθοῦσα τὴν περὶ τοῦ Παύλου διδασκαλίαν, λέγει· Τί τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ ἰατροῦ ἐκείνου, ἢ τίς ἡ πρὸς ἄμυναν τοῦ τοιούτου πάθους θεράπεια; λέγει ὁ παῖς πρὸς αὐτήν· Ἐπίκλησις ὀνόματος καινοῦ, καὶ χρίσις ἐλαίου, καὶ λοῦτρον ὕδατος· ταύτῃ οὖν τῇ ἐπιμελείᾳ ἐγὼ ἑώρακα πολλοὺς ἀνιάτους ἔχοντας πόνους θεραπείας τυχόντας. ταῦτα δὲ αὐτοῦ λεγόντος, τὰ ξόανα τῶν εἰδώλων τὰ ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ ἱστάμενα ἤρξαντο ταράττεσθαι καὶ καταπίπτειν· διενεύσατο δὲ αὐτῷ ἡ κυρία, λέγουσα· Ὁρᾷς, ἀδελφὲ, τὰ ξόανα τῶν δαιμόνων ταραττόμενα, πῶς οὐ φέρουσι τοῦ λόγου τὴν δύναμιν; ἀνέστη δὲ καὶ ὁ κύριος αὐτοῦ, ὀνόματι Πρόβος, ἀπὸ τοῦ μεσημβρινοῦ ὕπνου σκυθρωπὸς πάνυ, ὁ γὰρ διάβολος ἐτάραξεν αὐτὸν σφόδρα, τῆς γνώσεως τοῦ θεοῦ ἐλθούσης ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ. καὶ ἠρώτα τὸν παῖδα καθεξῆς πάντα. καὶ ὁ μὲν παῖς, προνοίᾳ θεοῦ τῇ ἀῤῥωστίᾳ συλληφθεὶς, κατέλυσε τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον· ἡ δὲ Ξανθίππη ἀνιάτως πάνυ εἶχε τὴν ψυχὴν περὶ ταύτης τῆς διδαχῆς. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ὁ Πρόβος ἐλυπεῖτο περὶ τῆς Ξανθίππης ὅτι ἦν κατατήκουσα ἑαυτὴν ἔκτοτε τῇ ἀγρυπνίᾳ καὶ ἐγκρατείᾳ καὶ τῇ λοιπῇ σκληραγωγίᾳ.

III. Ἀπελθοῦσα δὲ ἡ Ξανθίππη πρὸς τὴν κλίνην ἑαυτῆς καὶ ἀναστενάξασα, εἶπεν· Οἴμοι τῇ ἀθλίᾳ, τῇ ἐν σκότει κατακειμένῃ, ὅτι οὐκ ἔμαθον τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ καινοῦ διδασκάλου, ἵνα ἐπεκαλεσάμην αὐτοῦ τὴν εὐχήν· καὶ τί εἴπω οὐκ οἶδα. ἐπικαλέσομαι τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ θεοῦ αὐτοῦ; ἀλλὰ οὐκ οἶδα τοῦ εἰπεῖν Ὁ ὑπὸ τοῦ δεῖνος κηρυσσόμενος θεός. ὅμως οὖν ἐν ὑπονοίᾳ λέξω· Ὁ τοὺς ἐν ᾅδῃ φωτίσας θεὸς, καὶ τοὺς ἐν σκότει παιδαγωγήσας, ὁ ἐλευθέρων καὶ βασιλέων κύριος, καὶ ὑπὸ δούλων ἀξίων κηρυσσόμενος ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ κόσμῳ· ὁ ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων ἁμαρτωλῶν φωνούμενος ὡς ἀδελφὸς καὶ τάχιστα ἐπακούων, ᾧ οὐδὲ ἀρχάγγελοι ὕμνους ἀξίους ἀναπέμψαι ἰσχύουσιν, ὁ κἀμοὶ τῇ ἀναξίᾳ καὶ ταπεινῇ[1] δείξας τὸν σπορὸν τὸν ἀεὶ ζῶντα καὶ μένοντα (λαβεῖν δέ με αὐτὸν ἡ ἀγνωσία οὐ παραχωρεῖ), τάχυνον καὶ τὰ περὶ ἐμὲ, δέσποτα, ὅτι σῷ θελήματι ἀκουστόν μοι σεαυτὸν ἐποίησας, καὶ τῇ σῇ εὐσπλαγχνίᾳ δεῖξόν

[1] κἀμὲ τὴν ἀναξίαν καὶ ταπεινὴν cod.

μοι ἐμφανισμὸν τοῦ κήρυκός σου, πρὸς τὸ μαθεῖν με παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ τά σοι ἀρεστά· ναὶ, δέομαί σου, ἔπιδε ἐπὶ τὴν ἄγνοιάν μου, ὁ θεὸς, καὶ φώτισόν με τῷ φωτὶ τοῦ προσώπου σου, ὁ μηδέποτέ τινα παρορῶν τῶν ἐν ἀληθείᾳ ἐπικαλουμένων σε. λέγει πρὸς αὐτὴν Πρόβος ὁ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς· Τί σκύλλεις σεαυτὴν, κυρία, ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον, καὶ οὐδ᾽ ὅλως γίνῃ πρὸς τὸ ἀναπαυθῆναι; ἔφη ἡ Ξανθίππη· Οὐ δύναμαι ἀναπαυθῆναι, ὅτι πόνος ἀνίατος τυγχάνει ἐν ἐμοί. ὁ δὲ Πρόβος εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτήν· Καὶ τίς σου ἐστὶν ὁ πόνος ἢ ἡ λύπη, ὦ κυρία, ὅτι οὐκ αὐταρκῶ ἐγὼ εἰς παραμυθίαν σου; πάντα γὰρ ὅσαπερ ἠβούλου μέχρι τῆς σήμερον ὑπούργησά σοι· καὶ νῦν τί ἐστιν ὃ ἔχεις καὶ οὐκ ἀγγέλλεις μοι; λέγει αὐτῷ ἡ Ξανθίππη· Τοῦτό σε μόνον παρακαλῶ, κύριέ μου, ἄνες μοι μικρὸν καὶ τὸ σήμερον μόνον καταμόνας σε καθευδῆσαι. καὶ ὁ Πρόβος πρὸς αὐτὴν εἶπεν· Ἔστω σοι, κυρία, ὡς βούλει· μόνον ἄνες τὸν στεναγμόν σου.

IV. Τότε εἰσελθοῦσα καταμόνας ἐν τῷ κοιτῶνι αὐτῆς, ἔλεγεν μετὰ δακρύων ταῦτα· Ποίοις τρόποις, θεέ μου, χρήσομαι, ἢ ποίαν ἔννοιαν ἀναλάβω, οὐκ οἶδα· φανερώσω τὴν ἐνγενομένην μοι φρόνησιν; ἀλλὰ τὴν μανίαν καὶ ἀκαταστασίαν τῆς πόλεως δειλιῶ. φύγω τῆς ἀσεβοῦς πόλεως ταύτης; ἀλλὰ δέδοικα τὴν τοῦ διαβόλου μηχανὴν διὰ τῆς τοῦ προβάτου καταλήψεως. ἀναμείνω τὸ ἔλεος καὶ τὴν ταχύτητα τοῦ κυρίου; ἀλλὰ πάλιν φοβοῦμαι τὴν ἄωρον ἁρπαγὴν τοῦ βίου. ὁ γὰρ τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν θάνατος μήνυσιν οὐκ ἔχει. ἀπέλθω εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην φυγοῦσα; ἀλλὰ δέδοικα τὸ μῆκος τῆς ὁδοῦ, πεζῇ βαδίζειν μὴ δυναμένη. ἀλλ᾽ ἐπειδὴ ἐν στοχασμῷ ταῦτα λέγω, τῷ πόθῳ ἀναγκαζομένη (ἀσφαλῶς γὰρ εἰπεῖν ἀγνοῶ), συγγνώμην εὕροιμι παρά σου, ὁ θεός μου, καὶ ὑπερβολῇ ὀρθῶν λέξεων πλήρωσόν μου τὸν πόθον, καὶ ἀκοῦσαί με μόνον τοῦ κήρυκός σου καταξίωσον· ἐὰν γὰρ εἴπω, πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ με ἰδεῖν, μέγα ἐπιζητῶ· μακάριος ὁ ἐν τῇ χορῷ τῶν κηρύκων σου εὑρεθεὶς, καὶ τῶν τιμίων αὐτῶν προσώπων ἐμπλησθείς· μακάριοι οἱ ζευχθέντες[1] ὑπὸ τὴν κήρυξιν τῶν ἐντολῶν σου· μακάριοι οἱ τὰς ἐντολάς σου φυλάσσοντες· ποῦ δὲ νῦν τὰ ἐλέη σου, κύριε, τὰ ἐπὶ τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν, ἵνα ἦμεν καὶ ἡμεῖς διάδοχοι αὐτῶν τῆς πρός σε στοργῆς, καὶ ἔγγονοι τῆς πίστεως; ἀλλ᾽ ἰδοὺ νῦν, δέσποτα, οὐχ εὑρίσκω τινα πρός

[1] ξευθέντες cod.

σε στοργὴν ἔχοντα, ἵνα καὶ συνδιάξασα αὐτῷ κἂν μικρὸν ἀνεπαυσάμην τῇ ψυχῇ· σπεῦσον οὖν, κύριε, τοῦ ζεῦξαί με ἐν τῷ πόθῳ σου, καὶ φύλαξόν με ὑπὸ τὴν σκέπην τῶν πτερύγων σου· ὅτι σὺ μόνος ὑπάρχεις δεδοξασμένος θεὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, ἀμήν.

V. Ταῦτα τοίνυν λέγουσα ἡ Ξανθίππη, καὶ τὰ τούτοις ὅμοια, συνεχῶς ἀνεστέναξεν δι' ὅλης τῆς νυκτός· ἤκουσεν δὲ ὁ Πρόβος καὶ ἠθύμει σφόδρα, καὶ ἀναστὰς ἀπὸ τῆς κλίνης αὐτοῦ, τοῦ ὄρθρου ἐπελθόντος, εἰσῄει πρὸς αὐτὴν, καὶ θεασάμενος αὐτῆς τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς φλεγμαίνοντας ἀπὸ τῶν δακρύων, εἶπεν· Τίνος ἕνεκεν, κυρία, οὕτως με συνταράττεις, καὶ οὐ καταγγέλλεις μοι τὴν σὴν λύπην; ἀνάγγειλόν μοι, ὅπως ποιήσω σοι τὸ ἀρεστὸν, καὶ μὴ στενοχώρει με ἐν τῇ σῇ ἀδημονίᾳ. λέγει ἡ Ξανθίππη πρὸς αὐτόν· Πρόθυμος ἔσο μᾶλλον, κύριέ μου, καὶ μὴ συνταράττου, ὅτι οὐ μή σε βλάψῃ ἡ ἐμὴ ἀδημονία· ἀλλ' εἰ εὗρον χάριν ἐνώπιόν σου, πρόελθε νῦν εἰς τὸν ἀσπασμὸν, καί με ἔασον ἑαυτὴν πληροφορῆσαι ὡς βούλομαι· οὐ γὰρ δυνατὸν ἀνθρώπῳ ἐκκόψαι μου τὴν ἀπληροφόρητον λύπην. καὶ ἐπακούσας αὐτῇ προῆλθε παρευθὺ τοὺς ἀσπασμοὺς ὑποδέξασθαι τῶν τῆς πόλεως· αὐτὸς γὰρ ἦν ὁ παρ' αὐτοῖς μέγας· ἦν δὲ καὶ γνωστὸς Νέρωνι τῷ βασιλεῖ. καὶ καθίσας, ἐν τῷ προσώπῳ αὐτοῦ λύπη πολλὴ ἐφαίνετο· ὃς ἐρωτώμενος τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς λύπης παρὰ τῶν ἐξόχων τῆς πόλεως, ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς εἰς πολλὰς καὶ ἀνυποστάτους αἰτίας ἐμπεπτωκέναι.

VI. Προῆλθεν δὲ καὶ ἡ Ξανθίππη ἐπὶ παραδείσου, τοῦ ἐγκύψασαν αὐτὴν μετεωρισθῆναι πρὸς πληροφορίαν τοῦ ἀνδρός· καὶ ὁρᾷ τὴν τέρψιν τῶν δένδρων καὶ τὸν διάφορον κελαδισμὸν τῶν ὀρνέων, καὶ στενάξασα λέγει· Ὦ εὐπρέπεια κόσμου· ὃν γὰρ ἕως τοῦ νῦν ἐνομίζομεν αὐτοματισμὸν εἶναι, νῦν ἐγνώκαμεν ὅτι ὑπὸ τοῦ εὐπρεποῦς εὐπρεπῶς ἐδημιουργήθη τὰ πάντα· ὦ ἐξουσία καὶ ἐξεύρεσις σοφίας· ὅτι οὐ μόνον ἐν ἀνθρώποις μυρίας γλώσσας ἔθηκεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν ὀρνέοις διαφόρους ὥρισεν φωνὰς ὡσὰν ἐξ ἀντιφώνων καὶ ὑπηκόων ἡδυφθόγγους καὶ κατανυκτικοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν ἰδίων ἔργων ὑποδέχεσθαι ὕμνους· ὦ τερπνότης ἀέρος, τὸν ποιητὴν ἀνείκαστον ὑποδεικνύουσα· τίς μου τὸ πένθος εἰς εὐφροσύνην μετατρέψει; καὶ πάλιν εἶπεν· Ὁ ὑπὸ πάντων ἀνυμνούμενος θεὸς, δός μοι ἀνάπαυσιν καὶ παραμυθίαν. τούτων λεγομένων ὑπ' αὐτῆς, ἐπανῆλθεν καὶ ὁ Πρόβος ἀπὸ τῆς πλατείας

πρὸς τὸ ἄριστον, καὶ ὡς εἶδεν τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτῆς ἠλλοιωμένον ἀπὸ τῶν δακρύων, ἤρξατο ἐκτίλλειν τὰς τρίχας τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ, εἰπεῖν δὲ αὐτῇ τέως τι οὐκ ἐτόλμησεν διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐπικερασθῆναι ἐν τῇ θλίψει αὐτῆς ἑτέραν θλῖψιν. πορευθεὶς δὲ ἀνέπεσεν ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης αὐτοῦ, καὶ στενάξας εἶπεν· Οἴμοι, ὅτι οὔτε κἂν τέκνου παραμυθίαν ἔσχον ἐξ αὐτῆς, ἀλλ' ὀδύνην μόνον ἐπ' ὀδύνην κερδαίνω· οὐ πλήρεις εἰσιν δύο ἐνιαυτοὶ ἀφ' οὗ συνεζεύχθην αὐτῇ, καὶ ἤδη ἀποστασίαν μελετᾷ.

VII. Ἦν δὲ πάντοτε ἡ Ξανθίππη ἀποσκοπεύουσα διὰ τῶν θυρίδων εἰς τὰς πλατείας τῆς πόλεως· ὁ δὲ μακάριος Παῦλος, ὁ κῆρυξ καὶ διδάσκαλος καὶ φώστηρ τῆς οἰκουμένης, ἐξελθὼν τῆς Ῥώμης, κατήντησεν καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἱσπανίᾳ κατὰ πρόνοιαν θεοῦ. καὶ ἐγγίσας < εἰς > τὰ πρόθυρα τῆς πόλεως, στὰς προσηύξατο· καὶ σφραγίσας ἑαυτὸν εἰσῄει εἰς τὴν πόλιν. ἡ δὲ Ξανθίππη ὡς εἶδεν τὸν μακάριον Παῦλον πρᾴως καὶ ὁμαλῶς βαδίζοντα καὶ πάσῃ ἀρετῇ καὶ συνέσει κεκοσμημένον, ἐτέρφθη πάνυ ἐν αὐτῷ, καὶ ἔπαλλεν συνεχῶς ἡ καρδία αὐτῆς· καὶ ὥσπερ ἐξ ἀπροσδοκήτου χαρᾶς ληφθεῖσα λέγει ἐν ἑαυτῇ· Τί ὅτι πολυσαλεύτως πάλλει μου ἡ καρδία ἐπὶ τῇ ὁράσει τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐκείνου; τί πρᾶος αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁμαλὸς ὁ περίπατος, ὡσεί τις ἐκδέχεται διωκόμενον ἐναγκαλίσασθαι· τί εὐμενὲς αὐτοῦ τὸ πρόσωπον, ὡς εἴ τις θεραπεύει ἀσθενεῖς· τί εὐμόρφως περισκοπεῖ ὧδε κἀκεῖσε ὡς εἴ τις θέλει βοηθῆσαι τοῖς φυγεῖν βουλομένοις ἐκ στόματος δρακόντων· τίς δέ μοι καταγγελεῖ[1] ὅτι τυγχάνει οὗτος ἐκ τῆς ποίμνης τῶν κηρύκων; εἰ ἦν μοι δυνατὸν, ἤθελον ἅψασθαι τοῦ κρασπέδου τῶν ἱματίων αὐτοῦ, ἵνα ἴδω τὴν εὐμένειαν καὶ τὴν πρόσδεξιν αὐτοῦ καὶ εὐωδίαν. ἔλεγεν γὰρ αὐτῇ καὶ τοῦτο ὁ παῖς, ὅτι καὶ τὰ κράσπεδα τῶν ἱματίων αὐτῶν μύρων πολυτίμων εὐωδίαν ἔχουσιν.

VIII. Ἤκουσεν δὲ ὁ Πρόβος τῶν ῥημάτων αὐτῆς, καὶ εὐθὺς ἐξεπήδησεν δι' ἑαυτοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ ἄμφοδον, καὶ κρατήσας τῆς χειρὸς τοῦ Παύλου, εἶπεν αὐτῷ· Ἄνθρωπε, ὅστις εἶ οὐκ οἶδα· πλὴν καταξίωσον ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ μου εἰσελθεῖν· ἴσως γένῃ μοι πρόφασις σωτηρίας. ὁ δὲ Παῦλος πρὸς αὐτὸν εἶπεν· Εὖ σοι ἔσται, τέκνον, ἐπὶ τῇ αἰτήσει σου. καὶ ἀπῆλθον ἅμα πρὸς Ξανθίππην· ὡς οὖν εἶδεν ἡ Ξανθίππη τὸν μέγαν Παῦλον, ἀπεκαλύφθησαν αὐτῆς οἱ νοεροὶ τῆς καρδίας ὀφθαλμοὶ, καὶ ἀνέγνω ἐν τῷ μετώπῳ αὐτοῦ

[1] καὶ ἀγγελεῖ cod.

ταῦτα, ἔχοντι ὥσπερ σφραγῖδας χρυσᾶς· παῦλος ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ κᾶργξ· τότε ἐξαλλομένη καὶ χαίρουσα ἔρριψεν ἑαυτὴν εἰς τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ, καὶ περιπλέξασα τὰς χεῖρας αὐτῆς ἐξεμύξατο τὰς βάσεις τῶν ποδῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔλεγεν· Καλῶς ἐλήλυθας, ὦ τοῦ θεοῦ ἄνθρωπε, πρὸς ἡμᾶς τοὺς ταπεινοὺς, τοὺς μετὰ εἰδώλων ὡς εἴδωλα ἀναστρεφομένους· ἐπεσκέψω γὰρ τοὺς εἰς ᾅδην ὡς εἰς καλὸν τρέχοντας, τοὺς τὸν σκόλιον δράκοντα καὶ φθορέα ὡς προνοητὴν καὶ προστάτην ἀναγορεύοντας, τοὺς εἰς τὸν σκοτεινὸν ᾅδην ὡς πρὸς πατέρα τρέχοντας, τοὺς τῇ λογικῇ μὲν πλασθέντας φύσει, ἀλόγων δὲ ὁμοίους γεγονότας. ἐμὲ δὲ τὴν ταπεινὴν ἐπεζήτησας, τὴν τὸν ἥλιον τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ ἔχουσαν· νῦν ὁ ἰὸς πέπαυται, ὅτε σου τὸ τίμιον πρόσωπον ἑώρακα· νῦν ὁ ταράσσων με ἐπτόηται, ὅτε σου ἡ καλλίστη συμβούλη ἐφανερώθη μοι· νῦν ἀξιωθήσομαι μετανοίας, ὅτε καὶ σφραγῖδα κήρυκος θεοῦ ἐδεξάμην· πολλοὺς ἐμακάρισα ἕως τοῦ νῦν, τοὺς ὑμῖν συντυγχάνοντας· τολμῶσα λέγω, ὅτι ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν κἀγὼ μακαρισθήσομαι ὑφ' ἑτέρων, ὅτι σου τῶν κρασπέδων ἀπήλαυσα, ὅτι σου τῶν εὐχῶν ἐπέτυχον, ὅτι σου τῆς ἡδίστης καὶ μελισταγοῦς διδασκαλίας ἐν ἀπολαύσει γέγονα· οὐκ ἐραθύμησας ἐλθεῖν πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ὁ τῷ δρόμῳ τὴν ξηρὰν ἁλιεύων, καὶ τοὺς ἐμπίπτοντας ἰχθύας συνάγων ἐν τῇ σαγήνῃ τῆς οὐρανίου βασιλείας.

IX. Ὁ δὲ μέγας Παῦλος λέγει πρὸς αὐτήν· Ἀναστῆθι, τέκνον, καὶ μὴ βλέπε εἰς ἐμὲ, ὡς τῇ ἐμῇ προνοίᾳ ἐκ τῆς ἀγνοίας σου ἐπιζητηθεῖσα· ὁ γὰρ προνοητὴς τοῦ κόσμου Χριστὸς, ὁ τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν καὶ ἀπολωλότων ἐπιζητητὴς, ὃς οὐ μόνον τῶν ἐν τῇ γῇ ἐμνημόνευσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῷ ᾅδῃ αὐτοπαρουσίως ἐλυτρώσατο, αὐτὸς καί σε ἠλέησεν, καὶ ἀπέστειλέν με ἐνταῦθα, ἵνα σύν σοι καὶ ἄλλους πολλοὺς ἐπισκέψηται καὶ ἐλεήσῃ· οὐ γὰρ ἡμῶν ἐστι τοῦτο τὸ ἔλεος καὶ ἡ ἐπίσκεψις, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ ἡ πρόσταξις καὶ ἡ ἐντολὴ, ὥσπερ οὖν καὶ ἡμεῖς ὑπὸ τούτου ἠλεήθημεν καὶ ἐσώθημεν. ὁ δὲ Πρόβος ἀκούων ἐθαμβεῖτο ἐπὶ τοῖς λόγοις αὐτῶν· ἦν γὰρ ταῦτα ἀγνοῶν παντελῶς. ἀνέστησεν δὲ μετὰ βίας τὴν Ξανθίππην ὁ Παῦλος ἐκ τῶν ποδῶν αὐτοῦ, ἡ δὲ δραμοῦσα ἔστησε θρόνον καινὸν ἔνχρυσον τοῦ καθεσθῆναι τὸν Παῦλον ἐπ' αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ μέγας Παῦλος λέγει πρὸς αὐτήν· Τέκνον Ξανθίππη, μὴ ποίει οὕτως· οὔπω γὰρ ὁμονοήσατε πρὸς τὴν πίστιν τοῦ Χριστοῦ· ἀλλὰ μικρὸν ἀναμεῖνον, ἕως οὗ ὁ κύριος οἰκονομήσῃ τὰ συμφέροντα. ἡ δὲ Ξανθίππη πρὸς τὸν Παῦλον

ἔφη· Πρὸς ἐμὴν δοκιμασίαν λέγεις ταῦτα, ὦ τοῦ θεοῦ κῆρυξ, ἢ πρόγνωσίν τινα θεωρεῖς; ὁ δὲ Παῦλος λέγει Οὐχὶ, τέκνον· ἀλλ' ὁ μισῶν τοὺς τοῦ θεοῦ θεράποντας διάβολος ἐμβάλλει πονηριαν ἐν τῇ διανοίᾳ τῶν αὐτοῦ πρὸς ἐναντίωσιν τῶν ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ καμνόντων ἐν τῷ κηρύγματι· ἡ γὰρ κακία αὐτοῦ ἕως ἀποστόλων ἐνήργησε, καὶ ἕως αὐτοῦ τοῦ κυρίου· διὰ τοῦτο δεῖ πράως καὶ εὐμενῶς προσφέρεσθαι τοῖς ἀπίστοις. ἡ δὲ Ξανθίππη πρὸς τὸν Παῦλον ἔφη· Δεόμαί σου, εἰ στέργεις τοὺς δούλους σου, θὲς προσευχὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ Πρόβου, καὶ ἴδοιμι εἰ δυνήσεται ἐνεργῆσαι εἰς αὐτὸν ὁ ὑπό σου μισηθείς· ἴδοιμι εἰ δυνήσεται κἂν στῆναι ἐνώπιον τῆς προσευχῆς σου. ὁ δὲ Παῦλος ἔχαιρε πάνυ ἐπὶ τοῖς λόγοις τῆς πίστεως αὐτῆς, καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτήν· Πίστευέ μοι, τέκνον, ὅτι τῇ ὑποβολῇ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐνεργείᾳ χωρὶς δεσμῶν καὶ πληγῶν οὐ παρῆλθον ἕνα χρόνον. ἡ δὲ Ξανθίππη πρὸς αὐτὸν εἶπεν· Ἀλλὰ πρὸς σὴν θέλησιν ταῦτα πάσχεις, ὅτι καὶ ἕως μαστίγων τῶν κηρυγμάτων σου οὐκ ἠμέλησας· τοῦτο δὲ πάλιν λέγω σοι, ὅτι οἱ σοὶ δεσμοὶ χείρωσις τοῦ ὑποβάλλοντος γίνεται[1], καὶ ἡ σὴ ταπείνωσις ἐκείνων ἐξολοθρεύσιον.

X. Διέδραμεν δὲ ἡ φήμη τῆς παρουσίας αὐτοῦ ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ πόλει καὶ τῇ περιχώρῳ ἐκείνῃ· τινὲς γὰρ τῆς πόλεως ἐκείνης ὄντες ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἑωράκασι τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ μακαρίου Παύλου γενόμενα τέρατα καὶ σημεῖα, καὶ παρεγένοντο τοῦ ἰδεῖν εἰ ἐκεῖνος αὐτός ἐστιν· πολλοὶ οὖν ἤρχοντο ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ τοῦ Πρόβου, καὶ αὐτὸς ἤρξατο ἀγανακτεῖν καὶ λέγειν· Τὸν οἶκόν μου οὐ καταδέχομαι πανδοχεῖον γίνεσθαι. γνοῦσα δὲ τοῦτο ἡ Ξανθίππη ὅτι ἤρξατο ἀλλοιοῦσθαι τὸ πρόσωπον τοῦ Πρόβου, καὶ λέγειν τοιαῦτα, ἐλυπήθη πάνυ, λέγουσα· Οἴμοι τῇ ἀθλίᾳ, ὅτι οὐκ ἠξιώθημεν τελείως κατασχεῖν τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ ἡμῶν· τοῦ γὰρ Παύλου ἐντεῦθεν ἐξιόντος, καὶ ἡ ἐκκλησία ἀλλαχοῦ μέλλει γίνεσθαι. εἶτα ταῦτα διανοουμένη ἡ Ξανθίππη, ἔθηκε τὴν χεῖρα αὐτῆς εἰς τὸν πόδα Παύλου, καὶ λαβοῦσα χοῦν, μετακαλεσαμένη τὸν Πρόβον ἔθηκε τὴν χεῖρα αὐτῆς ἐπὶ τὸ στῆθος αὐτοῦ καὶ εἶπεν· Κύριε ὁ θεός μου, τὰ συμφέροντα ἐνθοῦ ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ ταύτῃ, ὁ καὶ ἐμὲ τὴν ταπεινὴν ἐπιζητήσας ἀγνοοῦσάν σε. αἰσθανεὶς[1] δὲ ὁ Παῦλος τῆς προσευχῆς αὐτῆς, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐσφράγισεν· καὶ ἐπὶ ἡμέρας πλείους ἀκωλύτως εἰσήει ὁ λαὸς, καὶ ἔφερον ὅσοι

[1] sic cod.

εἶχον ἀσθενεῖς καὶ ὀχλουμένους ἀπὸ πνευμάτων ἀκαθάρτων, καὶ ἐθεραπεύοντο ἅπαντες.

XI. Ἔλεγεν δὲ ἡ Ξανθίππη τῷ Παύλῳ· Διδάσκαλε, φλέγεται ἡ καρδία μου πάνυ ὅτι οὕπω τοῦ βαπτίσματος ἔτυχον. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα πάλιν κινηθεὶς ὁ Πρόβος ὑπὸ τοῦ διαβόλου, ἐξέβαλε μὲν τοῦ οἴκου τὸν Παῦλον, τὴν δὲ Ξανθίππην κατέκλεισεν ἐν κουβουκλείῳ. τότε τὸν μέγαν Παῦλόν τις τῶν πρώτων, Φιλόθεος ὀνόματι, καθικέτευεν τοῦ ἐλθεῖν εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ· ὁ δὲ μέγας Παῦλος οὐκ ἐβούλετο τοῦτο πρᾶξαι, λέγων· Μὴ ταράξῃ τὸν οἶκόν σου ὁ Πρόβος ἕνεκεν ἐμοῦ. καὶ ὁ Φιλόθεος πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔφη· Οὐχὶ, πάτερ· οὐδ' ὅλως ὑποπίπτω αὐτόν· οὐ γὰρ ἐν ἄλλῳ τινὶ μείζων μου ὑπάρχει εἰ μὴ ἐν ἀξιώματι· καὶ τοῦτο, τῶν γονέων τῆς Ξανθίππης ὑπὲρ ἐμὲ ὄντων· εἰ δὲ ἤξει ὁ Πρόβος πρός με, καὶ ἐν πλούτῳ καὶ ἐν πολέμῳ ὑπὲρ ἐκεῖνον τυγχάνω. τότε οὖν ἐπείσθη ὁ μέγας τοῦ κυρίου ἀπόστολος Παῦλος, καὶ εἰσῆλθεν ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ Φιλοθέου τοῦ ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων. τοῦτο δὲ ὅλον γέγονεν ὑπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ πρὸς τὸ μετὰ θλίψεως λαβεῖν τὴν Ξανθίππην τὸ ἅγιον βάπτισμα, καὶ ῥαθυμῆσαι περὶ τὰς ἐντολὰς τοῦ Χριστοῦ.

XII. Λέγει οὖν ἡ Ξανθίππη μετὰ δακρύων τοῖς παισὶν αὐτῆς· Ἐμάθετε ποῦ ὁ Παῦλος κατήχθη; οἱ δὲ εἶπον· Ναὶ, ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ Φιλοθέου τοῦ ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων. ἐχάρη δὲ ἡ Ξανθίππη πάνυ ὅτι καὶ Φιλόθεος ἐπίστευσεν, Δυνατὸς ὢν, φησὶν, καὶ τὸν Πρόβον πεῖσαι. τότε ὁ Πρόβος προσκαλεῖται τὴν Ξανθίππην ἐν τῷ δείπνῳ· τῆς δὲ μὴ προσθείσης, λέγει ὁ Πρόβος· Μὴ νομίσῃς ὅτι καὶ ἐν τῇ κοίτῃ ἀναχωρήσεις μου. αὐτοῦ δὲ κατακλιθέντος πρὸς τὸν δεῖπνον, ἡ Ξανθίππη κλίνασα τὰ γόνατα προσηύξατο πρὸς κύριον λέγουσα· Θεὲ αἰώνιε καὶ ἀθάνατε, ὁ λαβὼν χοῦν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς καὶ μὴ τιμήσας αὐτὸν κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν τῆς πλάσεως, ἀλλὰ καλέσας αὐτὸν υἱὸν ἀθανασίας, ὁ ἐκ καρδίας τοῦ πατρὸς δι' ἡμᾶς φθάσας ἕως τῆς καρδίας τῆς γῆς, ᾧ τὰ χερουβὶμ ἀτενίσαι οὐ τολμῶσι, καὶ δι' ἡμᾶς ἐν μήτρᾳ ἐκρύβης ἵνα τὴν κάκωσιν τῆς Εὔας διὰ τῆς ἐνοικήσεως τῆς μητρὸς διορθώσῃ<ς>· ὁ χολὴν καὶ ὄξος πιὼν καὶ λογχῇ νυγεὶς τὴν πλευρὰν, ἵνα τὴν ἐκ τῆς πλευρᾶς γενομένην πληγὴν τῷ Ἀδὰμ ἀποθεραπεύσῃς· πλευρὰ γὰρ οὖσα ἡ Εὔα πληγὴν εἰργάσατο τῷ Ἀδὰμ, καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ παντὶ τῷ κόσμῳ· ὁ δοὺς ὕπνον ἀνεπαίσθητον τῷ δράκοντι, πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἐπιγνῶναι αὐτὸν τὴν ἐνανθρώπησίν σου, μνήσθητι

κἀμοῦ τοῦ στεναγμοῦ καὶ τῶν δακρύων καὶ δὸς πλήρωσιν τῷ ὕπνῳ μου, καὶ ἐπίβαλε ὕπνον ἐπὶ τὸν Πρόβον ἕως οὗ καταξιωθῶ τοῦ ἁγίου βαπτίσματος τῆς δωρεᾶς, ὅτι τούτου ἐφίεμαι τυχεῖν πάνυ, εἰς δόξαν καὶ αἶνον τοῦ ἁγίου ὀνόματός σου.

XIII. Ὁ δὲ Πρόβος ἔτι δειπνῶν ἐκέλευσεν ἀσφαλισθῆναι τὰς πύλας τῆς οἰκίας αὐτῶν διὰ ὠμῶν καὶ πονηρῶν στρατιωτῶν· καὶ ταῦτα αὐτοῦ διαταξαμένου, εὐθέως ὕπνωσεν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀκουμβίτου. τότε οἱ παῖδες ἐλθόντες ἀπήγγειλαν τοῦτο τῇ Ξανθίππῃ πρὸς τὸ ἐξυπνῆσαι αὐτὸν, ἡ δὲ εἶπεν· Παύσατε, τέκνα μου, τοὺς λύχνους, καὶ ἐάσατε αὐτὸν οὕτως. πρωθύπνου δὲ γενομένου, λαβοῦσα τριακοσίους χρυσινοὺς, ἦλθεν πρὸς τὰς πύλας λέγουσα ἐν ἑαυτῇ· Ἴσως τῇ ποσότητι τῶν χρημάτων πεισθήσεται ὁ πυλωρός. ὁ δὲ, πονηρὸς ὢν καὶ ἀπονενοημένος, οὐκ ἐπείθετο τοῦτο πρᾶξαι· ἡ δὲ, λύσασα καὶ τὴν ζώνην αὐτῆς[1], διάλιθον οὖσαν διακοσίων χρυσινῶν, δίδωσιν αὐτῷ καὶ ἐξῆλθεν λέγουσα· Κύριε, τοὺς δούλους μου χρήμασιν πείθω διὰ τὸ μὴ τὸν κήρυκά σου Παῦλον θλιβῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ Πρόβου. ἤρχετο δὲ ἡ Ξανθίππη ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν Φιλοθέου τοῦ ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ μεγίστῳ καὶ παραδόξῳ πράγματι, τρέχουσα καὶ δοξάζουσα[2] τὸν θεόν· διερχομένης οὖν αὐτῆς ἐν τινὶ τόπῳ, οἱ δαίμονες κατέδραμον αὐτὴν μετὰ πυρινῶν λαμπάδων καὶ ἀστραπῶν· ἡ δὲ στραφεῖσα ὁρᾷ κατόπισθεν αὐτῆς τὸ φρικτὸν ἐκεῖνο θέαμα, καὶ φόβῳ μεγάλῳ συσχεθεῖσα εἶπεν· Τί σοι λοιπὸν, ἀθλία ψυχὴ, γέγονεν; ὅτι ἐστερήθης τῆς ἐπιθυμίας σου· ἔτρεχες εἰς σωτηρίαν, ἔτρεχες εἰς[3] τὸ βάπτισμα, καὶ ἐνέπεσας εἰς τὸν δράκοντα καὶ τοὺς αὐτοῦ ὑπουργοὺς, καὶ ταῦτα τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων σου παρασκευασάντων σοι. ταῦτα δὲ λέγουσα, ἀπὸ πολλῆς ἀθυμίας καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀπελέγετο· ὁ δὲ μέγας Παῦλος προμηνυθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν ἐπιδρομὴν τῶν δαιμόνων, παρευθὺ πλησίον αὐτῆς ἱστήκει, προάγοντος αὐτοῦ καὶ νεανίου εὐμόρφου[4]· καὶ παραχρῆμα ἀφαντωθείσης τῆς φαντασίας τῶν δαιμόνων εἶπεν αὐτῇ ὁ Παῦλος· Ἀναστῆθι, τέκνον Ξανθίππη, καὶ βλέπε τὸν ὑπό σου ποθούμενον κύριον, οὗ τῇ φλογὶ καὶ οὐρανοὶ σείονται καὶ ἄβυσσος μαραίνεται, ἐπὶ δέ σε ἐλθόντα καὶ οἰκτείροντα καὶ σώζοντα· ἰδὲ τὸν ἐναγκαλισάμενόν σου τὰς εὐχὰς καὶ παρευθὺ ὑπακούσαντα· βλέψον τὸν ἐν μορφῇ ἀνθρώπου[5] προσελθόντα, καὶ λαβὲ παρρησίαν κατὰ τῶν δαιμό-

[1] αὐτήν cod. [2] δοξάζου cod. [3] ἧς cod. [4] ἐμόρφου cod.
[5] εὐμόρφη ανον cod.

νων. ἡ δὲ ἀναστᾶσα ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐδάφους εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτόν· Διδάσκαλε, διατί με κατέλιπας ἔρημον; κἂν νῦν τάχυνον τοῦ σφραγίσαι με, ἵνα εἰ καὶ φθάσῃ ἐπ' ἐμὲ θάνατος ἀπέλθω πρὸς ἐκεῖνον τὸν εὔσπλαγχνον καὶ ἀνυπερήφανον.

XIV. Εὐθέως οὖν λαβόμενος ὁ μέγας Παῦλος τῆς χειρὸς αὐτῆς, ἦλθεν ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ Φιλοθέου, καὶ ἐβάπτισεν αὐτὴν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος. εἶτα καὶ ἄρτον λαβὼν εὐχαριστίας ἐδίδου αὐτῇ λέγων· Ἔστω σοι τοῦτο εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν καὶ εἰς ἀνακαινισμὸν τῆς ψυχῆς σου. τότε λαβοῦσα ἡ μακαρία Ξανθίππη τὸ θεῖον χάρισμα τοῦ ἁγίου βαπτίσματος, ἐπανῆει ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτῆς χαίρουσα καὶ δοξάζουσα τὸν θεόν. ὁ δὲ πυλωρὸς ἰδὼν αὐτὴν βιαίας ἀπώδυρετο φωνὰς, ἵνα ὡς μὴ θέλοντος αὐτοῦ νομισθείη ἡ ὑπεξέλευσις αὐτῆς, εἴ γε νοήσει ὁ Πρόβος· ὁ δὲ φωτίσας αὐτὴν σὺν τῷ Παύλῳ κατέσχεν τὸν οἶκον ἅπαντα ὕπνῳ βαρεῖ σὺν τῷ Πρόβῳ, καὶ οὐδ' ὅλως ἤσθοντο τῶν φωνῶν αὐτοῦ· αὐτὴ δὲ δρομαία παραγίνεται εἰς τὸν κοιτῶνα αὐτῆς, λέγουσα· Τί εἴπω περί σου, ἐπιζητητὰ τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν, ὃς τὸ πλεῖστον μεθ' ἡμῶν ἀναστρέφῃ ἐν ταῖς θλίψεσιν; ποιεῖ δὲ ταῦτα ἡ ἀγαθότης σου· ὅτι διὰ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὃν ἔπλασας ἕως θανάτου κατῆλθες· ὅσον γάρ σε ἐὰν παροργίσῃ ἄνθρωπος πολυπλασίως, τὰ ἐλέη σου ἐκχεεῖς ἐπ' αὐτὸν, δέσποτα. ὦ βάθος οἰκτιρμῶν καὶ πλοῦτος ἐλέους· ὦ ἀμετρητὸς ἀγαθότης καὶ ἀνείκαστος φιλανθρωπία· ὦ θησαῦρε τῶν ἀγαθῶν καὶ δότηρ ἐλέους καὶ πλουτόδοτα τῶν εἰς σὲ πιστευόντων· ἐὰν οὖν εἴπῃ ὁ ἀγαπῶν σε Ἐγγύς μου, κύριε, ἰσθί· αὐτὸς προλαβὼν ἐπ' αὐτὸν τυγχάνεις· ἐὰν εἴπῃ Εὐχαριστῶ σοι, ἐπακοῦσόν μου τῶν ῥημάτων· πρὸ τοῦ αὐτὰ λεχθῆναι αὐτὸς ἐφιστάσαι. καὶ περὶ μὲν τῶν αἰτούντων σε, κατὰ τὴν αἴτησιν παρέχεις ἑκάστῳ· τοὺς δὲ μὴ γινώσκοντάς σε ἐπιζητεῖ σου ἡ ἀγαθότης, καὶ πρὸς ἁμαρτωλοὺς τρέχεις· ὦ βλέμμα ἱλαρὸν, τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν τὰς ὁδοὺς ἐλέους ἐμπιπλῶν· ὦ ἐπισκοπὴ ἀγαθὴ καὶ τῶν ἀγνοούντων προτροπή· τίς ἀναγγελεῖ τῷ κυρίῳ μου Παύλῳ τὴν νῦν γενομένην εἰς ἐμὲ σωτηρίαν; ἵνα αὐτὸς ἐλθὼν ἔδωκεν ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ εὐχαριστηρίους φωνὰς ἐκείνῳ τῷ προστάτῃ τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν· δεῦτε, ἴδετε πολλοὶ καὶ ἐπίγνωτε θεὸν, ἁμαρτίας μὲν μισοῦντα, ἁμαρτωλοὺς δὲ ἐλεοῦντα· δεῦρο λοιπὸν, ὦ τοῦ θεοῦ κῆρυξ Παῦλε, μετά σου γὰρ καὶ νῦν καθέζομαι ἐν τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ, καὶ δὸς ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ εὐχαρισ-

τηρίους φωνάς· ἐγὼ γὰρ σιγῆσαι βούλομαι, διότι δειλαίνει με ὁ ἀνθρώπινος λογισμὸς, μήπως οὐκ ἔχω τῆς εὐφημίας τὸ χάρισμα· σιγῆσαι δὲ βούλομαι καὶ νικῶμαι τοῦ λαλεῖν, φλέγει γάρ με τις ἔσωθεν καὶ γλυκαίνει· ἐὰν εἴπω Συγκλείσω μου τὸ στόμα· ἔστιν τις κινυρίζων ἐν ἐμοί· εἴπω δὲ μέγα; μήπως ἐκεῖνος ὁ ἐν Παύλῳ διδάσκαλος, ὁ ἀνυπερήφανος, ὁ οὐρανοὺς πληρῶν, ὁ ἔσωθεν λαλῶν καὶ ἔξωθεν προσδεχόμενος, ὁ ἐν θρόνῳ σὺν πατρὶ καθεζόμενος καὶ ἐπὶ ξύλου ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων ἐφαπλούμενος· καὶ τὶ οὖν ποιήσω οὐκ οἶδα· ἡδύνει με ὁ εὐτελής μου νοῦς, καὶ οὐχ ἁπλοῦται εἰς πέρας. σὺ ὁ τὰς χεῖρας μετὰ ἥλων παγεὶς καὶ λογχῇ τὴν πλευρὰν νυγεὶς, σὺ ὁ ἐκ τοῦ Ἰακὼβ ἀστὴρ, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Ἰούδα σκύμνος, σὺ ἡ ἐκ τοῦ Ἰεσσαὶ ῥάβδος, ἐκ δὲ τῆς Μαρίας ἄνθρωπος καὶ θεὸς, σὺ ὁ ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀχώριστος θεὸς καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν χερουβὶμ ἀνατενιστὸς, καὶ ἐν τῷ Ἰσραὴλ ἐνυβριστὸς, δόξα σοι τῷ ἐπὶ γῆς ὀφθέντι καὶ ὑπὸ λαοῦ κρατηθέντι καὶ ἐπὶ ξύλου κρεμασθέντι καὶ ὑπὸ φήμης ἀνόμων ψευδῶς κλαπέντι, καὶ ἡμᾶς δημοσίως ἀγοράσαντι.

XV. Καὶ ἔτι ταῦτα αὐτῆς λεγούσης, ἐφάνη σταυρὸς ἐν τῷ ἀνατολικῷ τοίχῳ, καὶ εὐθέως εἰσῆλθεν δι' αὐτοῦ νεανίας εὐειδὴς, ἔχων κυκλόθεν ἀκτῖνας τρεμούσας αὐτὸν, καὶ ὑποκάτωθεν αὐτοῦ φῶς διαπλούμενον, ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ ἐβάδιζεν· καὶ εἰσελθόντος αὐτοῦ ἔνδον, ἐτρόμασαν πάντα τὰ θεμέλια τοῦ οἴκου ἐκείνου, καὶ ἤχησαν τρόμῳ μεγάλῳ. ἡ δὲ Ξανθίππη ἰδοῦσα ἠλάλαξε καὶ ἔπεσεν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ὥσπερ ἄπνους· αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ ἐλεήμων καὶ φιλάνθρωπος, μεταμορφωθεὶς εὐθέως ἐν σχήματι Παύλου, ἤγειρεν αὐτὴν λέγων· Ἀνάστα, Ξανθίππη, καὶ μὴ φοβοῦ· οἱ γὰρ τοῦ θεοῦ δοῦλοι οὕτως δοξάζονται. ἀναστᾶσα δὲ ἡ Ξανθίππη ἠτένιζεν εἰς αὐτὸν, καὶ νομίσασα τὸν Παῦλον εἶναι εἶπεν· Πῶς εἰσῆλθες ὧδε, ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ κῆρυξ, ὑπ' ἐμοῦ φ' χρυσινῶν δεδωρημένων τῷ πυλωρῷ καὶ τοῦτο δούλῳ μου ὄντι, σοῦ μὴ κεκτημένου χρυσίον; ὁ δὲ κύριος λέγει πρὸς αὐτήν· Ὁ δοῦλός μου Παῦλος παντὸς πλούτου ἐστιν εὐπορώτερος· ὅσον γὰρ ἂν ἐνταῦθα εὐπορήσῃ θησαῦρον, τοῦτον προπέμπει εἰς τὴν βασίλειαν τῶν οὐρανῶν, ἵνα ἐκεῖ ἀπελθὼν ἀναπαύσηται τὴν ἄληκτον καὶ αἰώνιον ἀνάπαυσιν· ὁ δὲ θησαῦρος Παύλου οὗτός ἐστιν· σὺ καὶ οἱ ὅμοιοί σου. ἀτενίσασα δὲ ἡ Ξανθίππη εἰς αὐτὸν, θέλουσά τι λέγειν, εἶδεν τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ λάμπον

ὡς τὸ φῶς· καὶ θαμβηθεῖσα πάνυ, περιβαλοῦσα ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς χερσὶ τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτῆς, ἔθηκεν ἑαυτὴν εἰς τὸ ἔδαφος καὶ εἶπεν· Ἀποκρυβῆθι, δέσποτα, ἀπὸ τῶν σωματικῶν μου ὀφθαλμῶν, καὶ φώτισόν μου τὴν διάνοιαν· ἔγνων γὰρ λοιπὸν ὅστις εἶ· σὺ εἶ ἐκεῖνος οὗ πρόδρομος ἔτυχεν ὁ σταυρὸς, ὁ ἄνω μόνος ἐκ μόνου πατρὸς, καὶ κάτω μόνος ἐκ μόνης τῆς παρθένου μονογενὴς υἱός· σὺ εἶ ἐκεῖνος ὁ τὰς χεῖρας προσηλωθεὶς καὶ τὰς πέτρας διασχίσας· σὺ εἶ ἐκεῖνος ὃν οὐδεὶς ἕτερος βαστάσαι ἰσχύει εἰ μὴ ὁ κόλπος ὁ πατρικός.

XVI. Καὶ ταῦτα αὐτῆς λεγούσης ἀπεκρύβη ἀπ᾽ αὐτῆς αὖθις ὁ κύριος· ἐν ἑαυτῇ δὲ γενομένη ἡ Ξανθίππη εἶπεν· Οἴμοι τῇ παναθλίᾳ, ὅτι οὐδείς μοι ἀνήγγειλεν τίς ἐστιν ἡ ἀντίχαρις τῶν δούλων πρὸς τὸν δεσπότην· εἰ ἦν ὧδε ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ κῆρυξ Παῦλος, πῶς εἶχεν ὑμνῆσαι; ἀλλὰ μήπως πρὸς τὰς τοιαύτας χαρίτας καὶ δωρεὰς καὶ αὐτοὶ σιωπήσωσι, δάκρυσι μόνον συνεχόμενοι· οὐ γὰρ δυνατὸν ἀξίως κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ χάριν ὑμνῆσαι τινά. καὶ ταῦτα λέγουσα συνεσχέθη ἐκλύσει πολλῇ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀσιτίας. σφόδρα γὰρ διακειμένη τῷ πόθῳ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐπελάθετο καὶ τῆς τροφῆς. κοπιάσασα οὖν πάνυ τῇ τε ἐγκρατείᾳ καὶ τῇ ὀπτασίᾳ καὶ τῇ ἀγρυπνίᾳ καὶ τῇ λοιπῇ σκληραγωγίᾳ ἀναστῆναι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐδάφους οὐκ ἴσχυσεν.

XVII. Ἀνέστη δὲ καὶ Πρόβος ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀκουμβίτου πάνυ σκυθρωπός· ὄνειρον γὰρ ἐθεάσατο κοιμώμενος, καὶ ἦν κατηφὴς σφόδρα περὶ τούτου· ἰδὼν δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ ὁ πυλωρὸς μέλλοντα ἐξελθεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀγοράν, οὕτω τὸ πρόσωπον ἔχοντα κατηφὲς ἐφοβήθη πάνυ, ὅτι Μήπως, φησὶν, ἔγνω τὸ γεγονὸς, καὶ κακῶς με ἀπολέσει. αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Πρόβος, ἐξελθὼν καὶ τυπώσας τοῖς ἀγοραίοις τὰ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ τῷ καιρῷ ἁρμόδια, ταχέως ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν, καὶ λέγει τοῖς παισὶν αὐτοῦ· Καλέσατέ μοι ὀξέως τοὺς σοφοὺς Βάρανδον καὶ Γνωστέα. τῶν δὲ κληθέντων λέγει αὐτοῖς· Ὄνειρον τεθέαμαι φοβερώτατον πάνυ, καὶ τὰ εἰς αὐτὸ φανέντα κατὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν ἰσχὺν δυσδιάκριτα· ἃ φανερώσατέ μοι ὅμως ὑμεῖς, ὡς τῆς οἰκουμένης ἁπάσης ὑπέρτατοι ὄντες· φράσατέ μοι, ἀπαγγείλαντός μου αὐτό. λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ Βάρανδος· Εἰ μὲν ἐκ τῆς ἡμῶν σοφίας διακρίνεται τὸ ὅραμα, διαλύσομέν σοι αὐτό· εἰ δὲ ἐκ τῆς νυνὶ ἠκουσμένης πίστεως ἐστὶν, οὐ δυνησόμεθά σοι φράσαι· ἄλλης γὰρ σοφίας καὶ συνέσεώς ἐστιν· ὅμως λεγέτω ὁ κύριος καὶ δεσπότης ἡμῶν

τὸ ὄναρ, καὶ ἴδωμεν εἰ ἔνι διάλυσις ἐν αὐτῷ. ὁ δὲ Πρόβος τῷ Γνωστεᾷ λέγει· Διὰ τί καὶ αὐτὸς οὐδὲν ἀποκρίνῃ; ὁ δὲ Γνωστέας εἶπεν· Τὸ ὄναρ οὐκ ἤκουσα, καὶ τί ἔχω εἰπεῖν ἀλλ' ὅπερ ἂν ᾖ εἰ ἐκ τῆς προφάσεως Παύλου ἐστίν; εἰπὲ νῦν, καὶ εὑρήσεις οὕτως. καὶ ὁ Πρόβος λέγει· Ὤμην ἑστάναι ἐν χώρᾳ τινὶ ἀδήλῳ καὶ ξένῃ, κἀκεῖσε καθέζεσθαι βασιλέα τινα αἰθίοπα, ὃς κατεῖχεν πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν, καὶ ἐδόκει μὴ τυχεῖν διαδοχῆς ποτε· καὶ παρειστήκεισαν αὐτῷ πλήθη ὑπουργῶν, καὶ πάντες ἐσπούδαζον εἰς τὴν ἀπώλειαν, καὶ ἐκυρίευον ἐπὶ πολύ. καὶ ὡς ἐδόκει ὁ αἰθίοψ ἐκεῖνος τῆς προθέσεως κεκρατηκέναι, ἀνέστη κόραξ, καὶ στὰς ἐπάνω αὐτοῦ ἔκραξεν φωνῇ οἰκτρᾷ· εὐθέως δὲ ἀνέστη ἐκ τῶν ἀνατολικῶν μερῶν ἀετὸς, καὶ ἥρπασε τὴν βασίλειαν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐχαυνώθη τὸ κράτος αὐτοῦ· οἱ δὲ παρεστῶτες αὐτῷ προσέφυγον τῷ ἀετῷ. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἐκεῖνος ἠγωνίζετο κατὰ τῶν προσφευγόντων τῷ ἀετῷ· ὕψωσεν δὲ εἰς οὐρανὸν ὁ ἀετός· καὶ ἰδοὺ ἦλθέν τις βοηθὸς τῶν προσφευγόντων τῷ ἀετῷ, καὶ κατέλιπεν αὐτοῖς βακτηρίαν· καὶ οἱ κατασχόντες αὐτὴν οὐκ ἐκυριεύθησαν ὑπὸ τῆς βίας τοῦ βασιλέως ἐκείνου· ὅσοι δὲ ἔδραμον πρὸς τοὺς κατασχόντας τὴν βακτηρίαν, ἔλουσεν αὐτοὺς ὕδατι καθαρῷ· καὶ οἱ λουσάμενοι τῆς ἐκείνου βασιλείας ἐκυρίευον· καὶ τῇ βακτηρίᾳ ἐκείνῃ οἱ ἐχθροὶ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐφυγαδεύοντο· κατασχόντες οὖν ἄνδρες δυνατοὶ τὴν βακτηρίαν, ἐπέστρεφον πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς πλήθη πολλά. ἠγωνίζετο δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐκεῖνος κατ' αὐτῶν, καὶ οὐκ ἴσχυσεν οὐδ' ὅλως· πολλοὺς δὲ ἐνεπόδιζεν πιστεῦσαι ἐν[1] τῷ ἐξαποστείλαντι τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐν κόσμῳ διαμαρτύρασθαι, καὶ διὰ προφάσεως ἐλυποῦντο[2] πολλοί· οὐ μέντοι δὲ ἐβιάζετό τινα ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνος· παντὸς γὰρ τοῦ φωτὸς αὐτὸς κατεβασίλευεν[3]. ἕως ὧδε τὸ πέρας.

XVIII. Τότε ὁ σοφὸς Βάρανδος εἶπεν· Τῇ χάριτι τοῦ θεοῦ τὰ ἀπεσταλμένα ἐν κόσμῳ παρὰ κυρίου λέξω· ὁ βασιλεὺς ὃν εἶδες ὁ διάβολός ἐστιν, τὰ δὲ πλήθη τῶν ὑπουργούντων εἰσιν οἱ δαίμονες, οἱ δὲ ὄχλοι ἐκεῖνου εἰσὶν οἱ προσκυνοῦντες τοῖς θεοῖς· ὅτι δὲ ἐνόμιζεν διαδοχὴν μὴ ἔχειν, οὐ προσεδόκα τὴν παρουσίαν Χριστοῦ· ὁ δὲ κόραξ τὴν ἀσθένειαν τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ ἐμήνυσεν· καὶ γὰρ ὁ κόραξ τὴν ὑπακοὴν τοῦ δικαίου Νῶε οὐκ ἐφύλαξεν, ἀλλ' ἠγάπησε τὰ οἰκτρά. ὁ δὲ ἀετὸς ὁ ἀναστὰς καὶ ἁρπάσας

[1] *εἰς* cod. [2] ἐλλυποῦντο cod. [3] κα$^{\theta}$ (marg.) ἐβασίλευεν cod.

τὴν βασίλειαν αὐτοῦ καὶ ὑψώσας εἰς οὐρανὸν, καὶ ὅτι ἦλθέν τις προστάτης τῶν προσφευγόντων τῷ ἀετῷ κατέχων βακτηρίαν, οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς, ὃς κατέλιπεν αὐτοῖς βακτηρίαν, τουτέστιν τὸν τίμιον αὐτοῦ σταυρὸν, καὶ ὅτι ἔλουσεν τοὺς προσφυγόντας αὐτῷ, τὸν ἀκαταμάχητον τοῦ βαπτίσματος σημαίνει θώρακα καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ἐκυριεύθησαν. οἱ δὲ ἀπεσταλμένοι ἐν κόσμῳ μετὰ τοῦ σταυροῦ ἄνδρες δυνατοί εἰσιν οἱ κήρυκες τοῦ θεοῦ οἱ κατὰ Παῦλον τὸν νυνὶ μεθ' ἡμῶν ὄντα, καθ' ὧν οὐδὲν ἐνισχύει ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐκεῖνος. ἐγνώσθη δέ σοι τοῦτο, ὅτι καὶ τοῖς δυσπιστοῖς διὰ προφάσεως ἐξιλεοῦται ὁ θεός· ὅρα οὖν μήπως καὶ σὺ θέλων κακῶσαι τὸν Παῦλον ἰσχύσεις. ἐφάνη γάρ σοι παρὰ κυρίου ἡ ὑπερασπίζουσα αὐτοῦ ἰσχυρὰ δύναμις. σύνες οὖν τὰ λεχθέντα σοι παρ' ἐμοὶ, καὶ μὴ ὑπουργήσῃς τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐκείνῳ τῷ ζοφώδει· ὥσπερ γὰρ εἶδες τὴν βασίλειαν αὐτοῦ ἀφαντωθεῖσαν, οὕτως σὺν αὐτῷ ἀπολοῦνται καὶ πάντες οἱ ὑπουργοὶ αὐτοῦ. δεῦρο οὖν λοιπὸν, κύριέ μου, προσέλθωμεν τῷ Παύλῳ καὶ λάβωμεν παρ' αὐτοῦ τὸ λοῦτρον, ἵνα μὴ κατακυριεύσῃ καὶ ἡμῶν ὁ Σατανᾶς. ὁ δὲ Πρόβος εἶπεν· Ἀπέλθωμεν πρότερον πρὸς τὴν Ξανθίππην καὶ ἴδωμεν εἰ ἔτι ζῇ· ἰδοὺ γὰρ εἰσὶν ἡμέραι εἴκοσι καὶ θ' ἀφ' οὗ οὐδενὸς ἐγεύσατο· ἐσπέρας γὰρ εἶδον τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτῆς, καὶ ἦν ὡς πρὸς τὴν ἔξοδον ἑτοιμόν.

XIX. Ἀπελθόντων δὲ αὐτῶν εἰς τὸν κοιτῶνα, ἤκουον αὐτῆς ψαλλούσης·

Αἰνεῖτε καὶ οἱ ἁμαρτωλοὶ τὸν θεὸν, ὅτι προσδέχεται καὶ ὑμῶν τὰς εὐχάς· ἀλληλουΐα.

αἰνεῖτε καὶ οἱ κατ' ἐμὲ ἀπεγνωσμένοι τὸν κύριον, ὅτι πολλὰ τὰ ἐλέη αὐτοῦ· ἀλληλουΐα.

αἰνεῖτε αὐτὸν οἱ ἀσεβεῖς, ὅτι δι' ὑμᾶς ἐσταυρώθη· ἀλληλουΐα.

αἰνεῖτε αὐτὸν οἱ ἀγωνιζόμενοι ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν, ὅτι ὑμᾶς ἀγαπᾷ ὁ θεός· ἀλληλουΐα.

αἰνεῖτε αὐτὸν οἱ χαίροντες ἐπὶ ἀνακλήσει ἁμαρτωλῶν, ὅτι ὑμεῖς ἐστε συμπολῖται τῶν ἁγίων· ἀλληλουΐα.

ταῦτα δὲ αὐτῆς λεγούσης, καὶ τούτων πλείονα μετὰ δακρύων, ἀνοίξαντες οἱ σοφοὶ Βάρανδος καὶ Γνωστέας εἰσῆλθον καὶ προσπίπτουσιν αὐτῇ λέγοντες· Εὖξαι ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν τῶν ταπεινῶν, δούλη τοῦ Χριστοῦ, τοῦ καταγεῖναι καὶ ἡμᾶς εἰς τὸν σὸν ἀριθμόν. ἡ δὲ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· Ἀδελφοὶ, οὐκ εἰμὶ ἐγὼ Παῦλος ὅστις ἀφίησιν

ἁμαρτίας, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ μακρὰν ὑμῶν ἐστιν ἐκεῖνος. ἐμοῦ οὖν τοῖς γόνασι μὴ προσπίπτετε· ἀλλὰ ἀπέλθετε εἰς αὐτὸν, ὅστις καὶ μᾶλλον δύναται ὑμᾶς εὐεργετῆσαι. οἱ δὲ δρομαῖοι παραγίνονται εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν Φιλοθέου πρὸς τὸν Παῦλον, καὶ εὗρον αὐτὸν διδάσκοντα ὄχλον πολύν· ἦλθεν δὲ καὶ ὁ Πρόβος ἀκοῦσαι τοῦ Παύλου· συνεισῆλθεν δὲ καὶ ἡ Ξανθίππη ἀσπάσασθαι αὐτὸν, καὶ φθάσασα ἐγγὺς τοῦ Παύλου καὶ κλίνασα τὰ γόνατα, προσεκύνησεν αὐτῷ. ὁ δὲ Πρόβος ἰδὼν ἐθαύμασεν ὅτι τὸ τοιοῦτον αὐτῆς ὑψηλὸν φρόνημα εἰς τοσαύτην ταπείνωσιν κατέστη· ἐκάθισεν γὰρ παρὰ τοὺς πόδας τοῦ Παύλου χαμαὶ ταπεινῶς καὶ ὡς μία τῶν εὐτελῶν· καὶ ἐλυπεῖτο ὁ Πρόβος πάνυ, μηκέτι γινόμενος πρὸς τὴν ἀκρόασιν τοῦ λόγου· ἀλλ' ἦν ἀτενίζων καὶ προσέχων εἰς τὴν Ξανθίππην ἀεί.

XX. Ὁ δὲ μέγας Παῦλος ἐδίδασκεν ὅτι Οἱ πυρούμενοι τῇ σαρκὶ τὸν ἔννομον γάμον τηρείτωσαν παραιτούμενοι τὰς πορνείας, ἐξαιρέτως τὸ πρὸς ἀλλοτρίαν γυναῖκα, καὶ οἱ ζευχθέντες ἀλλήλους φυλασσέτωσαν. ὁ δὲ Πρόβος ἡδέως ἤκουσεν ταύτης τῆς διδασκαλίας, καὶ εἶπεν· Ὦ Παῦλε, τί καλῶς καὶ σοφῶς κέχρησαι τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ ταύτῃ· τί οὖν ὅτι ἀπεχωρίσθη μου ἡ Ξανθίππη; καὶ ὁ Παῦλος λέγει· Τέκνον Πρόβε, οἱ προορῶντες ὅτι τὰ ἔργα τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐν πυρὶ δοκιμάζονται, καὶ οἱ ἀεὶ ἔχοντες ἐν τῇ διανοίᾳ τὸ ἀπαραίτητον τοῦ θανάτου πᾶσαν ἐπιθυμίαν προσκειμένην τῇ σαρκὶ ἐκβάλλουσιν· οὐαὶ δὲ ὅταν κρίνῃ ἡ ἐπιθυμία τὸν ἐπιθυμητήν. τότε βρύξει ἀνωφελῆ καὶ μάταιον βρυγμόν· ἡ γὰρ διόρθωσις τῆς μετανοίας παρέρχεται. ταῦτα δὲ ἀκούσας ὁ Πρόβος ἐπανῆει εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ θαυμάζων καὶ οὐδενὸς ἐγεύσατο τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην, ἀλλὰ ἀπελθὼν ἀνέπεσεν ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης αὐτοῦ· καὶ περὶ τρίτην ὥραν τῆς νυκτὸς ἀναστὰς εἶπεν· Οἴμοι, τί σκληρὰ ἡ ἡμέρα ἣ ἐγὼ τῇ Ξανθίππῃ συνεζεύχθην· εἴθε ἀπέθανον καὶ μὴ ἑώρων αὐτήν. ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἀναστὰς λέγει· Προσεύξομαι πρὸς τὸν θεὸν Παύλου· ἴσως ποιήσει καὶ εἰς ἐμὲ τὰ συμφέροντα ἵνα μὴ παρεθεὶς δι' αὐτὴν ὄνειδος ἐν κόσμῳ γένωμαι. καὶ εὐθέως πεσὼν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἔλεγεν· Ὁ θεὸς Παύλου, εἰ ὡς ἤκουσα παρὰ Ξανθίππης καὶ τοὺς ἀγνοοῦντος ἐπιζητεῖς καὶ πλανωμένους ἐπιστρέφεις, ποίησον κἀμοὶ τὰ συμφέροντα· σὺ γὰρ βασιλεὺς ζωῆς καὶ θανάτου, ὡς ἤκουσα, καὶ σὺ δεσπόζεις τῶν ἐπουρανίων καὶ ἐπιγείων <καὶ> καταχθονίων πασῶν τε τῶν

διανοιῶν καὶ τῶν ἐνθυμησέων τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ σοὶ πρέπει μόνῳ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας· ἀμήν.

XXI. Τότε ἀναστὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐδάφους ὁ Πρόβος ἀνέπεσεν πάλιν ἐπὶ τὴν κλίνην· καὶ τὸ πρωὶ ἀναστὰς ἦλθεν πρὸς τὸν Παῦλον, καὶ εὑρὼν αὐτὸν βαπτίζοντα πολλοὺς εἰς τὸ τῆς ζωαρχικῆς τριάδος ὄνομα, λέγει· Εἰ ἄρα ἄξιός εἰμι, κύριέ μου Παῦλε, λαβεῖν τὸ βάπτισμα, ἰδοὺ ἡ ὥρα. λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ Παῦλος· Τέκνον, ἰδοὺ ἕτοιμον τὸ ὕδωρ πρὸς καθαρισμὸν τῶν προσερχομένων τῷ Χριστῷ. παρευθὺ οὖν σπουδαίως ἀποδυσάμενος τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ, κρατοῦντος αὐτὸν τοῦ Παύλου, εἰσεπήδησεν εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ, λέγων· Ἰησοῦ Χριστὲ, υἱὲ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ θεὲ αἰώνιε, πᾶσα μου ἁμαρτία ὑπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος τούτου κατασχεθείη. ὁ δὲ Παῦλος εἶπεν· Βαπτίζομέν σε εἰς ὄνομα πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου πνεύματος. καὶ εἴθ' οὕτως ἐποίησεν αὐτὸν τῆς εὐχαριστίας μεταλαβεῖν τοῦ Χριστοῦ. τότε ἡ Ξανθίππη περιχαρὴς γενομένη πάνυ, περὶ τὴν ἑσπέραν ὥρμησεν σὺν τῷ ἀνδρὶ ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ τοῦ δοῦναι εὐφρασίαν πᾶσιν τοῖς ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ καὶ ἑορτὴν ἐπιτελέσαι· καὶ ἐλθόντων αὐτῶν, διαταξαμένη δεῖπνον λαμπρὸν γενέσθαι, ἀνήρχετο αὐτὴ ἐπὶ τρίκλινον. καὶ ἰδοὺ ἐπὶ τὴν κλίμακα δαίμων ἐπελθὼν ἐν ὁμοιώματι ἑνὸς τῶν μίμων, στὰς ἐν γωνίᾳ σκοτεινῇ ἐβούλετο ἐκφοβῆσαι καὶ δειλαίνειν τὴν Ξανθίππην. αὐτὴ δὲ νομίσασα εἶναι τὸν μῖμον ὃν εἶχον κατὰ συνήθειαν, χολέσασα εἶπεν· Πλειστάκις αὐτῷ εἶπον ὅτι οὐκέτι παιγνίων ἀνέχομαι, καὶ περιφρονεῖ μου ὡς γυναικός· καὶ εὐθέως ἁρπάσασα κογχοστάτην σιδηροῦν, ῥίπτει εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ καὶ συνέτριψεν αὐτοῦ ὅλην τὴν ὄψιν. τότε ὁ δαίμων ἀνεβόησε λέγων· Ὦ βία· ἀπὸ τούτου χανότου καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες ἔλαβον ἐξουσίαν τοῦ τύπτειν ἡμᾶς. ἡ δὲ Ξανθίππη ἐδείμασεν σφόδρα.

XXII. Μετὰ γοῦν τὸ δεῖπνον προῆλθεν ὁ Πρόβος πρὸς ἀκρόασιν τοῦ λόγου· ἡ δὲ Ξανθίππη ἐν τῷ κοιτῶνι αὐτῆς καθεσθεῖσα ἀνεγίνωσκεν τοὺς προφήτας, ἀνακειμένης τῆς ἀδελφῆς αὐτῆς τῆς Πολυξένης ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης· ἠγάπα δὲ σφόδρα ἡ Ξανθίππη τὴν Πολυξένην ὅτι ἦν νεωτέρα ὑπὲρ αὐτὴν, καὶ ὡραία τῇ ὄψει· καὶ ὁ Πρόβος δὲ ἠγάπα αὐτὴν πάνυ. καὶ ἐν τῷ κατακεῖσθαι τὴν Πολυξένην ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης, ὁρᾷ τοιοῦτον ὄναρ, ὅτι ἐλθὼν δράκων αἰσχρὸς τῷ εἴδει διενεύετο αὐτῇ ἥκειν πρὸς αὐτόν· τῆς δὲ μὴ ὑπακουσάσης τοῦ ἐλθεῖν, δραμὼν κατέπιεν αὐτήν. ἡ δὲ παῖς ἐκ τοῦ φόβου ἀνεπήδησεν ἔντρομος·

ἡ δὲ Ξανθίππη προσδραμοῦσα εἶπεν· Τί σοι γέγονεν, φιλτάτη, ὅτι οὕτως ἀνεπήδησας ἀθρόως; ἡ δὲ ἐπὶ ὥραν πολλὴν λαλεῖν οὐκ ἠδύνατο· εἶτα εἰς ἑαυτὴν ἐλθοῦσα λέγει· Οἴμοι, ἀδελφή μου Ξανθίππη, ποῖός μοι κίνδυνος προΐσταται ἢ θλῖψις οὐ γινώσκω· ἑώρων γὰρ ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ μου ὅτι δράκων αἰσχρὸς ἐλθὼν διένευέν μοι ἐλθεῖν πρὸς αὐτόν· ἐμοῦ δὲ μὴ βουλομένης ἀπελθεῖν, δραμὼν κατέπιέν με ἀπὸ ποδῶν λαβόμενος· ἐμοῦ δὲ συνταρασσομένης εἰς τὸ ἡλίου φῶς ἄφνω ἐκ τοῦ ἀέρος νεανίας τις εὐειδὴς ὃν ἐνόμιζον ἀδελφὸν εἶναι Παύλου ἐφώνησεν λέγων· Ἀμήν· οὐκ ἰσχύεις οὐδέν. ὅστις καὶ λαβόμενός μου τῆς χειρὸς ἐξέσπασέν με παραυτίκα ἐξ αὐτοῦ, καὶ εὐθέως ὁ δράκων ἀφανὴς ἐγένετο· καὶ ἰδοὺ ἡ χεὶρ αὐτοῦ ἦν εὐωδίας πλήρης ὡς ἐκ βαλσάμου ἢ ἄλλης τινὸς ἐπὶ εὐπνοίας. λέγει πρὸς αὐτὴν ἡ Ξανθίππη· Ὄντως μεγάλως ἔχεις θλιβῆναι, ἀδελφή μου Πολυξένη· πλὴν ἔχει σε ἰδίαν ὁ θεὸς, ὅτι ἔδειξέν σοι ξένα καὶ θαυμάσια· ὄρθρου οὖν ταχὺ ἀναστᾶσα λαβὲ τὸ ἅγιον βάπτισμα, καὶ αἴτησαι ἐν τῷ βαπτίσματι ῥυσθῆναι σε τῶν τοῦ δράκοντος παγίδων.

XXIII. Ταῦτα εἰποῦσα ἡ Ξανθίππη πρὸς τὴν Πολυξένην, καὶ ποιήσασα σταυρὸν διὰ ξύλου ἦλθεν πρὸς τὸν Παῦλον. ἔμεινεν δὲ μόνη ἡ Πολυξένη ἐν τῷ κοιτῶνι, τῆς τροφοῦ αὐτῆς ἅμα τῇ Ξανθίππῃ πορευθείσης· καὶ δὴ τῆς νυκτὸς μεσαζούσης, ἀνήρ τις δυνατὸς ἐν χρήμασι καὶ βοηθείᾳ εὑρὼν ἀνεῳγμένας τὰς θύρας χρησάμενος μαγικῇ τέχνῃ εἰσῆλθεν ἔνδον, θέλων καθαρπάσαι τὴν Πολυξένην· αὐτὴ δὲ νοήσασα ἔφυγεν εἰς μυλῶνα· εὗρον δὲ αὐτὴν οἱ μάγοι ὁδηγούμενοι ὑπὸ δαιμόνων. αὐτὴ δὲ, μὴ εὑρίσκουσα διὰ ποίας ἐξέλθῃ θύρας, ἔλεγεν· Οἴμοι τῇ παραδεδομένῃ τῷ λυμεῶνι τούτῳ. ἤκουσεν γὰρ ὅτι μετὰ τοῦ μνηστῆρος αὐτῆς ἐποίησεν μαχὴν, καὶ εἰς ἄμυναν καὶ λύπην αὐτοῦ τοῦτο ἐποίησεν· ἦν γὰρ ἀνὴρ ἀποστερητὴς καὶ ἀνήμερος πάνυ. λαβόντες οὖν αὐτὴν ἐξῆλθον τῆς πόλεως, ἔλκοντες ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν· αὐτῆς δὲ περιβλεπομένης ἔνθεν κἀκεῖθεν, οὐδεὶς ἦν ὁ ἐξαιρούμενος αὐτήν· καὶ στενάξασα εἶπεν· Οἴμοι, ἀδελφή μου Ξανθίππη, ἑπτακοσίους χρυσινοὺς ἔπεμψας εἰς Ῥώμην καὶ ἐκομίσω βίβλους ἵνα τὰ ἐμὰ δι' αὐτῶν προφητεύσῃς· ἐσπέρας γὰρ ἀνεγίνωσκες κατενόουν εἰς δεξιὰ καὶ ἐπέβλεπον, καὶ οὐκ ἦν ὁ ἐπιγινώσκων με· ἀπώλετο φυγὴ ἀπ' ἐμοῦ καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ ἐκζητῶν τὴν ψυχήν[1] μου.

[1] *τύχην* cod.

XXIV. Ταῦτα δὲ αὐτῆς λεγούσης, ὥδευον οἱ καθέλκοντες ἐν τάχει· καὶ δὲ φθασάντων αὐτῶν τὸν αἰγιαλὸν, μισθωσάμενοι πλοῖον ὥρμουν ἐπὶ τὴν Βαβυλωνίαν· εἶχεν γὰρ ἐκεῖ ἀδελφὸν τοπάρχην ὁ καθαρπάσας αὐτήν· ἀντέπνευσεν δὲ ὁ ἄνεμος ἐναντίος τοῦ μὴ πορευθῆναι αὐτοὺς δι' ἐκείνης· κωπηλατούντων δὲ αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ, ἰδοὺ καὶ ὁ μέγας ἀπόστολος τοῦ κυρίου Πέτρος ἦν παράγων ἐν πλοίῳ, ἐπειγόμενος ὑπὸ ὁράματος γενέσθαι εἰς Ῥώμην, διὰ τὸ ἐξελθόντος Παύλου ἐπὶ τὴν Ἱσπανίαν εἰσελθεῖν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ πλάνον τινα καὶ μάγον ὀνόματι Σίμωνα, καὶ διαλῦσαι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἣν συνεστήσατο ὁ Παῦλος. καὶ ἰδοὺ πορευομένου αὐτοῦ ἤκουσεν φωνῆς οὐρανόθεν λεγούσης αὐτῷ· Πέτρε, ἄϋριον συναντήσει σοι πλοῖον ἐρχόμενον ἀπὸ τῆς Ἱσπανίας· ἀναστὰς οὖν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐν αὐτῷ τεθλιμμένης ψυχῆς προσεύξαι. ἅμα δὲ εἶδεν ὁ Πέτρος τὸ πλοῖον, εἶπεν, μνησθεὶς τοῦ ὁράματος· Μεριμνητὰ τῶν τεθλιμμένων Ἰησοῦ, ὃν ἡ θλῖψις τῶν ἐν ξενιτείᾳ κινεῖ πρὸς εὐσπλαγχνίαν, ὃν ὁ κλαυθμὸς τῶν ἐν αἰχμαλωσίᾳ ἐπὶ γῆς σε ἐλθεῖν ἐποίησεν, ὁ δωρούμενος ἡμῖν πάντοτε ὅσα βουλόμεθα, καὶ μηδέποτε ἀποστρεφόμενος τὴν αἴτησιν ἡμῶν· ποίησον καὶ νῦν ἔλεος καὶ ἀντίληψιν μετὰ τῆς ψυχῆς τῆς ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ ἐκείνῳ χειμαζομένης· ὅτι σὺ πάντοτε οἰκτείρεις τοὺς ἐν ὀδύνῃ, κύριε. οἱ δὲ δαιμόνες αἰσθόμενοι τῆς προσευχῆς ἔλεγον τοῖς μάγοις· Ἀπονεύσατε ὑμεῖς τὴν ὁρμὴν τοῦ πλοίου ἐκείνου. ἂν γὰρ συναντήσωμεν αὐτῷ, οὐ κἂν κινήσωμεν.

XXV. Τοῦ δὲ φιλανθρώπου θεοῦ προνοουμένου τῆς Πολυξένης, κατήντησεν τὸ πλοῖον εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, τοῦ μακαρίου Φιλίππου ἐκεῖσε ὄντος, καὶ ὑπὸ ὁράματος ἐλθόντος εἰς τὸν αἰγιαλόν· ἠκολούθουν δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ὄχλοι πολλοὶ διδασκόμενοι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. καὶ ἰδοὺ ἀνεφάνη τὸ πλοῖον ἔνθα ἦν ἡ Πολυξένη, δεινῶς χειμαζόμενον· καὶ εἶπεν ὁ μακάριος Φίλιππος· Ἰδοὺ τὸ πλοῖον περὶ οὗ καὶ κατῄειμεν ἐνθάδε, ἐν ᾧ τεθλιμμένη ἐστὶν ψυχὴ ἐν αὐτῷ. φθάσαντος δὲ τοῦ πλοίου καὶ ἐκκομισθέντων πάντων ἐπὶ τῆς ξηρᾶς ἔκειντο ὡς ἠμιθανεῖς διὰ τὸ σφοδρῶς αὐτοὺς χειμασθῆναι ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ. ὁ δὲ ἀπόστολος Φίλιππος ἐκέλευσεν βασταχθῆναι τὴν Πολυξένην καὶ ἀχθῆναι ἐν ᾧ αὐτὸς ξενίζεται τόπῳ, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς περιποιηθῆναι. ὁ δὲ καθαρπάσας τὴν Πολυξένην, κουφισθεὶς τῆς θαλαττίας ταραχῆς, ἠβουλήθη λαβεῖν αὐτήν. ὁ γὰρ Φίλιππος, παραδοὺς τὴν

Πολυξένην τινὶ τῶν μαθητευθέντων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ τὴν ὁδὸν αὐτοῦ χαίρων· ὁ δὲ ἔχων αὐτὴν ἔλεγεν ὅτι Ὑπὸ ἁγίου ἀνδρὸς παρεδόθη μοι, καὶ οὐ δύναμαί σοι αὐτὴν παραδοῦναι. ὁ δὲ, μηδ' ὅλως ἀνασχόμενος, εὑρὼν ἐκεῖσε συγγενέα αὐτοῦ κόμητα, παρασκευάζεται εἰς πόλεμον, συναγαγὼν χιλιάδας ὀκτώ· γνοῦσα δὲ τοῦτο ἡ Πολυξένη, ἐξελθοῦσα νυκτὸς ἀνεχώρησεν· ὁ δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς Πολυξένης ἐνεχόμενος ἔλεγεν ὅτι Λαβὼν τὸν ἐπενδύτην τοῦ Φιλίππου μόνος ἐξελεύσομαι εἰς συνάντησιν αὐτῶν. ταῦτα δὲ αὐτοῦ λέγοντος, ἀπηγγέλη αὐτῷ ὅτι ἡ παρθένος οὐκ ἔστιν ὧδε· ὁ δὲ, ἐάσας τὴν περὶ τοῦ πολέμου μέριμναν, δραμὼν ἐν τῷ κοιτῶνι καὶ μὴ εὑρὼν τὴν παρθένον ἔρριψεν ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὸ ἔδαφος λέγων· Οἴμοι τῷ ἀθλίῳ, τῷ ἐχθρῷ Φιλίππου γενομένῳ· τί αὐτῷ ἀπολογήσομαι, ὅταν ζητῇ τὴν παρθένον ἀπ' ἐμοῦ; οἱ δὲ παῖδες προσελθόντες λέγουσιν αὐτῷ· Ἀνάστα, κύριε ἡμῶν, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐδάφους, ὅτι ἐκύκλωσεν ἡ βοηθεία τὸν οἶκόν σου, καὶ ἡ παρθένος οὐχ εὑρίσκεται. ὁ δὲ εἶπεν· Ἐάσατέ με οὕτως δι' αὐτὴν ἀποθανεῖν· ἴσως κἂν ἐν τούτῳ πληροφορηθῇ ὁ δοῦλος τοῦ Χριστοῦ Φίλιππος· ἐπεὶ εὑρεθήσομαι ὡς καταφρονήσας αὐτοῦ τῆς ἐντολῆς. ἰδόντες δὲ οἱ παῖδες ὅτι οὐκ ἀνέχεται αὐτῶν ἐβουλεύσαντο φυγεῖν ἀπ' αὐτῶν τῶν πολεμίων· πάλιν δὲ μετὰ μικρὸν τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ προνοίᾳ κινηθέντες εἶπον· Οὐ δίκαιόν ἐστιν ἀποθανεῖν τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν· δεῦτε ἄραντες τὸ σημεῖον τοῦ σταυροῦ ἐξέλθωμεν εἰς ἀπάντησιν αὐτῶν. τότε ἄραντες τὸν τίμιον σταυρὸν ὡσεὶ τριάκοντα ἄνδρες ἐξῆλθον ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, καὶ ἔκοψαν χιλιάδας ε'· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἔφυγον· ὑπέστρεψαν δὲ μετὰ νίκης πρὸς τὸν κύριον αὐτῶν ὑμνοῦντες τὸν θεὸν καὶ λέγοντες· Τίς θεὸς μέγας ὡς ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὃς οὐκ ἀφῆκεν τὸν δοῦλον αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ ἀνόμων ἀναιρεθῆναι; καὶ προσελθόντες πρὸς τὸν κύριον αὐτῶν ἔτι κλαίοντα εἶπον πρὸς αὐτόν· Ἀναστῆθι, κύριε, καὶ μὴ κλαῖε· ὅτι οὐχ ὡς ἡμεῖς θέλομεν συμφέρει, ἀλλ' ὡς ὁ κύριος.

XXVI. Ἡ δὲ Πολυξένη ἐξελθοῦσα τῆς πόλεως καὶ μὴ ἐπισταμένη διὰ ποίας ὁδεύσῃ ὁδοῦ, εὑρέθη εἰς ἐρήμους τόπους ὀρέων, καὶ καθεσθεῖσα μετὰ δακρύων ἔλεγεν οὕτως· Οἴμοι τῇ ἀπερριμμένῃ καὶ αἰχμαλώτῳ, ὅτι οὐδὲ θηρίου σπήλαιον εὑρίσκω εἰς ἀνάπαυσιν· οἴμοι τῇ ἐγκαταλελειμμένῃ, ὅτι οὐδὲ ᾅδης ὃν οὐδεὶς λέληθεν κατέπιέν με· οἴμοι τῇ ποτὲ μήτε τοῖς παισί μου φαινομένῃ, νῦν δὲ τοῖς δαίμοσιν θεατριζομένῃ. οἴμοι, ὅτι

οἷς ὑπερηφάνουν ὀφθῆναι, νῦν δὲ τοῖς πᾶσιν πεφανέρωμαι· οἴμοι τήν ποτε εἰς εἴδωλα μανικήν· διὰ τοῦτο νῦν καὶ τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ἔλεος παρεσιώπησέν με· τίνα οὖν ἐπικαλέσομαι πρὸς βοήθειαν; τὸν θεὸν Παύλου ὃν συνεχῶς παρώργισα; ἀλλὰ τίς βοηθήσει μοι νῦν; ὅτι οὐδεὶς ὁρᾷ καὶ προσέχει καὶ ἀκούει μου τοῦ στεναγμοῦ· ὄντως τοῦ βλέποντος τὰ ἀπόκρυφα δεηθήσομαι· τίς γὰρ τούτου συμπαθέστερος καὶ εὐσπλαγχνέστερος, τοῦ ἀεὶ τῶν τεθλιμμένων ἐπισκοπὴν ποιουμένου; ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ εἶναι ἀκάθαρτον καὶ μιαρόν μου τὸ στόμα, οὐ τολμῶ αἰτῆσαι παρ' αὐτοῦ ἀνάληψιν. εἴθε κἀγὼ ἤμην ὡς ἓν τῶν θηρίων ἵνα μὴ ἤδειν τί ἐστιν αἰχμαλωσία. εἴθε ἐποντίσθην ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ· ἴσως τὸ θεῖον λοῦτρον λαβοῦσα ἀπῄειν ὅπου οὐδεὶς αἰχμαλωτίζεται. τί οὖν ποιήσω, ὅτι καὶ ὁ θάνατος βραδύνει καὶ ἡ νὺξ ἐπῆλθεν, καὶ ἀντίληψις οὐδαμοῦ. καὶ ταῦτα εἰποῦσα, ἀναστᾶσα ἤρξατο ὀδεύειν, καὶ διελθοῦσα αὐχένα μικρὸν ἐνέπεσεν εἰς ὕλην σφόδρα δασεῖαν καὶ μεγάλην. καὶ εὑροῦσα ὀπὴν κοίλην[1] δένδρου ὃ ἦν σπήλαιον λεαίνης, παρεκαθέσθη ἐκεῖσε· ἡ γὰρ λέαινα ἐξελθοῦσα ἦν ἐπὶ τὴν ἑαυτῆς τροφήν. καθεζομένη δὲ ἔλεγεν· Ὦ γέννησις σκληρά· ὦ ὥρα βαρεῖα ἐν ᾗ ἐγὼ ἡ ἀθλία εἰς τὸν κόσμον προῆλθον· ὦ ἡ τεκοῦσά με μῆτερ, πῶς προιδοῦσα μου τὰς θλίψεις καὶ τὴν ξενιτείαν, Πολυξένην με ὠνόμασας; ἆρά τις ἄλλος ἐνέπεσεν εἰς τοσαύτας θλίψεις καὶ συμφοράς. ὄντως περὶ ἐμοῦ τῆς ταλαιπώρου, ἀδελφή μου Ξανθίππη, ἀνεγίνωσκες λέγουσα ἐταλαιπώρησα καὶ κατεκάμφθην ἕως τέλους· ἀλλὰ ταῦτα σὺ ὀδυνωμένη ἐφθέγγου, ἐγὼ δὲ ἐπὶ στρωμνῆς ἀνεκείμην, μηδ' ὅλως μεριμνῶσα περὶ τῶν κακῶν μου. διὰ τοῦτο νῦν ἔφθασα εἰς βάθη κακῶν, καὶ ἐν ἐρήμοις αὐλίζομαι ὡς θηρίον· ἀλλὰ τὰ θηρία κἂν μεθ' ἑτέρων ὁμογενῶν διάγουσιν, ἐγὼ δὲ μεμόνωμαι, ὡς μὴ ὑπάρχουσα ὁμογενὴς ἀνθρώπων.

XXVII. Καὶ ὡς ἦν ταῦτα λέγουσα, καὶ πλείονα τούτων, ὁ ὄρθρος ἐπανῆλθεν, καὶ ἡ λέαινα παρεγένετο ἀπὸ τῆς θήρας αὐτῆς. ἰδοῦσα δὲ ἡ Πολυξένη τὸ θηρίον ἐτρόμασεν καὶ εἶπεν· <Κατὰ> τὸν θεὸν Παύλου, συμπάθησόν μοι τὸ θηρίον καὶ μή με σκορπίσῃς ἕως οὗ λάβω τὸ βάπτισμα. τὸ δὲ θηρίον φοβηθὲν τὸν ὅρκον ἀνέλυσε παραχρῆμα, καὶ μηκόθεν στὰν

[1] κουφὴν cod.

ἠτένιζεν εἰς αὐτήν· ἡ δὲ εἶπεν· Ἰδοὺ τὸ θηρίον ὑπήκουσέ μου, δώσω κἀγὼ τόπον τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτῆς. καὶ εὐθέως ἤρξατο ὁδεύειν πρὸς ἀνατολάς· τὸ δὲ θηρίον προῆγεν αὐτῆς ἕως οὗ ἐξῆλθε τῆς ὕλης. ἡ δὲ Πολυξένη εἶπεν· Τί σοι ἀνταποδώσω ἀντίχαριν, ὦ θηρίον; ὁ θεὸς Παύλου ἀνταποδώσει σοι τὴν ἀντιχάριτα ταύτην. καὶ ἀκούσαν τὴν εὐχὴν εὐθέως ὑπέστρεψεν τὸ θηρίον εἰς τὸν τόπον αὐτοῦ· αὐτὴ δὲ κατελθοῦσα εὗρεν ὁδὸν δημοσίαν, καὶ στᾶσα ἐπ᾽ αὐτῆς ἔκλαιε μὴ εἰδυῖα ποῦ πορευθῇ· καὶ πολλῶν παριόντων, πρὸς οὐδένα ἐτράπη· ἔλεγεν δέ· Ἴσως μνησθῇ μου ὁ θεὸς Παύλου, καὶ ὃς ἄν με κατελεήσῃ, πρὸς αὐτὸν πορεύσομαι.

XXVIII. Καὶ ἐν τῷ λέγειν αὐτὴν ταῦτα, καὶ ὁ τοῦ κυρίου ἀπόστολος Ἀνδρέας παρεγένετο, ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον ἐκεῖνον πορευόμενος· καὶ ὡς ἤγγισε τῇ Πολυξένῃ, ἐπενόησε τῇ καρδίᾳ ταραχήν τινα γενομένην ἐν ἑαυτῷ. στὰς οὖν εἰς προσευχὴν, τὰς χεῖρας ἐπιζεύξας εἰς τύπον σταυροῦ, εἶπε· Κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστὲ, ὁ μέτοχος τοῦ φωτὸς καὶ τῶν κρυπτῶν γνώστης, ὃν οὐδὲν λανθάνει τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς· ποίησον μετ᾽ ἐμοῦ φιλανθρωπίαν καὶ ἔλεος καὶ σήμανόν μοι τὴν ταραχὴν ταύτην καὶ εἰρήνευσόν μου τὸν λογισμὸν, ὁ ποιῶν εἰρήνην πάντοτε μετὰ τῶν ἀγαπώντων τὴν εἰρήνην. τότε ἡ Πολυξένη ἔδραμε πρὸς αὐτὸν, καὶ λέγει αὐτῇ ὁ ἀπόστολος τοῦ κυρίου Ἀνδρέας· Μὴ ἐγγίσῃς μοι, τέκνον, ἀλλ᾽ εἰπέ μοι τίς εἶ καὶ πόθεν. καὶ ἡ Πολυξένη εἶπεν· Ἐγὼ μὲν, κύριέ μου, ξένη εἰμι τῶν ἐνταῦθα, ὁρῶ δὲ τὸ πρόσωπόν σου χαρίεν, καὶ τὰ λόγιά σου ὡς λόγια Παύλου, καὶ ὑπολαμβάνω καὶ σὲ τοῦ αὐτοῦ θεοῦ εἶναι. ὁ δὲ Ἀνδρέας συνῆκεν ὅτι περὶ τοῦ ἀποστόλου Παύλου λέγει, καὶ ἔφη πρὸς αὐτήν· Καὶ πόθεν σὺ ἐπίστασαι τὸν Παῦλον; ἡ δὲ εἶπεν· Ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος μου· εἰς τὴν Ἱσπανίαν γὰρ αὐτὸν κατέλιπον. καὶ ὁ Ἀνδρέας λέγει πρὸς αὐτήν· Καὶ πῶς σὺ ἐνταῦθα τυγχάνεις, τῆς χώρας πολὺ ἀφεστώσης; ἡ δὲ εἶπεν· Διὰ τὸ οὕτως προκεῖσθαί μοι καὶ συμβῆναι· ἀλλὰ δέομαι καὶ προσπίπτω τοῖς ἴχνεσί σου, σφράγισόν με καθάπερ Παῦλος σφραγίζει διὰ λούτρον παλιγγενεσίας, ἵνα κἀγὼ λοιπὸν ἡ ταπεινὴ γνωρισθῶ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν· ἰδὼν γὰρ ὁ φιλάνθρωπος θεὸς τὴν θλῖψίν μου καὶ τὴν ταλαιπωρίαν, ἔπεμψέν σε τοῦ ἐλεῆσαί με. ὁ δὲ μέγας τοῦ κυρίου ἀπόστολος Ἀνδρέας λέγει πρὸς αὐτήν· Ἀπέλθωμεν, τέκνον, ὅπου ἐστὶν ὕδωρ.

XXIX. Καὶ δὴ πορευθέντων αὐτῶν οὐ πολύ, ἦλθον ἐπί τινα πηγὴν διειδεστάτην καὶ καθαράν. σταντὸς δὲ τοῦ μακαρίου Ἀνδρέου ἐπεύξασθαι ἐπὶ τῇ πηγῇ ἰδού τις παρθένος ὀνόματι Ῥεβέκκα ἐκ φυλῆς Ἰσραὴλ, αἰχμάλωτος ἀχθεῖσα ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ἐκείνῃ ἦλθε τοῦ ὑδρεύσασθαι ἐπὶ τὴν πηγήν, καὶ ἰδοῦσα τὸν μακάριον Ἀνδρέαν ἐκ τοῦ σχήματος ἐπέγνω αὐτόν. ἔλεγε γὰρ ἡ Ῥεβέκκα ὅτι Προφητοῦ σχῆμά ἐστι τοῦτο, καὶ ὅτι εἷς τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐστίν. καὶ προσκυνήσασα αὐτὸν εἶπεν· Ἐλέησόν με, δοῦλε τοῦ ὄντως θεοῦ, τὴν αἰχμάλωτον καὶ πεπραμένην τρίτον· τήν ποτε ὑπὸ προφητῶν τιμωμένην νῦν δὲ ὑπὸ εἰδωλολατρῶν ἐνυβριζομένην, καὶ ἀνακαλέσαι με τὴν ταπεινὴν, ὁ εἰς πολλῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν ἀνακλῆσιν ἀποσταλείς. ὁ δὲ ἀπόστολος τοῦ Χριστοῦ Ἀνδρέας λέγει· Μεριμνήσει ὁ θεὸς καὶ τὰ περί σου, τέκνον, ὡς καὶ τὰ περὶ ταύτης τῆς ξένης· λάβετε οὖν λοιπὸν τὸ βάπτισμα, καὶ ἔσεσθε ὡς ὁμόεθνοι, δοξάζουσαι τὸν θεὸν ἀεί.

XXX. Στὰς οὖν ὁ ἀπόστολος προσηύξατο· καὶ ἰδοὺ παραγίνεται ἡ λέαινα δρομαία, καὶ στᾶσα ἠτένιζεν εἰς αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ ἀπόστολος τοῦ κυρίου Ἀνδρέας λέγει· Τί ἆρα βούλεται τὸ θηρίον τοῦτο; ἡ δὲ λέαινα ἀνοίξασα τὸ στόμα λέγει ἀνθρωπίνῃ φωνῇ· Ἀπόστολε τοῦ Χριστοῦ Ἀνδρέα, κατειλήφει με ἡ εὐχὴ τῆς ἐκ δεξιῶν σου ἱσταμένης· στήριξον οὖν αὐτὰς καὶ κατήχησον καὶ νουθέτησον εἰς τὴν ὀρθὴν καὶ ἀληθινὴν πίστιν τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὅτι πάνυ ἐπιποθοῦσι τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ κυρίου· καὶ ὅρα τὸ θαυμαστὸν καὶ ἀνυπερήφανον τοῦ θεοῦ ὅτι καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ ἄλογα καὶ ἀτίθασα θηρία ἐξέχεε τὸ ἔλεος αὐτοῦ. ὁ δὲ μακάριος Ἀνδρέας δακρύσας εἶπε· Τί εἴπω ἢ τί λαλήσω τὰ περὶ τοῦ ἐλέους σου, ὁ θεός; ὅτι οὕτως ἀντέχῃ τῶν ταπεινῶν πάντοτε, καὶ προνοῇ τῶν ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ, ἀνυπερήφανος καὶ πολυέλεος ὤν; καὶ πληρώσας τὴν εὐχὴν ἐβάπτισε τὰς παρθένους ἐπ' ὀνόματος τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος. καὶ ἡ μὲν λέαινα εὐθέως ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος, ταῖς δὲ παρθένοις εἶπεν ὁ ἀπόστολος Ἀνδρέας· Σπεύσατε, τέκνα, τοῦ εὐδοκιμῆσαι ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ καλῶς πολιτευομέναι ἐν τῇ ξενιτείᾳ, καὶ ἀπ' ἀλλήλων μὴ χωρισθῆτε· ὁ δὲ θεὸς ὁ ἀεὶ συνὼν τοῖς ἐπικαλουμένοις αὐτὸν διαφυλάξαι ὑμᾶς ἐν ἁγιωσύνῃ, ἀπελαύνων ἀφ' ὑμῶν τὸν πονηρόν· εὔχεσθε δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ. ἡ δὲ Πολυξένη εἶπεν· Ἀκολουθήσομέν σοι ὅπου ἐὰν πορεύῃ.

καὶ ὁ ἀπόστολος Ἀνδρέας εἶπεν· Οὐκ ἐγνωρίσθη μοι, τέκνα, τοῦτο ὑπὸ κυρίου· μείνατε οὖν μετ' εἰρήνης, ἐλπίζουσαι ἐπὶ κύριον, καὶ αὐτὸς ὑμᾶς διαφυλάξει εἰς τέλος.

XXXI. Καὶ ἐπορεύθη Ἀνδρέας τὴν ὁδὸν αὐτοῦ χαίρων καὶ δοξάζων τὸν θεόν. ἡ δὲ Πολυξένη εἶπεν· Ποῦ πορευσόμεθα, ἀδελφή; καὶ Ῥεβέκκα λέγει· Ὅπου βούλει ἀπέλθωμεν, μήπως πέμψασα ἡ κυρία μου διαχωρίσῃ ἡμᾶς. καὶ ἡ Πολυξένη εἶπε· Δεῦρο ἀπέλθωμεν εἰς τὸ ὄρος πρὸς τὴν λέαιναν. καὶ ἡ Ῥεβέκκα εἶπε· Καὶ κρεῖττον ἡμῖν ἐστὶν μετὰ θηρίων οἰκεῖν καὶ ἀποθανεῖν λιμῷ, ἢ ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων καὶ εἰδωλολατρῶν εἰς βόρβορον γάμου ἀναγκασθῆναι ἐμπεσεῖν. καὶ ἤρξαντο ὁδεύειν· καὶ ἰδοὺ κατ' οἰκονομίαν θεοῦ συναντῶσι κτηνίτην, ὃς ἰδὼν αὐτὰς λέγει· Ὑμεῖς οὐκ ἐστὲ τῆς χώρας ταύτης, καὶ ὡς ὁρῶ, οὐδὲν γήϊνον ἐπιφέρεσθε· κελεύσατε οὖν ἐκ τοῦ παιδὸς ὑμῶν ἄρτον φαγεῖν καὶ ἓν ἀργύριον λαβεῖν πρὸς τὸ μνημονεύειν τοῦ παιδὸς ὑμῶν ὁπόταν ἀγοράζητε ἄρτον. καὶ σπεύσας καθεῖλε τοὺς μαρσίππους ἀπὸ τῶν ὄνων καὶ στρώσας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἀνέκλινε τὰς παρθένους καὶ λέγει αὐταῖς· Ἐπειδὴ ὁ οἶνος ὃν βαστάζει ὁ παῖς ὑμῶν ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων συνήχθη, εἴπατέ μοι ποίας πιστέως ἐστέ, ἵνα οὕτως ἀπολαύσωμεν. ἡ δὲ Πολυξένη εἶπεν· Ἡμεῖς, ἀδελφὲ, οἴνου οὐκ ἀπολαύομεν, ἐσμὲν δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ Παύλου. καὶ ὁ κτηνίτης λέγει· Ἐπὶ γῆς ἐστὶν ὁ θεὸς οὗτος; ἡ δὲ Πολυξένη ἔφη πρὸς αὐτόν· Ὁ θεὸς πανταχοῦ ἐστὶν, καὶ ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς. ὁ δὲ κτηνίτης, ἀκριβῶς θέλων μαθεῖν, εἶπεν· Ἆρα καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Παῦλος τοῦτον ἔχει τὸν θεὸν τὸν ὑπὸ Φιλίππου κηρυσσόμενον; ἡ δὲ Πολυξένη, ἐπιγνοῦσα ὅτι χριστιανός ἐστιν, λέγει· Ναὶ, ἀδελφὲ, οὗτός ἐστι πάντων θεὸς, ὃν κηρύσσουσι Παῦλος καὶ Φίλιππος.

XXXII. Ὁ δὲ κτηνίτης ταῦτα ἀκούσας συνεχῶς ἐδάκρυεν. ἡ δὲ Πολυξένη εἶπεν· Ἆρα μὴ καί σε κατείληφεν ἡ προνοία τοῦ θεοῦ, ὅτι οὕτως ἐδάκρυσας; ἔφη ὁ κτηνίτης· Εἰ θέλεις μαθεῖν τί ἐδάκρυσα, ἄκουσον ταλήθη· οὐ γὰρ χρὴ ἀποκνῆσαι τὰ περὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐξαγγέλλειν· ἐγὼ ἐμαθητεύθην ὑπὸ Φιλίππου τοῦ ἀποστόλου τοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ ἰδὼν πῶς ἡ μέριμνα αὐτοῦ πᾶσα ἦν εἰς τοὺς πτωχοὺς, ἔλαβον εἴ τι εἶχον, καὶ διεπώλησα· καὶ λαβὼν τὸ τίμημα, ἠγόραζον ἄρτους καὶ οἶνον καὶ διεδίδουν αὐτὰ εἰς τὰς πόλεις τοῖς δεομένοις· ὡς οὖν ἐποίουν τοῦτο ἐπὶ ἱκανὸν χρόνον, ἐν τῇ πλησίον πόλει εἷς τις λελω-

βημένος ἔκραξε λέγων (οὐκ αὐτὸς δὲ ἐλάλει ἀλλ' ὁ Σατανᾶς διὰ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ)· Οὐδὲν θέλω· οὐ λαμβάνω τι παρά σου, ὅτι χριστιανὸς εἶ. καὶ ἐπανέστη μοι ὅλη ἡ πόλις καὶ ἐζήτουν με κρατῆσαι. ἔτρεχον δὲ ἄλλος ἀλλαχοῦ, μέσον αὐτῶν πορευομένου μου καὶ μηδενὸς ὁρῶντος με. ἐξελθὼν δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἔδωκα αἶνον καὶ δόξαν τῷ θεῷ ὅτι οὕτως μου ἀντεποιήθη· ηὐξάμην δὲ τῷ θεῷ μου ἵνα συναντήσω τινὶ γινώσκοντι τὸ πανάγιον αὐτοῦ ὄνομα, ὅπως ταῦτα διηγησάμενος ἀνέσεως τύχω· οἱ γὰρ τῆς χώρας ταύτης οὐδ' ὅλως βούλονται ἀκούειν τὰ περὶ Χριστοῦ, πλήρεις ὄντες ἀσεβείας καὶ ἀνάμεστοι κακίας. παρακαλῶ οὖν ὑμᾶς, λάβετε καὶ ὑμεῖς ἓν νόμισμα παρ' ἐμοῦ· εἰ δὲ δοκεῖ, καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ὄνους ἀναπαύσασθε. ἡ δὲ Πολυξένη εἶπεν· Εὕροις ἔλεος παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀδελφέ· εἰ δὲ θέλεις τέλειον μισθὸν κομίσασθαι, διασῶσον ἡμᾶς ἕως τῆς θαλάσσης, ὅπως θεοῦ εὐδοκοῦντος ἀποπλεύσωμεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἱσπανίαν.

XXXIII. Ὁ δὲ κτηνίτης ὥσπερ ὑπὸ θεοῦ φωνῆς προσταχθεὶς, προθύμως δεξάμενος τὰς παρθένους, ἐπορεύετο τὴν ὁδὸν χαίρων ἐν κυρίῳ. εἶπε δὲ τῇ Πολυξένῃ· Ἄλλαξόν σου τὸ σχῆμα ὡς ἀνὴρ, μήπως διὰ τὴν ὡραιότητά σου ἁρπάξῃ σέ τις ἀπ' ἐμοῦ. καταλαβόντες δὲ πανδοχεῖον, ἔμειναν ἐκεῖσε. τῇ δὲ ἐπιούσῃ προηλθοῦσαι προῆγον σκοπεύουσαι τὴν ὁδόν· καὶ ἰδοὺ παρήρχετό τις ἔπαρχος ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα πορευόμενος, ὃς ἰδὼν τὰς παρθένους ἐκέλευσεν ἁρπαγῆναι τὴν Πολυξένην ἐπὶ τὸ ἅρμα αὐτοῦ· ὁ δὲ κτηνίτης ἠκολούθει βοῶν καὶ λέγων· Οὐ βιάζεται ἔπαρχός τινι· τί ταῦτα ποιεῖτε; τότε τυπτήσαντες αὐτὸν ἀπεδίωξαν.

XXXIV. Ὁ δὲ πορευόμενος ἀπωδύρετο λέγων· Οἴμοι τῷ ἀθλίῳ καὶ ἐβδελυγμένῳ· οἴμοι τῷ νομίζοντι καλὸν ποιεῖν, νῦν δὲ κακοποιΐαν εἰργασάμην· οἴμοι ὅτι ἀπρόσδεκτός μου ὁ κόπος καὶ ὁ δρόμος ἐγένετο· εἴθε ἤμην πρὸ τῆ χθὲς ἡμέρᾳ ἀποθανὼν ἵνα μήδ' ὅλως ταύταις συνέτυχον. ἀλλὰ τί με ταλανίζεις, ὦ ψυχὴ ἀθλία; ἄγωμεν πρὸς τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ ἀπόστολον Φίλιππον· εἰ οὐκ ἔστιν μοι συγχώρησις, κρεῖττόν μοι ἐστὶν ἑλέσθαι οἱῳδήποτε τρόπῳ θάνατον ἢ ζῆν ἐν τοιούτῳ κακῷ καὶ πικρῷ συνειδότι. καὶ ἐλθὼν εὗρε τὸν ἀπόστολον τοῦ Χριστοῦ Φίλιππον, καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ· Ὦ μαθητὰ καὶ κῆρυξ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, οὕτως καὶ οὕτως μοι ἀπήντησε καὶ συνέβη· ἆρα ἔχει σωτηρίαν ἡ ψυχή μου; ὁ δὲ ἀπόστολος τοῦ Χριστοῦ Φίλιππος εἶπεν·

Ἀλύπως ἔχε, τέκνον, περὶ τούτου· ἀδυνατὸν γάρ ἐστι φθαρῆναι αὐτὰς, ἐπειδὴ οὐδεὶς θεὸν νικᾷ ποτέ· καὶ γὰρ ταύτην Πολυξένην ἐγὼ ἐν πρώτοις ἐξελθοῦσαν ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης παρέδωκά τινι ἀδελφῷ, ὃς καὶ αὐτὸς ἐλυπεῖτο πάνυ διὰ τὸ λαθραίως αὐτὴν ἀποδράσαι ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου αὐτοῦ, ὃν καὶ ἔπεισα μὴ λυπεῖσθαι· διὰ γὰρ τῆς θλίψεως αὐτῆς καὶ τῆς ξενιτείας πολλοὶ ἐπιγνώσονται τὸν θεόν.

XXXV. Ἤγαγεν οὖν τὴν Πολυξένην ὁ ἔπαρχος ἐν ᾗ ἐκαθέζετο πόλει, καὶ ἐκέλευσεν ἀποκλεισθῆναι ταύτην ἐν κουβουκλείῳ. τὴν δὲ Ῥεβέκκαν ἥρπασέ τις τῶν στρατιωτῶν· ἡ δὲ παρθένος λαθοῦσα κατέφυγεν εἰς τινὸς πρεσβύτιδος οἶκον, ἥτις εὐμενῶς δεξαμένη τὴν παρθένον, εὖ ἐποίησε μετ' αὐτῆς. καθεσθεῖσα δὲ ἔκλαιε λέγουσα· Οἴμοι, ἀδελφή μου Πολυξένη, ἐγὼ ἡ ταπεινὴ οὐκ ἐνόμιζον θλιβῆναί τινα ὥσπερ ἐμαυτήν· νῦν δὲ πέπεισμαι καὶ γινώσκω ὅτι πᾶσαί μου αἱ συμφοραὶ καὶ αἱ θλίψεις ὑπὲρ μιᾶς ἡμερᾶς τῶν σῶν οὐ συγκρίνονται· καὶ τὸ χαλεπώτερον, ἰδοὺ ἐχωρίσθην ἀπό σου καί εἰμι πάλιν αἰχμάλωτος· ἀλλὰ κἂν εἰς τὸν μέλλοντα αἰῶνα ἐπιζήτησόν με, ἀδελφή μου Πολυξένη. ἡ δὲ πρεσβῦτις λέγει αὐτῇ· Τί σοί ἐστιν, τέκνον, ὅτι οὕτως πικρῶς ὀδύρῃ; καὶ ἡ Ῥεβέκκα εἶπεν· Ἔασόν με, μῆτερ, ὀδυνηθῆναι καὶ θρηνῆσαι τὸν ἀνίατον καὶ πολύν μου πόνον τῆς καρδίας. ἡ δὲ πρεσβῦτις συμπαθήσασα αὐτῇ πάνυ ἔκλαυσε σφοδρῶς· διηγήσατο γὰρ αὐτῇ ἡ παρθένος πάντα τὰ συμβεβηκότα αὐτῇ, καὶ πῶς διὰ τῆς Πολυξένης ἐπίστευσε τῷ Χριστῷ. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἡ Πολυξένη ἀποκλεισθεῖσα ἐν τῷ κουβουκλείῳ ἔλεγεν· Οἴμοι τῇ ταπεινῇ· φεῦ μοι τῇ ταλαιπώρῳ· νῦν ἔγνων ἀκριβῶς πῶς φθονεῖ ὁ διάβολος τῇ παρθενίᾳ· ἀλλὰ, κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστὲ, ὁ τῶν ἁπάντων θεὸς, ἐπειδὴ οὐ τολμῶ ἐξ ἐμαυτῆς δεηθῆναί σοι, προσάγω σοι τὰς εὐχὰς τοῦ ἁγίου κήρυκός σου Παύλου, μὴ ἐάσῃς ὑπὸ τινὸς φθαρῆναι τὴν παρθενίαν μου.

XXXVI. Καὶ ἔτι αὐτῆς εὐχομένης, ἦλθον οἱ ὑπηρέται τοῦ ἀπαγαγεῖν αὐτὴν πρὸς τὴν κοίτην τοῦ ἐπάρχου. ἡ δὲ Πολυξένη εἶπε πρὸς αὐτούς· Ἀδελφοὶ, μὴ σπουδάζετε πρὸς ἀπώλειάν τινος· οὗτος γὰρ ὁ χρόνος ταχὺ παρελεύσεται· οἱ δὲ συνεργοῦντες τοῖς ἀπολλύουσι σὺν αὐτοῖς ἀπολοῦνται· βοηθεῖτε δὲ μᾶλλον τοῖς ξένοις ἵνα μὴ εὑρεθῆτε ξένοι τῶν ἀγγέλων τοῦ θεοῦ. οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες δυσωπηθέντες ἐκ τῶν λόγων

τούτων, ἀπῆλθον πρὸς τὸν ἔπαρχον λέγοντες ὅτι Ἡ παρθένος ἀπὸ τοῦ φόβου συνεσχέθη πυρετῷ λάβρῳ. καί φησιν ὁ ἔπαρχος· Ἐάσατε αὐτήν. καὶ ἰδοὺ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἐπάρχου νυκτὸς ἦλθε πρὸς τὴν Πολυξένην, ἡ δὲ ἰδοῦσα αὐτὸν ἐδειλίασεν· εἶπεν δὲ αὐτῇ ὁ νεανίας· Μὴ φοβοῦ, κόρη· ὅτι οὐ ζητῶ νυμφευθῆναί σοι νυμφίος φθορᾶς· οἶδα γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς προσευχῆς σου ὅτι τοῦ οὐρανίου θεοῦ τυγχάνεις νύμφη. ἐγὼ γὰρ οἶδα τοῦτον τὸν θεὸν ὃς ὑπ᾽ οὐδενὸς νικᾶται ποτέ· ἀνὴρ γάρ τις ἔνδοξος τῷ προσώπῳ ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ πρὸ χρόνων τινῶν ἐκήρυττε τοῦτον θεὸν, ᾧ καὶ παρθένος τις πιστεύσασα, ἠκολούθει αὐτῷ, καὶ ἐκινδύνευσε διὰ τὴν εὐμορφίαν αὐτῆς, ᾗ ὄνομα Θέκλα, περὶ ἧς ἤκουσα πρὸς θηρία κατακριθεῖσαν· ἐγὼ οὖν συνεχῶς ἠτένιζον πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα· αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπισημειωσάμενος εἶπέ μοι Προσχῇ σοι ὁ θεὸς, τέκνον· ἔκτοτε οὖν χάριτι Χριστοῦ οὐκ ἀπῄειν εἰς τὰς θυσίας τῶν εἰδώλων, ἀλλὰ ποτὲ μὲν ἀρρωστίαν προσποιούμενος ποτὲ δὲ εἰς ἀσχολίας τινὰς ἑαυτὸν παριστῶν, ἔλεγέ μοι ὁ πατήρ μου ὅτι Ἐπειδὴ οὐ σπεύδεις εἰς τὰς θυσίας τῶν θεῶν, διὰ τοῦτο οὐδὲ εὐρωστεῖς, μὴ ὢν ἄξιος τῶν θεῶν. ἐγὼ δὲ ἔχαιρον ἀκούων μὴ εἶναι ἄξιος τῶν θυσιῶν τῶν εἰδώλων· χάριτι δὲ θεοῦ ἐλήλυθας σὺ ὧδε, προνοία μου γινομένη. καὶ ἡ Πολυξένη εἶπε· Καὶ τί ἐστιν ὄνομα τῷ ἀνδρὶ ἐκείνῳ; καὶ ὁ νεανίας εἶπε· Παῦλος ὄνομα αὐτῷ. καὶ ἡ Πολυξένη εἶπεν· Εἰς τὴν πόλιν μου ἔστιν. καὶ ὁ νεανίας εἶπε· Δεῦρο οὖν, κόρη, βαλοῦσά μου τὸ σχῆμα, κάτελθε ἐπὶ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν κἀκεῖ με μεῖνον, κἀγὼ λαβὼν χρήματα ἐλεύσομαι ταχέως.

XXXVII. Καί τις τῶν παίδων παρακροασάμενος ἀνήγγειλε ταῦτα τῷ ἐπάρχῳ, ὃς θυμοῦ πολλοῦ πλησθεὶς, κατακρίνει αὐτοὺς εἰς θηρία βληθῆναι· βληθέντων δὲ αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ σταδίῳ, ἀπελύθη αὐτοῖς λέαινα πικρά· ἥτις δραμοῦσα περιεπλάκη τοῖς ποσὶ τῆς Πολυξένης καὶ περιέλειχε τὰ πέλματα τῶν ποδῶν αὐτῆς. τότε ἰδὼν ὁ ἔπαρχος καὶ πᾶσα ἡ πόλις τὸ φοβερὸν καὶ παράδοξον τοῦτο θαῦμα, ἔδωκαν αἶνον καὶ δόξαν τῷ φιλανθρώπῳ θεῷ, λέγοντες· Ὄντως εἷ, καὶ μόνος ἐστὶ θεὸς ὁ διὰ Πολυξένης ὀνομαζόμενος. οἱ γὰρ θεοὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν ἔργα χειρῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰσὶ, μὴ δυνάμενοί τινα σῶσαι ἢ ὠφελῆσαι· ἀπολέσθωσαν λοιπὸν καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ ποιοῦντες αὐτά. καὶ εὐθέως λαβὼν ὁ ἔπαρχος τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν Πολυξένην ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ ἤκουσε παρ᾽ αὐτῶν καθεξῆς τὴν εἰς

Χριστὸν πίστιν καὶ εὐσέβειαν ἀπαραλείπτως, καὶ ἐπίστευσεν αὐτὸς καὶ πάντες οἱ ἐν τῇ πόλει· καὶ ἐγένετο χαρὰ μεγάλη καὶ δοξολογία εἰς θεόν· εἶπε δὲ ἡ Πολυξένη πρὸς τὸν ἔπαρχον· Μὴ ἀθύμει, κύριέ μου· ἐν τάχει γὰρ ἐλεύσεται ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ ἄνθρωπος, ὃς τελείως ὑμᾶς διδάξει, νουθετήσει, κατηχήσει, καὶ φωταγωγήσει εἰς τὴν ἐπίγνωσιν τοῦ Χριστοῦ. αὐτὴ δὲ συνταξαμένη ἔσπευδεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἱσπανίαν ἀπελθεῖν.

XXXVIII. Ἐμοῦ δ' Ὀνησίμου πλέοντος ἐπὶ τὴν Ἱσπανίαν πρὸς τὸν Παῦλον, ἐδεξάμην παρὰ κυρίου ἀποκάλυψιν λέγουσάν μοι· Ὀνήσιμε, τὸ πλοῖον ἐν ᾧ σὺ εἶ νῦν μέλλει καταντᾶν εἰς τὰ μέρη τῆς Ἑλλάδος· εὑρήσεις δὲ εἰς τὸν αἰγιαλὸν τοῦ λιμένος παρθένους δύο μετὰ καὶ νεανίσκου ἑνός· ὑπούργησον αὐτοῖς καὶ διάσωσον πρὸς τὸν Παῦλον. φθασάντων δὲ ἡμῶν ἐν τῷ τόπῳ κατὰ τὴν κέλευσιν τοῦ κυρίου, εὕρομεν τὰς παρθένους σὺν τῷ νεανίσκῳ ζητοῦντας πλοῖον. ὡς οὖν εἶδον ἡμᾶς αἱ παρθένοι, ἐπέγνωσαν ὅτι τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐλπίδος ἐσμέν· καὶ προσδραμοῦσα ἡ Πολυξένη λέγει· Ὄντως ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ ἄνθρωπος κρυβῆναι οὐ δύναται· τὸ γὰρ χαρίεν καὶ εὐμενὲς τοῦ προσώπου δῆλον αὐτὸν ποιεῖ. ζητούντων δὲ ἡμῶν ἀποπλεῦσαι, προνοίᾳ θεοῦ ἐταράχθη ἡ θάλασσα· ἦν δὲ μετ' ἐμοῦ μαθητὴς Παύλου ὀνόματι Λούκιος, δυνατὸς ἐν λόγῳ τοῦ διδάξαι τὴν πόλιν· ἐπεμείναμεν οὖν ἡμέρας ἑπτά, καὶ ἀνέῳξεν ὁ θεὸς τῷ τόπῳ ἐκείνῳ θύραν πίστεως μεγάλην, καὶ ἐπίστευσαν χιλιάδες εἴκοσι, καὶ γέγονεν χαρὰ μεγάλη καὶ ἀγαλλίασις ἐν πάσῃ τῇ πόλει· γενομένου δὲ ἐπιτηδείου πλόος τοῦ ἀποπλεῖν ἡμᾶς, πάλιν ὁ ἔπαρχος παρεβιάσατο ἡμᾶς, καὶ ἐπεμείναμεν ἄλλας ἡμέρας ἑπτά, ἕως οὗ πάντες ἐπίστευσαν καὶ ἔχαιρον ἐν κυρίῳ.

XXXIX. Καὶ οὕτως λοιπὸν τῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ προνοίᾳ προέπεμψεν ἡμᾶς ὁ ἔπαρχος μετὰ ἐφοδίων, συμπέμψας καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ· πλευσάντων δὲ ἡμῶν ἡμέρας εἴκοσι, πάνυ ἐκοπίασεν ἡ Πολυξένη, καὶ παρεβάλομεν εἰς νῆσόν τινα χάριν ἀναπαύσεως· καὶ ἰδοὺ ἄνδρες τινὲς ἄγριοι καὶ πεπωρωμένοι, καταβάντες πρὸς ἡμᾶς καὶ ἰδόντες τὴν Πολυξένην παρεσκευάσαντο εἰς πόλεμον. χαρίτι δὲ Χριστοῦ οἱ ἡμέτεροι ἀντιποιούμενοι τῆς Πολυξένης ἐνίκησαν αὐτούς. ἦσαν δὲ οἱ ἀλλόφυλοι ἄνδρες πλείονες καὶ δυνατώτεροι· ἡ οὖν Πολυξένη, φοβουμένη μὴ πάλιν αἰχμάλωτος γένηται, ἔρριψεν ἑαυτὴν εἰς τὴν θάλασ-

σαν· ὁ δὲ κυβερνήτης ἥρπασεν αὐτὴν μηδὲν κακὸν παθοῦσαν. ἐμβάντων δὲ ἡμῶν ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ ἐφύγομεν· ἦσαν γὰρ οἱ τόποι τραχεῖς καὶ κάθυλοι, καὶ ἐφοβήθημεν προσμεῖναι· καὶ δι' ἡμερῶν δώδεκα παρεγενόμεθα εἰς τὴν Ἱσπανίαν χάριτι θεοῦ.

XL. Ἰδὼν δὲ ἡμᾶς ὁ Παῦλος ἐχάρη πάνυ καὶ εἶπε· Καλῶς ἐληλύθατε, οἱ τεθλιμμένοι. ἡ δὲ Πολυξένη ἁψαμένη τῶν ποδῶν αὐτοῦ εἶπεν· Εἰ μὴ ὅτι προσέκειτό μοι ἡ θλῖψις αὕτη, ἐπεὶ ἐβλασφήμησα ἄν σε· νῦν δὲ δέομαι καὶ ἱκετεύω μὴ παραδοθῆναί με ἔτι εἰς τὰς τοιαύτας θλίψεις καὶ συμφοράς. ὁ δὲ Παῦλος δακρύσας εἶπεν· Οὕτως θλιβῆναι ἡμᾶς δεῖ, τέκνον, ἵνα τὸν ἀντιλήπτορα ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐπιγνῶμεν.

XLI. Ἡμῶν δὲ τὰ γράμματα τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἀποδιδόντων τῷ Παύλῳ, δραμών τις ἀπήγγειλε τὴν Ξανθίππην τὴν παρουσίαν τῆς Πολυξένης· ἡ δὲ σπεύσασα ἦλθε πρὸς ἡμᾶς, καὶ ἰδοῦσα τὴν Πολυξένην ἐξελύθη ἀπὸ τῆς ἀφάτου χαρᾶς καὶ ἔπεσε χαμαί. ἡ δὲ Πολυξένη περιπλακεῖσα αὐτὴν καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ ἀσπαζομένη ἀνεζωοποίησεν. τότε ἡ Ξανθίππη εἶπε πρὸς αὐτήν· Ἐγώ, γνησία μου ἀδελφὴ Πολυξένη, οὐδ' ὅλως προῆλθον ἐπὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέρας δεομένη πολλὰ ὑπέρ σου τοῦ φιλανθρώπου θεοῦ ὅπως μὴ κλαπῇ ἡ παρθενία σου· καὶ εἶπέ μοι ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ κῆρυξ Παῦλος ὅτι Οὐ μὴ κλαπήσεται ἡ παρθενία αὐτῆς, ἐλεύσεται δὲ τάχιον· καὶ ὁ Πρόβος δὲ ἔλεγέ μοι ὅτι Δεδομένον ἦν αὐτῇ ὑπὸ θεοῦ οὕτως θλιβῆναι. ὁρᾷς δὲ πῶς διὰ πολλῶν προφάσεων σώζει πολλοὺς ὁ θεός; νυνὶ δέ, ἀδελφή μου ἀγαπητή, ἀπροσδοκήτως ἰδοῦσα τὸ πρόσωπόν σου, νῦν ἡδέως ἄρτι ἀποθανοῦμαι.

XLII. Ὁ δὲ καθαρπάσας αὐτὴν ἐζήτει πάλιν τὴν Πολυξένην ἐπανελθών· ὃν ὁ μέγας Παῦλος ἔπεισεν ἀποστῆναι αὐτῆς· πιστεύσας δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐβαπτίσθη ὑπὸ Παύλου, ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ ὁ μνηστὴρ τῆς Πολυξένης ἐπίστευσε, καὶ ἦν χαρὰ μεγάλη ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ πόλει τῆς Ἱσπανίας ἐπὶ τῇ ἀνευρέσει τῆς Πολυξένης· ἡ δὲ ἔκτοτε οὐδ' ὅλως ἀπελείπετο τοῦ μακαρίου Παύλου, φοβουμένη τοὺς πειρασμούς. τούτων οὖν οὕτως γινομένων, πάντες ἔχαιρον ἐν κυρίῳ, δοξάζοντες πατέρα καὶ υἱὸν καὶ ἅγιον πνεῦμα, τὸν ἕνα θεόν, ᾧ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.

ON THE STORY OF ZOSIMUS.

THE publication of this narrative is but the first step towards the opening of a considerable literature, as yet little known, which bears upon the famous legends of the Lost Ten Tribes, and of the Terrestrial Paradise[1]. It is so large a subject that I cannot undertake in this short Introduction to do more than point to some of the documents which it will be desirable further to investigate with the view of throwing light upon these myths: and one of these myths, that of the Lost Tribes, has gained so large an acceptance in our own day, that it will not be without interest to collect some of the earlier Christian literature of the subject. It will be right in the first place to set down the facts, as far as they are known to me, which relate to the document before us.

It is here printed on the authority of two MSS., one of which is late and imperfect. That on which I depend principally for the text is Cod. Par. Gr. 1217, of the xiith century, in which the book occupies ff. 145—153, being preceded by the life of S. Theodora, and followed by that of SS. Theophanes and Pansemne. This MS. is cited as A in the *apparatus criticus:* its text is at least intelligible throughout.

My other authority, cited as B, is the Bodleian MS. Canonic. Gr. 19, of the xvth or xvith century, which had already furnished a copy of the Testament of Abraham. Its text of Zosimus is, as I have said, only a fragment, extending to within a few words

[1] For the Jewish literature on the Tribes-legend, see Mr Neubauer's excellent articles in the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, 1888—89.

of the end of c. viii.: the scribe's colophon tells us that his archetype was imperfect. The text occupies ff. 289—292*b*, and is the 44th item in the volume, coming between the Didascalia of Macarius to the monks and the Acts of S. George the Martyr by Pancratius (*l.* Pasicrates).

No other MS. of the book has been accessible to me: there is one at Moscow (MS. Synod. 290, no. 14) noticed by Matthaei, and from him in Fabricius, *Bibl. Gr.* xi. 724 ed. Harles. Doubtless other copies exist in European libraries, concealed by faulty description.

There are, further, versions of the book, both printed and in MS. The Slavonic apocryphal literature, from which we may expect very valuable accessions to our knowledge, contains this book also. I subjoin the brief notice of it given by Kozak in his excellent list of the Slavonic Apocrypha (*Jahrb. f. Prot. Theol.* xviii. 158).

No. xliv. "Peregrinatio Zosimae ad Brachmanos." It stands as no. 50 in the Slavonic Index of forbidden books. It has been printed by Tichonravov in *Pamjatniki otrečhennoj russkoj litteratury* ii. 78—81 and 81—92: also by Vesselovskij in the *Journal des Ministeriums für Volksaufklärung*, June 1884, pp. 158—164.

At the prayer of Zosimas an Angel takes him to the land of the happy Brachmani, where for some time he lives: their mode of life is described. He then returns to his cave with the help of the Angel, and before his death delivers to his disciples the description of the Brachmani. In the same list will be found a notice of a similar document of which the hero is Agapetus.

A second version of the story exists in Syriac: of this there are at Paris two copies, and an abridgement (Zotenberg, *Cat. MSS. Syrr.*, nos. 234, 235, 256), and at least one in the British Museum (Wright, *Cat. MSS. Syrr.* 960, no. 34). This professes to have been translated from Hebrew into Greek, and from Greek into Syriac, this latter version being attributed to Jacob of Edessa. The title given is merely 'Vision of Zosimus concerning the Rechabites,' and it seems likely that the text will be found to correspond closely enough with the Greek.

Of a third version, the Ethiopic, we know rather more. In Wright's *Catalogue of the Ethiopic MSS. in the Brit. Mus.* (Cod.

381, no. 4), and in Zotenberg's catalogue of the Ethiopic MSS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Cod. 146, no. 6) a good many extracts are given, as well as an analysis. It will be useful to combine the information which we gather from the two accounts.

The title is:

A history of the Holy Men in the days of Jeremiah the Prophet.

'Hearken, brethren; we will tell you an unheard of history concerning the holy and righteous men which were in the days of Jeremias the prophet the son of Chelcias. There reigned a king named Sedecias, the son of Josias, and he walked not in the ways of his father, but made to himself graven images and idols and worshipped those images in secret: and he began to say openly "I am <not> the son of David, of the house of Judah!" And these words were heard in Jerusalem and in all the country round about. And when the righteous men heard this from Jerusalem they sorrowed in their heart with a great sorrow and went and told Jeremias the prophet. And when he heard these words he lamented and mourned exceedingly, and stood before the Lord and said: "O Lord God of my fathers, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, wilt thou do all these things in my days? am I thy servant a sinner?" And the Lord answered Jeremias and said to him: "Fear not, my servant Jeremias."'

Jeremiah rebukes Zedekiah: his disciples Baruch and Hormizd are mentioned. He is imprisoned, is fed by Abimelech (Ebed-melech) and released by an angel after three days. He conceals the sacred vessels in a cave on the mount of olives, which is sealed by an angel.

By God's command he then leads out of Jerusalem all those who are righteous and keep the law: the Rechabites are apparently not specially mentioned. Their wives and children accompany them. They all strip themselves of their clothes and are carried by an angel to an island where they dwell in perfect happiness: and here God makes known to them the destiny of Israel.

After the return from the captivity, Alexander comes to Jerusalem. 'And he gathered together the priests of Israel and their princes; and he answered and said unto them: Give me the scarlet cloak (chlamys) of the kings of Judah.' They refuse

it, and are all massacred save one. 'And one escaped of them and entered in and stood at the threshold of the Holy House and struck the threshold with his feet three times and said: Zacharias, Zacharias, art thou not satisfied with us? behold all they are slain that slew thee. For aforetime Zacharias the son of Barachias prophesied concerning the coming of our Lord, saying "Rejoice, O daughter of Sion," etc. And because of this, therefore they slew him upon the threshold of the Holy House,' where his blood continued to boil[1].

'And after the king had killed the priests, he took the scarlet mantle and wore it for three days: and after that he put that robe from off him...and said: O Lord, my Lord, what wilt thou that I should do unto this robe? And he left it: and he went and came to the land of the blessed and passed through unto them and inquired of them concerning their coming and their abiding in that land.' Having learned their history, he departs.

'And after that our Lord had ascended into heaven, the apostles preached in all lands and baptized much people in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost. And churches were built in all lands.

'Now there was one monk who dwelt on the banks of the Jordan in a certain cave (?), and his name was Gerasimus. And he took the Book of the King Alexander and read therein, and he came to the history of those blessed and holy men and he prayed in his heart and said: O Lord Jesus Christ, I pray and beseech thee that I may go unto them.'.....

His prayer is granted. He rides on a lion's back to the shore of the great sea: here two trees extend their branches, and he catches hold of them and is wafted across the sea to the island. He tells the inhabitants that he came from Greece to Jerusalem, where he received the baptism of Christ in the river Jordan. He had then taken vows in a convent dedicated to S. John, where were 59 monks. Here he had lived forty-six years. He tells them further how he had reached their island. In return, they tell him their own story: *inter alia* 'And the Lord made us

[1] This legend, which is not uncommon in Jewish books, is generally associated with the massacre under Nebuzar-Adan.

dwell in this land and clothed us with heavenly clothing, both us and our wives, and gave us food from these trees and drink from this fountain: and our wives dwell apart from us from year to year. They do not come together with us save once, and they do not sleep with us' (cf. c. x.). They are warned of the approach of Lent by the withering of the trees, and the drying up of the fountain (cf. c. xii.). They are subject to death (cf. c. xiii.). They know of Christ through the promises of the prophets. Here a summary of Jewish history from the time of Moses is inserted, which contains an extract from the *Conflict of Adam*. They had been shewn in a series of visions the circumstances of the birth and life of Christ. Abbâ Gerasimus is finally compelled to leave the island because he had tried to make his host tell a lie (cf. c. vi.).

This Ethiopic version of the story has taken great liberties with its original. The Alexander-Romance and the *Rest of the words of Baruch*, with other legends, have been used in the first part of the story, and the Christian element in the second part has been much enlarged. In the Ethiopic Romance of Alexander (not that analysed by Dr Budge in his *Alexander the Great*) the episode of the Greek hero's visit to the Islands of the Blest occurs in cc. viii., ix. (see Zotenberg's analysis, *Cat. MSS. Éth.* p. 244). He catches certain large but mild birds which he induces, by tying pieces of meat in front of their eyes, to carry him over the sea to the Islands in question: here the sun rises when it sets for us: the water of the spring is sweet, and there are fountains of wine. In the neighbourhood of this country, it would seem, he meets Enoch and Elias in a 'spiritual tent': after an interview, in which they describe their manner of life, a fiery chariot comes and takes them away.

Lastly, there is an Arabic version of the book: copies of this exist at Paris. (Anc. fonds 170, 171. Supplément 91, 92, 93.)

For the purpose of comparison with our text, I will in the next place print two extracts from two widely different books which bear upon the story of the Lost Tribes. I have elsewhere (*Psalms of Solomon*, notes on Ps. xi.: *Revel. of Peter*, p. 70) called attention to the similarity that exists between these passages. One is taken from the Ethiopic *Conflict of Matthew*, translated by Malan (*Conflicts of the Holy Apostles*, p. 44): this book itself goes back

to a Coptic original. The other passage is found, in two forms closely resembling one another, in the poems of Commodian (cir. 250). I quote from Dombart's text.

I. (*a*) *Instr.* ii. 1. *De populo absconso sancto omnipotentis Christi Dei uiui.*

Desidet <populus> absconsus ultimus sanctus,
Et quidem ignotus a nobis ubi moretur.
Per nouem tribuum <cum> agant et dimidiam ipsi
Omissae duae tribuum haec sunt et dimidia nobis.
24 ..... illa est gens uera caelestis.
Non natus ante patrem moritur ibi, neque dolores
In suis corporibus sentiunt uel ulcera nata.
Pausantes in lecto suo mature recedunt
Omnia conplentes legis, ideoque tutantur.

(*b*) *Carmen Apologeticum* 941 sqq.

Tunc Deus omnipotens, terminet ut cuncta, quae dixi,
Producet populum celatum tempore multo.
Sunt autem Iudaei trans Persida flumine clausi
Quos usque in finem uoluit Deus ibi morari
945 Captiuitas illos ibidem redegit ut essent;
Ex duodena tribu noue<m> semis ibi morantur.
Mendacium ibi non est [sed] neque odium ullum;
Idcirco nec moritur filius suos ante parentes;
Nec mortuos plangunt nec lugunt more de nostro,
950 Expectant quoniam resurrectionem[que] futuram.
Non animam ullam uescuntur additis escis,
Sed olera tantum, quod sit sine sanguine fuso.
Iustitia pleni inlibato corpore uiuunt,
In illis nec genesis exercet impia uires[1].
955 Non febres accedunt in illis, non frigora saeua,
Obtemperant quoniam uniuersa candide legis;
Quae nos et ipsi sequemur pure uiuentes;
Mors tantum aderat et labor, nam cetera surda.

[1] Compare Clem. *Recogn.* viii. 48; ix. 19. Eus. *Praep. Ev.* vi. 10. 14, 35.

II. Malan, *Conflicts of the Holy Apostles*, p. 44. "And it came to pass when Peter and Andrew came from Syria that they confirmed the people in the truth, and taught them the faith.

And as they were walking in the road they met Matthew, and they all joined together in a spiritual greeting.

And Matthew said to them: Whence come ye now? They replied: From the country of Syria. And Matthew said to them: I also come from the country of Prokumonos, which means 'rejoicing.' And they told one another of the trouble they had met with.

And Matthew said to them: In the city in which I was, does our Lord dwell at all times with the people, and converses with them; and His seat is in the Church; and He teaches them His commandments.

And when I came into their city I preached to them and brought them glad tidings in His name. But they said to me: We also know this name; and tarry here until the morrow, that thou mayest see Him who has taught it to us.

Then on the morrow came our Lord sitting upon a brilliant cloud. And when I saw Him I rejoiced in my spirit, and cried saying: Give ye glory to the King of Glory. And we abode three days to bless the Church. And at the end of the third day He blessed us, and went up into the heavens in great glory.

And I asked them: Whence were ye thought worthy of this great honour, that our Lord should converse with you?

And they said unto me: Hast thou not heard the good news respecting the nine orders and a half order [of angels] whom God brought to the earth?

And about mid-day Gabriel, the Angel of God, came to us, and with him came also to us a hundred and forty-four thousand children who had been slain, and who had not defiled their garments in the world; and as they said *Hallelujah!* we said it with them. And we want neither gold nor silver in our land, neither do we eat flesh or drink wine; but we feed on honey and drink of the dew. And we do not look on our wives with the lust of sin, and all our first-born sons we present unto the Lord as an offering, to serve in His holy temple all the days of their life from three years; and the water we drink is not from springs,

but from the leaves of trees growing in gardens. Neither do we wear garments made by the hand of man; nor is a word of lying heard in our land. No man marries two wives neither does the son die before his father. The young do not speak before the old; our women dwell with us, they neither corrupt us nor we them; and when the wind blows we smell through it the smell of gardens (Eden ?). In our land there is neither summer nor winter, neither cold nor hoar frost; but on the contrary, a breath of life.

And when I heard this of them I wished to dwell among them; and my ears grew weary of hearing their voice.

Then Peter and Andrew blessed God for His having revealed to their eyes the place to which they were to go."

It is almost self-evident that the words, 'nine orders and a half order [of angels] whom God brought to the earth,' contain a mistranslation. The true rendering must be, 'nine tribes and a half tribe whom God brought to this land.' The allusion to the 144000 Innocents brings the passage above into connexion with Greek legend: for in the Greek *Acta Matthaei* (Tischendorf, *Acta Apost. Apocr.* p. 168) we have an indication that in a part of these Acts now lost, which preceded the portion which we possess, Matthew had seen a vision of Paradise and of the souls of the Innocents. Out of the several clauses which prove this, it will be enough to quote one. Matthew says to our Lord, who appears to him in the form of a child: *ὅτι μὲν ἴδον σε ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ ὡς ἔψαλλες μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων νηπίων τῶν ἀναιρεθέντων ἐν Βηθλεὲμ, ἀκριβῶς ἐπίσταμαι· πῶς δὲ ἐνταῦθα ἐλήλυθας ἄφνω πάνυ με τοῦτο θαυμάζει.*

The recurrence of the description of the Lost Tribes in three documents so widely separated in origin and date as are the Story of Zosimus, the Conflict of Matthew, and the poems of Commodian, seems to me to point to the fact that in some earlier lost book, and that most likely a Jewish Apocalypse[1], there occurred a

[1] If a conjecture is to be hazarded, I would suggest that the *Prophecy of Eldad and Modad* may have dealt with the matter. The Targum says that, according to some, these two elders prophesied of Armillus and the last times. If this were so, we might be able to see a reason for the assumption of the name Eldad by the famous impostor who in the ninth century pretended to have visited the Ten Tribes in their distant dwelling place. See Neubauer l.c. p. 98 sqq. The impassable river

description, perhaps more detailed than any that we possess, of the manner of life of this mysterious people in their hidden abode. Whether the people in question were the Rechabites or the nine and a half tribes, is not quite obvious: but it may be provisionally said that it is more likely that the small clan of the Rechabites, with their ascetic customs, would find favour with the Christian monastic imagination, than that the nine and a half tribes would be substituted for them.

As to the history of the Greek document before us, we have seen (p. 87) that it was placed on the Slavonic Index of prohibited books. One other fact is known to me. The Canon of Nicephorus Homologeta (c. 850) condemns certain late Apocryphal books (Fabric. *Cod. Apocr. N. T.* i. 951).

Canon

3. Τὴν Ἀποκάλυψιν Παύλου καὶ
τὰ λεγόμενα βροντολόγια καὶ σεληνοδρόμια ἢ
καλανδολόγια[1] οὐ χρὴ δέχεσθαι, βέβηλα γὰρ πάντα.
4. Τὴν Ἀποκάλυψιν Ἔσδρα[2] καὶ
Ζωσιμᾶ καὶ
τὰ δύο μαρτύρια τοῦ ἁγίου Γεωργίου καὶ
τῶν ἁγίων μαρτύρων Κηρύκου (Κυριακοῦ)
καὶ Ἰουλίττης καὶ
τὴν βίβλον Μάρκου καὶ (or τοῦ) Διαδόχου
οὐ χρὴ δέχεσθαι, ἀπόβλητα γὰρ καὶ οὐ δεκτά.

There seems to be no reason to doubt that the book condemned under the name of Ἀποκάλυψις Ζωσιμᾶ is that here printed. If so, we gain the knowledge that it was sufficiently popular in the ninth century to be worth condemning. That the topic of which it treats had been popular among Christians since the third century at least has been already shown by the con-

Eumeles in Zosimus recalls the famous river of stones, the Sambatyon (p. 102). The story that the life of these Israelites is wonderfully prolonged, and that no child dies before its parents (see Commodian) occurs in Eldad's account (p. 101).

The Rechabites are mentioned in a xvith century account by Abraham Yagel (p. 415).

[1] Such as those attributed to David and Esdras.

[2] Probably that edited by Tischendorf, *Apocall. Apocrr.*

vincing evidence of Commodian. In the form in which it now appears it need not be earlier than the fifth or sixth century.

I claim for it a certain vigour of imagination. It seems to me to rise to a considerable pitch of excellence in its description of the death of the righteous: and the circumstances of the expulsion of Zosimus from the Earthly Paradise, and of his conflict with the devil are examples of a kind of designedly humorous writing, which we are too apt to ascribe to a deficiency in the sense of humour when we meet with it in quasi-sacred literature.

The design of the little book is plain enough. It is meant to set before the monastic communities of the East an ideal of the ascetic life.

Διήγησις Ζωσίμου εἰς τὸν βίον τῶν μακάρων.

[*κύριε εὐλόγησον.*]

I. Κατ' *ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν ἐκ τῆς ἐρήμου ὑπῆρχεν ἀνήρ τις ὀνόματι Ζώσιμος, ὃς οὐκ ἔφαγεν ἄρτον ἐπὶ ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα, καὶ οἶνον οὐκ ἔπιεν καὶ πρόσωπον ἀνθρώπου οὐχ ἑόρακεν· οὗτος ἦν παρακαλῶν τὸν θεὸν ἵνα ἴδῃ τὴν διοίκησιν τῶν μακάρων· καὶ ἰδοὺ ἄγγελος κυρίου ἀπεστάλη λέγων αὐτῷ· Ζώσιμε, ἄνθρωπε τοῦ θεοῦ, ἰδοὺ ἀπεστάλην ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὑψίστου, τοῦ τῶν ὅλων θεοῦ, εἰπεῖν σοι ὅτι πεπορεύσῃ εἰς τοὺς μάκαρας, οὐ κατοικήσεις δὲ μετ' αὐτῶν. ἀλλὰ μὴ ὑψώσῃς τὴν καρδίαν σου εἰπών· Ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα ἄρτον οὐκ ἔφαγον· ὁ γὰρ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ ὑπὲρ ἄρτον ἐστὶν, καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ θεοῦ ὑπὲρ οἶνόν ἐστιν· τὸ γὰρ εἰπεῖν σε Πρόσωπον ἀνθρώπου οὐκ εἶδον· ἰδοὺ τὸ πρόσωπον τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως ἐγγύς σου. ὁ δὲ Ζώσιμος ἔφη· Οἶδα ὅτι ὅσα ἂν θέλῃ ὁ κύριος δύναται. ὁ δὲ ἄγγελος εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτόν· Γνῶθι καὶ τοῦτο, ὅτι πρὸς ἕνα τῶν γευμάτων αὐτῶν οὐκ εἶ ἄξιος· πλὴν ἀναστὰς πορεύου.*

A = Cod. Par. Gr. 1219. B = Cod. Bodl. Canon. Gr. 19.

Title; λόγος *τῶν ἁγίων μακαρίων τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν ζωσίμου εὐλόγησον* B 1, 2 *ἐκ—ὀνόματι*] *ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ ἦν παρακαλῶν τὸν θν̄ ὑπάρχων ἀνὴρ ὀνόματι* B 2 *ἐπὶ*] om A 4, 5 *ἴδῃ—μακάρων*] *ἀξιωθῆ εἰδεῖν τοὺς μακαρίους* B 5 *ἀπεστάλη*] *ἐπέστη* B 6 *ἀπὸ τοῦ*] *ἐκ θεοῦ* B 7, 8 *ὅτι—μετ' αὐτῶν*] *ὡς ἂν πορεύσῃ σὺν ἐμοὶ καὶ ἴδῃς τοὺς μακαρίους καὶ λάβοις τὰς αὐτῶν διηγήσεις καὶ τὰς πράξεις* B 9 *εἰπών*] *καὶ μὴ εἴπῃς ἐν σεαυτῷ ὅτι* B *ὁ γὰρ*] *καὶ γὰρ ὁ* B 10, 11 *καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα—Πρόσωπον*] *καὶ ὑπὲρ πᾶσαν βρῶσιν ανω̄ινην τὸ γὰρ λογίσασθαί σοι ὅτι πρόσωπον* B 11 *εἶδον*] *οἶδες οὐκ ἐστίν σοι πολὴν* B 12, 13 *ἐγγύς—δύναται*] *ἔγγιστά σου ἦν καθεκάστην· ὁ δὲ ζώσιμος ἔφη· ἐγὼ οἶδα ὅτι γῆ καὶ σποδὸς εἰμὶ καὶ ἐξουθένημα λαοῦ· πάντα γὰρ δυνατὰ τῷ θεῷ* B 15 *γευμάτων αὐτῶν*] *γιγάντων* B

II. Ἐγὼ δὲ Ζώσιμος ἐξελθὼν ἐκ τοῦ σπηλαίου μου, τοῦ θεοῦ με προάγοντος, ἐπορευόμην μὴ ἐπιστάμενος τὴν ὁδὸν ποῦ ἀπέρχομαι· καὶ ὁδεύσας ἡμέρας τεσσαράκοντα ὠλιγοψύχησεν τὸ πνεῦμά μου καὶ ἐξελύθη τὸ σῶμά μου, καὶ ἀκηδιάσας ἐκαθέσθην, καὶ ἦν προσευχόμενος ἐν τῷ τόπῳ ἐκείνῳ ἐπὶ ἡμέρας τρεῖς· καὶ ἰδοὺ ἦλθεν ζῶον ἐκ τῆς ἐρήμου, ὄνομα αὐτῷ κάμηλος· καὶ θήσας τὰ γόνατα εἰς τὴν γῆν ἔλαβέν με εἰς τὸν τράχηλον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπορεύθη εἰς τὴν ἔρημον καὶ ἀπέθετό με. καὶ ἦν ἀλαλαγμὸς τῶν θηρίων ἐκεῖ πολὺς, καὶ βρυγμὸς, καὶ ἰὸς θανατηφόρος. ἔμφοβος δὲ γενόμενος προσηυξάμην πρὸς κύριον, καὶ ἐγένετο σεισμὸς ἐν τῷ τόπῳ ἐκείνῳ πολὺς μετ' ἠχοῦς· καὶ ἐφύσησεν λαῖλαψ ἀνέμου καὶ ἐκίνησέν με ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς καὶ ὕψωσέν με εἰς τὸ πτερύγιον αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἤμην προσευχόμενος καὶ πορευόμενος, καὶ ἔστησέν με ἐπὶ τόπου ποταμώδους· καὶ ὄνομα τῷ ποταμῷ Εὐμέλης. καὶ ἰδοὺ βουλομένου μου διέρχεσθαι τὸν ποταμὸν, ἐβόησέν τις ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος λέγων· Ζώσιμε, ἄνθρωπε τοῦ θεοῦ, οὐ δυνάσαι διελθεῖν δι' ἐμοῦ· οὐ γὰρ δύναται ὁ ἄνθρωπος τὰ ὕδατά μου διακόψαι, ἀλλ' ἢ κατανόησον ἄνω τῶν ὑδάτων ἕως τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. καὶ κατανοήσας εἶδον τεῖχος νεφέλης κρατοῦν ἀπὸ τῶν ὑδάτων ἕως τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. καὶ εἶπεν ἡ νεφέλη· Ζώσιμε, ἄνθρωπε τοῦ θεοῦ, δι' ἐμοῦ οὐ διέρχεται πετεινὸν ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου τούτου, οὐδὲ πνοὴ ἀνέμου οὐδὲ αὐτὸς ὁ ἥλιος, οὐδὲ ὁ πειράζων ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ τούτῳ δύναται διελθεῖν δι' ἐμοῦ.

III. Ἐγὼ δὲ ἐξέστην ἐπὶ τοῖς ῥήμασιν τούτοις καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ φωνῇ τῇ λεγούσῃ μοι ταῦτα· καὶ ἐμοῦ προσευχομένου, ἰδοὺ δύο δένδρα ἀνεφύησαν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς, καλοείδη καὶ εὐπρεπέστατα,

II 1 ἐξελθὼν] ἀναστὰς B 1—3 μου—τεσσαράκοντα] καθὰ ἐνετείλατό μοι ὁ ἄγγελος οὐκ οἶδειν ποῦ ἀπέρχωμαι ἐπὶ ἡμέρας ὁδοιπορήσας ἱκανὰς B 4 μου (pri.)] om B 4, 5 ἀκηδιάσας—ἦν] ἀκηδιάσθην κ. ἐκαθέστην κ. ἤμην B 6 ὄνομα αὐτῷ] ὀνόματι B 7 θήσας—γῆν] θῆς τὰ γόνατα αὐτῆς B 8 εἰς] om A ἀπέθετό με] ἀπέλθετώ με ἐκεῖ B 9 βρυγμὸς] βρωμὸς B 10 ἔμφοβος δὲ γενόμ.] φοβηθεὶς δὲ ἐγὼ B 11 σεισμὸς] συσυσμὸς B πολὺς] om B 13 εἰς] ἐπὶ B 14 καὶ πορευόμ.] σὺν τῷ ἀνέμω καὶ οὐκ ἐγίνωσκον ποῦ πορεβόμην B τόπου ποταμ.] ποταμοῦ B 15 τῷ ποτ. Εὐμ.] τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐκείνου εὔμιλος B 15, 16 διέρχεσθαι] πορέβεσθαι καὶ διέρχ. B 16 τις—ὕδατος] τὸ ὕδωρ B 18 ὁ] om B διακόψαι] διελθεῖν B ἀλλ' ἢ κατανόησον] ἀλλὰ κατανόησον καὶ ἴδε B 19 ἄνω] ἀπὸ B κατανοήσας] κατενόησα καὶ B 20 κρατοῦν—ἕως] κρατουμένης ἕως B 21 νεφέλη] + πρός με B 22, 23 οὐδὲ—ἥλιος] om B

III 25, 26 καὶ ἐπὶ—ταῦτα] om B 27 ἀνεφύησαν] ἀνεφάνησαν A

γέμοντα καρπῶν εὐωδίας· καὶ κλιθὲν τὸ δένδρον ἐντεῦθεν ἔλαβέν με ἐπὶ τὴν κορυφὴν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὑψώθη σφόδρα ἀνάμεσον τοῦ ποταμοῦ, καὶ ὑπήντησέν μοι τὸ ἄλλο δένδρον καὶ ἐδέξατό με ἐν τοῖς κλάδοις αὐτοῦ, καὶ κλιθὲν ἔστησέν με ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, καὶ ἀνυψώθησαν τὰ ἀμφότερα δένδρα, καὶ ἔστησάν με ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ πέραν. καὶ ἀνεπαυσάμην ἡμέρας τρεῖς ἐν τῷ τόπῳ ἐκείνῳ, καὶ πάλιν ἀναστὰς ἐπορευόμην ὅπου δ' ἂν οὐκ ἐγίνωσκον, καὶ ἦν ὁ τόπος ἐκεῖνος πλήρης εὐωδίας πολλῆς, καὶ οὐκ ἦν ὄρος ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα, ἀλλ' ἦν ὁ τόπος ἐκεῖνος πεδινὸς ἀνθοφορῶν, ὅλος ἐστεφανωμένος, καὶ πᾶσα ἡ γῆ εὐπρεπής.

IV. Καὶ εἶδον ἐκεῖ ἄνθρωπον γυμνὸν καθήμενον καὶ εἶπον ἐν ἑαυτῷ· Ἆρα μὴ οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ πειράζων; καὶ ἐμνήσθην τῆς φωνῆς τῆς νεφέλης ὅτι εἶπέν μοι ὅτι Οὐ διέρχεται δι' ἐμοῦ οὔτε αὐτὸς ὁ πειράζων ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ. καὶ οὕτως θαρρήσας εἶπον πρὸς αὐτόν· Χαίροις, ἀδελφέ. καὶ αὐτὸς ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπέν μοι· Ἡ χάρις τοῦ θεοῦ μου μετά σου. καὶ πάλιν εἶπον πρὸς αὐτόν· Εἰπέ μοι, ἄνθρωπε τοῦ θεοῦ, τίς εἶ; καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπέν μοι· Σὺ γὰρ τίς εἶ; καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς ἐγὼ εἶπον πάντα τὰ περὶ ἐμοῦ, καὶ ὅτι ηὐξάμην πρὸς κύριον καὶ ἤνεγκέν με ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ. καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπέν μοι· Κἀγὼ γινώσκω ὅτι ἄνθρωπος τοῦ θεοῦ εἶ σύ· εἰ δὲ μή γε, οὐκ ἂν διῆλθες τὴν νεφέλην καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ τὸν ἀέρα· τὸ γὰρ πλάτος τοῦ ποταμοῦ ὡς ἀπὸ μιλίων τριάκοντα, ἡ δὲ νεφέλη ἕως τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, τὸ δὲ βάθος τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἕως τῶν ἀβύσσων.

V. Καὶ πληρώσας τὸν λόγον τοῦτον ὁ ἄνθρωπος εἶπεν πάλιν· Σὺ ἐκ τῆς ματαιότητος τοῦ κόσμου ἦλθες ὧδε; ἐγὼ δὲ εἶπον αὐτῷ· Διατί γυμνὸς ὑπάρχεις; καὶ εἶπεν· Πόθεν ἔγνως ὅτι γυμνὸς ὑπάρχω; σὺ γὰρ φορῶν δέρματα ἐκ τῶν προβάτων

1 τὸ δένδρον ἐντ.] τὸ ἓν δένδρων B 2 ἐπὶ] εἰς B ὑψώθη—ἀνάμεσον] ἀνυψώθη σφόδρα καὶ ἐκλήθην ἀνάμ. B 3 μοι] om A 4, 5 ἀνυψώθ.] ὑψώθ. B 7 δ' ἂν] om B 8, 9 ἔνθα] ἔνθεν (bis) B 9 ἀνθοφ.] ἄφθορος A 9, 10 ἐστεφαν.] στεφαν. B

IV 11 καθήμενον] om B 12 ἑαυτῷ] αὐτῷ B 13, 14 δι' ἐμοῦ οὔτε αὐτὸς] om B 14 κόσμῳ]+τούτῳ B 16 τοῦ θεοῦ μου] om A 17 ἀποκριθεὶς] πάλιν ἀποκρ. B 18, 19 καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς—ὅτι] κἀγὼ ἀποκρ. λέγω αὐτῷ Ὅτι B 21 σύ] om B εἰ—διῆλθες] οὐ γὰρ οὐκ ἦν πῶς ἦν δυνατὸν τοῦ διελθεῖν B 22 τὸν ἀέρα] τῷ ἀέρι A ποταμοῦ] οὐρανοῦ B 23 ἕως ἐκ B 24 ἀβύσσων]+ἐστίν B

V 25 ὁ ἄνθρ.] om B 26 πάλιν] μοι B κόσμου]+ἦν καὶ B 27 αὐτῷ] om B 27—1 (p. 99) καὶ εἶπεν—φθειρόμ.] κ. πάλιν ἀποκριθεὶς λέγει μοι· Ἐπέγνω σεαυτῷ

τῆς γῆς ὑπάρχεις, καὶ αὐτὰ φθειρόμενα σὺν τῷ σώματί σου· ἀλλὰ κατανόησον <ἐν> τῷ ὑψώματι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ θέασαι τὸ ἔνδυμά μου ποῖόν ἐστιν. καὶ θεασάμενος ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ εἶδον τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ ὡσεὶ πρόσωπον ἀγγέλου, καὶ τὸ ἔνδυμα αὐτοῦ ὡς ἀστραπὴν, ἡ ἐξ ἀνατολῶν εἰς δυσμὰς πορευομένη, καὶ ἐφοβήθην σφόδρα, νομίσας ὅτι υἱὸς θεοῦ ἦν, καὶ ἐγενήθην ἔντρομος, πεσὼν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν. καὶ δεδωκὼς χεῖρα ἀνέστησέν με λέγων· Ἀνάστα· κἀγὼ εἷς εἰμὶ τῶν μακάρων· δεῦρο σὺν ἐμοὶ, ὅπως ἄξω σε πρὸς τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους. καὶ κρατήσας τῆς χειρός μου συμπεριεπάτησέν μοι καὶ ἤγαγέν με ἐπί τινα ὄχλον, καὶ ἦσαν ἐν τῷ ὄχλῳ ἐκείνῳ πρεσβῦται ὅμοιοι υἱοὶ θεοῦ· καὶ ἦσαν παριστάμενοι νεανίσκοι τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις. ἀπελθόντος δὲ ἐμοῦ ἔγγιστα αὐτῶν, εἶπαν· Οὗτος ἐκ τῆς ματαιότητος τοῦ κόσμου ἐλήλυθεν ὧδε· δεῦτε δεηθῶμεν κυρίου καὶ φανερώσει ἡμῖν τὸ μυστήριον τοῦτο. μὴ ἄρα τὸ τέλος ἔφθασεν, ὅτι ἄνθρωπος τῆς ματαιότητος ἦλθεν ὧδε; καὶ ἀναστάντες ἐδεήθησαν τοῦ κυρίου ὁμοθυμαδόν· καὶ ἰδοὺ ἄγγελοι δύο κατέβησαν ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν καὶ εἶπαν· Μὴ φοβήθητε τὸν ἄνδρα, ὅτι ἀπέσταλκεν αὐτὸν ὁ θεὸς, ἵνα ποιήσῃ ἑπτὰ ἡμέρας καὶ λάβῃ τὰς διοικήσεις ὑμῶν, καὶ τότε ἐκπορεύεται καὶ ἀπελεύσεται ἐν τῷ τόπῳ αὐτοῦ. οἱ δὲ ἄγγελοι τοῦ θεοῦ εἰπόντες ταῦτα ἀνέβησαν εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐνώπιον τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἡμῶν.

VI. Τότε παρέδωκάν με οἱ πρεσβύτεροι τῶν μακάρων τινὶ τῶν ὑπηρετῶν, λέγοντες· Φύλαξον αὐτὸν ἕως ἡμερῶν ἑπτά. παραλαβών με οὖν ὁ ὑπηρέτης ἀπήγαγέν με εἰς τὸ σπήλαιον

ἄνθρωπε ὅτι γυμνὸς ὑπάρχεις τέλειος καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ κέχρησαι κ. δέρμα προβάτων κ. αὐτὰ φθήρωνται B 3 ποῖον] ὁποῖον B θεασάμ.] ἐθεασάμην ἐγὼ ὁ ταπεινὸς B εἶδον] καὶ ἰδὼν B 5 ἡ] om B πορευομένη] πορεβόμενον B 6 σφόδρα νομίσας] om A ἦν] ἐστὶν B ἐγενήθην] ἐγενόμην B 7 δεδ. χεῖρα] δεδ. μοι χ. αὐτοῦ B 8 Ἀνάστα] om A εἰμὶ] + ἐκ B μακάρων] μακαρίων B σὺν ἐμοὶ] om A 9 ὅπως ἄξω] ἵνα ἀπάξω B πρεσβ.] μακαρίους B κρατήσας] + με ἐκ B 10 μου] om B συμπεριεπ. μοι] συμπεριεπάτη μετ' ἐμοῦ B ὄχλον] + πολλὴν B 11 ὅμοιοι υἱοὶ θεοῦ] ὁμοι υἱοι θῦ A; ὅμοιοι υἱω τῶ θῶ B 12 πρεσβυτέροις] πρεσβύταις B δὲ ἐμοῦ] μου δὲ A 13 οὗτος] + ὁ ἄνθρωπος B τοῦ κόσμου] om B 14 ὧδε] om A κυρίου] κῶ τῶ θῶ B 15 τέλος] + ἡμῶν B 16 ἦλθεν] ἐλήλυθεν B ἀναστάντες] + ἐπορεύθησαν καὶ B τοῦ κυρίου] κῶ τῶ θῶ B 17 δύο] om B 18 εἶπαν] + αὐτοὺς B φοβήθ.] φοβεῖσθε B 19 διοικήσεις] διηγήσεις B 20 τότε ἐκπορ.] πάλιν πορ. B καὶ ἀπελ.—αὐτοῦ] εἰς τὸν ἴδιον τόπον B 21 ἀνέβησαν] ἀνήλθωσαν B

VI 23 τῶν μακ.] om B τινὶ] ἕνα A 25 με οὖν] δέ με B

αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἤμεθα ὑποκάτω δένδρου διοικούμενοι. ἀπὸ γὰρ τῆς ἕκτης ὥρας ἕως ἕκτης, τότε ἠσθίομεν· καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ ἐξήρχετο ἀπὸ τῆς ῥίζης τοῦ δένδρου γλυκὺ ὑπὲρ τὸ μέλι· καὶ ἐπίνομεν πρὸς τὸν κόρον ἡμῶν, καὶ πάλιν τὸ ὕδωρ ἐδίδυσκεν εἰς τὸν τόπον αὐτοῦ. ἤκουσεν δὲ πᾶσα ἡ πατριὰ τῶν ἐκεῖσε περὶ ἐμοῦ, ὅτι Ἦλθεν ἄνθρωπος ἐκ τῆς ματαιότητος τοῦ κόσμου ὧδε. καὶ ἐσαλεύθη πᾶσα ἡ πατριά· καὶ ἦλθον ἰδεῖν με, ὅτι ξένον αὐτοῖς ἐφάνη. ἦσαν οὖν ἐπερωτῶντές με πάντα, κἀγὼ ἤμην ἀναγγέλλων αὐτοῖς· καὶ ὠλιγοψύχησα τῷ πνεύματί μου καὶ τῷ σώματί μου, καὶ παρεκάλεσα τὸν ἄνθρωπον τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν ὑπηρετοῦντά μοι καὶ εἶπον· Παρακαλῶ σε, ἀδελφὲ, ἐὰν ἔλθωσίν τινες ἰδεῖν με, ἀνάγγειλον αὐτοῖς ὅτι Οὐκ ἔστιν ὧδε, ἵνα ἀναπαύσωμαι μικρόν. καὶ ἐβόησεν ὁ ἄνθρωπος τοῦ θεοῦ λέγων· Οἴμοι, ὅτι
Protev. Jac. xiii. 1. <ἡ> ἱστορία τοῦ Ἀδὰμ <ἐν> ἐμοὶ ἀνεκεφαλαιώθη. ἐκεῖνον γὰρ διὰ τῆς Εὔας ἠπάτησεν ὁ Σατανᾶς, καὶ ἐμὲ ὁ ἄνθρωπος οὗτος διὰ τῆς κολακείας ψεύστην με θέλει ἀποκαταστῆσαι ὄντος αὐτοῦ ὧδε· ἀπαγάγετέ με ἐντεῦθεν, ἐπεὶ φεύξομαι ἀπὸ τῆς κώμης· ἰδοὺ γὰρ βούλεται κατασπείρειν ἐν ἐμοὶ σπέρματα τοῦ κόσμου τῆς ματαιότητος. καὶ κατεπανέστησάν μου πᾶς ὁ ὄχλος καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ εἶπον· Ἀπελθὲ ἀφ' ἡμῶν, ἄνθρωπε· οὐκ οἴδαμεν πόθεν ἐλήλυθας πρὸς ἡμᾶς. ἐγὼ δὲ ἔκλαυσα κλαυθμῷ μεγάλῳ, καὶ ἀπέστη ἀπ' ἐμοῦ ἡ φρόνησις· καὶ ἐβόησα πρὸς τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους λέγων· Συγχωρήσατέ μοι, κύριοί μου. καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι καταπαύσαντες ἡσυχίαν παρέσχον. τότε

1 δένδρου διοικ.] τῶν δένδρων B 2 ἕως ἕκτης] καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἑνάτην B τὸ] om B ἐξήρχ.] ἐξέχεε B 3 τῆς ῥίζης] om A τὸ] om B ἐπίνομεν] + ἐξ αὐτοῦ B 4 ἐδίδυσκεν] ὑπέστρεφεν B 5 αὐτοῦ] om B πατριὰ] πατρίδα AB (πᾶσα πατρίδα ἐκεῖσαι B) 6 ματαιότ. τοῦ] ματαίου B 7 ἐσαλεύθη πᾶσα ἡ πατρ.] ἐκυνίθη πᾶσα ψυχὴ B 7, 8 ἰδεῖν—ἐφάνη] πρὸς τοῦ ἰδεῖν με, ὅτι ξενὸν πρᾶγμα ἐλογιοῦντο περὶ ἐμοῦ B 8 πάντα] περὶ τοῦ κόσμου τούτου ἅπαντα B 9 αὐτοῖς κ. ὠλιγοψ.] ἕνα ἕνος ἑκάστου· ἀγανακτήσας δὲ κ. ὀλιγοψυχήσας B 10 τοῦ θεοῦ] om B 10, 11 ὑπηρετοῦντα] ὑπηρετήσαντα B 11 εἶπον] + πρὸς αὐτόν B ἐὰν] ἵνα B τινες] τοῦ B 12 ἀνάγγ.] ἵνα ἀναγγείλης B 12, 13 ἵνα ἀναπ. μικρ.] ὅπως μικρ. ἀναπ. B 13 λέγων] καὶ εἶπεν B 15 γὰρ] om B 16 οὗτος] τοῦ θῦ B κολακείας] κοιλίας αὐτοῦ B με] om A 16, 17 θέλει—ὧδε] κατέστησεν ὁ δὲ εἶπεν ὅτι ψευσται [= ψεύσαι] ὅτι οὐκ ἐστὶν ὧδε· καὶ εἶπεν τοῖς ὄχλοις B 17 με] αὐτὸν B ἐπεὶ] εἰ δὲ μὴ B 17, 18 ἀπὸ τ. κώμ.] τὴν κώμην A 18 κατασπείρειν] κατασπεῖραι B ἐν] om A 18, 19 σπέρματα—ματαιότ.] ὁ αν̄ος τοῦ θῦ τῆς ματαιότ. τοῦ κόσμου αὐτοῦ B 20 καὶ οἱ πρεσβ.] om B εἶπον] + πρὸς ἐμέ B 21 οἴδαμεν] + γὰρ B 23 μου] om B 24 καταπ.—παρέσχον] κατέπαυσαν τοὺς νεωτέρους καὶ ἐποίησαν ἡσυχίαν μεγάλην B

ἐξηγησάμην αὐτοῖς τὰ ἀπ᾽ ἀρχῆς ἕως δεῦρο, καὶ ὅτι Ἐδεήθην τοῦ θεοῦ ἐλθεῖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς, καὶ κατηξίωσέν με. καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι εἶπον· Καὶ νῦν τί θέλεις ἵνα ποιήσωμέν σοι; ἐγὼ δὲ εἶπον αὐτοῖς· Θέλω λαβεῖν ἐξ ὑμῶν τὰς διοικήσεις ὑμῶν.

VII. Οἱ δὲ ἐχάρησαν χαρὰν μεγάλην, καὶ ἄραντες πλάκας λιθινὰς κατέγραψαν τοῖς ὄνυξιν αὐτῶν οὕτως· Ἀκούσατε, ἀκούσατε, υἱοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἡμῶν τῶν γενομένων μακάρων, ὅτι καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐξ ὑμῶν ἐσμέν· ὅτε γὰρ ἐκήρυξεν Ἱερεμίας ὁ προφήτης ὅτι ἡ πόλις Ἱερουσαλὴμ παραδοθήσεται εἰς χεῖρας τῶν ὀλοθρευόντων, διέρρηξεν τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ, καὶ περιεζώσατο σάκκον περὶ τὴν ὀσφὺν αὐτοῦ, καὶ κατεπάσατο σποδὸν ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ, καὶ χοῦν ἔλαβεν ἐπὶ τῆς κοίτης αὐτοῦ, καὶ εἶπεν παντὶ τῷ λαῷ ἀποστραφῆναι ἀπὸ τῆς ὁδοῦ αὐτῶν τῆς πονηρᾶς. ἤκουσεν δὲ καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ἡμῶν Ῥηχὰβ ὁ υἱὸς Ἀμιναδὰβ καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς ἡμᾶς· Ἀκούσατε υἱοὶ Ῥηχὰβ καὶ θυγατέρες τοῦ πατρὸς ὑμῶν, καὶ ἀποδύσασθε τὰ ἱμάτια ὑμῶν ἐκ τοῦ σώματος ὑμῶν, καὶ κεράμιον οἴνου οὐ πίεσθε, καὶ ἄρτον ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς οὐ φάγεσθε, καὶ σίκερα καὶ μέλι οὐ πίεσθε ἕως τοῦ εἰσακοῦσαι κύριον τῆς δεήσεως ὑμῶν. ἡμεῖς δὲ εἴπαμεν ὅτι Ἃ ἐνετείλατο ἡμῖν ποιήσομεν καὶ ἀκουσόμεθα. καὶ ἀπερρίψαμεν ἐκ τοῦ σώματος ἡμῶν τὴν περιβολὴν ἡμῶν καὶ οὐκ ἐφάγομεν ἄρτον ἐκ πυρὸς καὶ οὐκ ἐπίομεν κεράμιον οἴνου οὔτε μέλι οὔτε σίκερα, καὶ ἐκλαύσαμεν κλαυθμῷ μεγάλῳ καὶ ἐδεήθημεν τοῦ κυρίου, καὶ ἤκουσεν τῆς προσευχῆς ἡμῶν καὶ ἀπέστρεψεν τὴν ὀργὴν αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως Ἱερουσαλὴμ, καὶ ἐγενήθη τῇ πόλει Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἔλεος παρὰ κυρίου, καὶ ἠλέησεν τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἀπέστρεψεν τὴν ὀργὴν αὐτοῦ τὴν θανατηφόρον.

1 δεῦρο] τέλους B 1, 2 ἐδεήθην τοῦ θεοῦ] ἐπαρεκάλεσα τῶ φιλανθρώπω θῶ B 2 καὶ κατηξ. με] om B 3 εἶπον (pri.)] + πρός με B ἵνα] om B σοι] om B 4 λαβεῖν] ἵνα λάβω B. διοικ.] πράξεις κ. τὰς διηγήσεις B

VII 5 ἐχάρησαν] ἐχάρη B 6 τοῖς ὄνυξιν αὐτῶν] αὐτῶν τοῖς ὄν. B 6, 7 ἀκούσατε (sec.)] om B 7 γενομένων μακάρων] μακαρίων B 9 Ἱερουσαλὴμ] ἡμῶν B 9, 10 τῶν ὀλοθρευόντων] ὀλοθρευτῶν B 10 τὰ ἱμ. αὐτοῦ] αὐτῶν τὰ ἱμ. B 11 περὶ τ. ὀσφ. αὐτ.] om B κατεπάσατο] κατεσπάσατο A (ἐπὶ τ. κεφ. αὐτ. κατεπ. σποδ. B) 12 κοίτης] κλίνης B 12, 13 παντὶ τῷ λαῷ] πάντα τὸν λαὸν B 13 ἀποστραφῆναι] ἀπόστητε κ. ἀποστράφηται B αὐτῶν] ἡμῶν B 14 καὶ (pri.)] om B ὁ (sec.)] om A 15, 16 καὶ θυγ.—ὑμῶν καὶ] τοῦ π. ἡμ. καὶ θυγ. B 17 ὑμῶν] om. B 17, 18 καὶ ἄρτον—φάγεσθε] om B 18 σίκερα] συγκέρα B 18, 19 εἰσακ.—ὑμῶν] ἂν εἰσακούσαι κς ὁ θς ἡμῶν τῆς δεήσ. ἡμῶν B 19, 20 Ἃ—ποιήσομεν] ὅτι ἐὰν εἴπῃς ἡμᾶς μετὰ θεὸν ποιησώμεν B 21 περιβολὴν ἡμ.] περιβολαίαν ἣν ἐφοροῦμεν B 22 οὔτε...οὔτε] οὐ...καὶ B 24 ἤκουσεν] ἐπήκουσεν B 25—27 ἀπὸ τ. πλεως—ὀργὴν αὐτοῦ] om B per homoeoteleuton

VIII. Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀπέθανεν ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς πόλεως Ἱερουσαλὴμ, καὶ ἀνέστη βασιλεὺς ἕτερος· καὶ συνηθροίσθη πᾶς ὁ λαὸς πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ κατάδηλον ἐποίησαν αὐτὸν περὶ ἡμῶν, καὶ εἶπαν· Εἰσίν τινες ἐκ τοῦ λαοῦ σου οἵτινες ἤλλαξαν τὴν ὁδὸν αὐτῶν ἀφ' ἡμῶν. καλέσας οὖν αὐτοὺς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπηρώτησεν αὐτοὺς ἕνεκεν τίνος πεποιήκασιν τοῦτο· καὶ μετεκαλέσατο ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐπηρώτησεν· Τίνες ἐστὲ καὶ ποίας θρησκείας ἢ ἐκ ποίας πατρίδος ; καὶ εἴπαμεν αὐτῷ· Υἱοί ἐσμεν παιδός σου, πατὴρ δὲ ἡμῶν Ῥηχὰβ υἱὸς Ἰωναδάβ· καὶ ὅτε ἐκήρυξεν Ἱερεμίας ὁ προφήτης ζῶντος τοῦ πατρός σου τοῦ βασιλέως, ἐκήρυξεν θάνατον τῇ πόλει Ἱερουσαλὴμ ὅτι Ἔτι τριῶν ἡμερῶν καὶ πᾶσα ἡ πόλις θανατωθήσεται. ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς ὁ πατήρ σου μετέγνω ἐπὶ ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐξέθετο δόγμα πᾶσιν τοῦ ἀποστρέψαι ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ αὐτῶν τῆς πονηρᾶς. ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ πατὴρ ἡμῶν ὁ παῖς σου ἐνετείλατο ἡμῖν λέγων Κεράμιον οἴνου οὐ πίεσθε καὶ ἄρτον ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς οὐ φάγεσθε ἕως τοῦ εἰσακοῦσαι κύριον τῆς δεήσεως ὑμῶν· ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐπηκούσαμεν τῆς ἐντολῆς τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν, καὶ ἐγυμνώσαμεν τὰ σώματα ἡμῶν, καὶ οἶνον οὐκ ἐπίομεν, καὶ ἄρτον οὐκ ἐφάγομεν, καὶ προσηυξάμεθα πρὸς κύριον περὶ τῆς πόλεως Ἱερουσαλὴμ, καὶ ἠλέησεν κύριος τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀπέστρεψεν τὴν ὀργὴν αὐτοῦ· καὶ εἴδομεν, καὶ ὀνήθη ἡ ψυχὴ ἡμῶν, καὶ εἴπαμεν· Καλὸν εἶναι ἡμᾶς οὕτως.

IX. Καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὁ βασιλεύς· Καλῶς πεποιήκατε·

VIII 3, 4 αὐτὸν—κ. εἶπαν] πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ εἶπον περὶ ἡμ. B 4 σου] om B 5 ὁδὸν] δόξαν B ἀφ' ἡμῶν] om B καλ. οὖν αὐτοὺς] καὶ καλ. ἡμᾶς B 6, 7 αὐτοὺς ἕνεκεν—ἐπηρώτ.] om B 7 κ. ποίας θρησκ.] om A 8, 9 Υἱοί—Ἰωναδάβ] ἡμεῖς· ἐκ τοῦ λαοῦ ἐσμὲν παῖδεσου· ἐκ πόλεως ιλημ. κ. εἶπεν ὁ βασιλεύς· καὶ τίνος ἔσται ὑμεῖς. κ. ὕπωμεν (εἴπομεν) αὐτῷ· ἐσμὲν τοῦ παῖδός σου· πηρ ὁ ἡμῶν ῥηχὰβ υἱὸς ἀμηναδάμ B 10, 11 ζῶντος—ἡμερῶν] ζωεντος τοῦ πρς σου βασιλευς ἐν τῇ πόλει ιηλμ λέγων· ἔτη τρεῖς ἡμέρας B 11 πᾶσα] om B 12 δὲ] om B ὁ πατήρ σου] om B 13 ἐπὶ] ἐκ B δόγμα πᾶσιν] δόγμασιν A τοῦ] om B 14 αὐτῶν τῆς πονηρᾶς] αὐτοῦ τοῦ πονηροῦ B 15 ὁ παῖς σου] ῥηχὰβ B Κεράμιον] om A 16 ἄρτον] ἄρτου AB ἐκ τοῦ] om B τοῦ (sec.)] οὗ B 17 κύριον] κς̄ ὁ θς̄ B ἐπηκούσαμεν] ἐπακούσαντες B 18 πατρὸς ἡμ.] βασιλέως B 19 οἶνον] κεράμιον οἴνου B ἄρτον]+ ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς B 21 ἀπέστρ.] ἀνέστρ. B ὀργὴν αὐτοῦ] B ends with these words, and appends the following note :

Γινώσκεται δὲ ἀκουσταὶ καὶ ἀναγνῶσται ὅτι τὸ ἀντίβολον οὐκ ἴχεν τὸν λόγον σωστόν· τοῦ (? τοῦτο) δὲ ηὕρικατε· ποῦβετῖς· αὐτῶ ἡ δόξα κ. τὸ κράτος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων· ἀμήν.

νῦν οὖν καταμίχθητε μετὰ τοῦ λαοῦ μου, καὶ φάγεσθε ἄρτον καὶ πίεσθε οἶνον καὶ δοξάσατε τὸν κύριον ὑμῶν· καὶ ἔσεσθε ὑπακούοντες θεῷ καὶ βασιλεῖ. ἡμεῖς δὲ εἴπαμεν ὅτι Οὐ παρακούομεν τὸν θεόν. τότε ὀργισθεὶς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἔθετο ἡμᾶς ἐν φυλακῇ. καὶ ἦμεν διανυκτερεύοντες τὴν νύκτα ἐκείνην· καὶ ἰδοὺ φῶς ἔλαμψεν ἐν τῷ οἰκήματι, καὶ ἄγγελος ἀπεστέγασεν τὴν φυλακὴν, καὶ ἐκράτησεν τῆς κορυφῆς ἡμῶν, καὶ ἐξήγαγεν ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τῆς φυλακῆς, καὶ ἔθετο ἡμᾶς πρὸς τὸ ὕδωρ τοῦ ποταμοῦ, καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς ἡμᾶς· Ὅπου πορεύεται τὸ ὕδωρ, πορεύεσθε καὶ ὑμεῖς. καὶ ἐβαδίσαμεν σὺν τῷ ὕδατι καὶ σὺν τῷ ἀγγέλῳ. ὅτε οὖν ἤνεγκεν ἡμᾶς πρὸς τὸν τόπον τοῦτον, ἐψύγη ὁ ποταμὸς καὶ ἀπώλετο τὸ ὕδωρ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀβύσσου καὶ περιετείχισεν τὴν πατρίδα ταύτην, καὶ ἦλθεν τεῖχος νεφέλης καὶ ἐπεσκίασεν ἐπάνω τοῦ ὕδατος· καὶ οὐ διέστησεν ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν, ἀλλ' ἔδωκεν ἡμῖν τὴν πατρίδα ταύτην.

X. Ἀκούσατε, ἀκούσατε υἱοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, τὴν διοίκησιν τῶν μακάρων. ἔθετο γὰρ ἡμᾶς ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ταύτης· καὶ γάρ ἐσμεν εὐσεβεῖς, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀθάνατοι· ἀνέτειλεν γὰρ ἡ γῆ καρπὸν εὐωδέστατον, καὶ ἐξέρχεται ἐκ τῶν κορμῶν τῶν δένδρων ὕδωρ γλυκὺ ὑπὲρ τὸ μέλι· καὶ ταῦτα ἡμῖν βρῶσις καὶ πόσις. ἔσμεν δὲ καὶ προσευχόμενοι νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας· πᾶσα δὲ ἡ σπουδὴ ἡμῶν τοῦτό ἐστιν. ἀκούσατε, υἱοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων· ὅτι παρ' ἡμῖν ἄμπελος οὐκ ἔστιν, οὔτε ἄρουρα, οὔτε ἔργα ἐκ ξύλου οὔτε σιδήρου, οὔτε οἰκός ἐστιν ἡμῖν οὔτε οἰκοδομή· οὔτε πῦρ, οὔτε ξίφος οὔτε ἀργὸς σίδηρος οὔτε ἐργάσιμος, οὔτε ἀργύριον, οὔτε χρυσίον, οὔτε ἀὴρ βαρύτατος οὔτε πικρότατος· οὔτε εἰσὶν ἐξ ἡμῶν λαμβάνοντες ἑαυτοῖς γυναῖκας <εἰ μὴ> ἕως οὗ ποιήσωσιν δύο τέκνα· καὶ μετὰ τὸ δύο τέκνα ποιῆσαι ἀφίστανται ἀπ' ἀλλήλων καί εἰσιν ἐν ἁγνείᾳ μὴ γινώσκοντες ὅτι ἦσάν ποτε ἐν συνηθείᾳ τοῦ γάμου, ἀλλ' ὡς ὅτι ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἐν τῇ παρθενίᾳ ὑπάρχοντες. μένει <δὲ> τὸ ἓν τέκνον εἰς τὸν γάμον, καὶ τὸ ἓν εἰς τὴν παρθενίαν.

XI. Καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἀριθμὸς χρόνου, οὔτε ἑβδομάδες οὔτε μῆνες οὔτε ἐνιαυτός· πᾶσα γὰρ ἡ ἡμέρα ἡμῶν μία ἡμέρα ἐστίν. ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν σπηλαίων ἡμῶν ἀπόκεινται φύλλα τῶν δένδρων, καὶ αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ κοίτη ἡμῶν ὑποκάτω τῶν δένδρων· οὐκ ἔσμεν

IX 14 διέστησεν] διεύτησεν A (? διώκησεν) X 26 πικρότατος] πουφάτατος A
XI 33 ἀριθμὸς χρόνου] ἀριθμοῦ χρόνος A 34 μία ἡμέρα] μία ἡμῶν A

δὲ γυμνοὶ τῷ σώματι ὡς δὴ ἀλογίζεσθε ὑμεῖς· ἔχομεν γὰρ τὸ ἔνδυμα τῆς ἀθανασίας καὶ οὐκ αἰσχυνόμεθα ἀλλήλους· ἐν δὲ τῇ ἕκτῃ ὥρᾳ ἐσθίομεν κατὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέραν· κατέρχεται γὰρ ὁ καρπὸς τοῦ δένδρου ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ ἐν τῇ ἕκτῃ ὥρᾳ, καὶ ἐσθίομεν πρὸς τὸν κόρον ἡμῶν καὶ πίνομεν, καὶ πάλιν τὸ ὕδωρ διδύσκει εἰς τὸν τόπον αὐτοῦ. οἴδαμεν δὲ καὶ ὑμᾶς τοὺς ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ τῷ αὐτόθι, καὶ τοὺς ἐν ἁμαρτίαις ὄντας, καὶ τὰ ἔργα ὑμῶν· ὅτι καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν οἱ ἄγγελοι τοῦ θεοῦ ἔρχονται καὶ ἀπαγγέλλουσιν ἡμῖν καὶ τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν ἐτῶν ὑμῶν· ἡμεῖς δὲ εὐχόμεθα ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν πρὸς τὸν κύριον· ὅτι καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐξ ὑμῶν ἐσμὲν καὶ ἐκ τοῦ γένους ὑμῶν· ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ ἐξελέξατο ἡμᾶς ὁ θεὸς καὶ ἔθετο ἡμᾶς ὁ θεὸς ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ ἀναμαρτήτους· καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι τοῦ θεοῦ οἰκοῦσιν μεθ' ἡμῶν κατὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέραν καὶ λέγουσιν ἡμῖν πάντα τὰ περὶ ὑμῶν, καὶ χαίρομεν μετὰ τῶν ἀγγέλων περὶ τῶν ἔργων τῶν δικαίων, ἐπὶ δὲ τὰ ἔργα τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν λυπούμεθα καὶ κλαίοντες προσευχόμεθα πρὸς κύριον ἵνα παύσηται ἀπὸ τῆς ὀργῆς καὶ φείσηται τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων ὑμῶν.

XII. Ὅταν δὲ ἔλθῃ ὁ χρόνος τῆς τεσσαρακοστῆς, πάντα παύονται τὰ δένδρα ἀπὸ τῶν καρπῶν, καὶ βρέχει τὸ μάννα ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ὅπερ ἔδωκεν τοῖς πατράσιν ἡμῶν· ἔστιν δὲ τὸ μάννα ὑπὲρ τὸ μέλι γλυκύ· καὶ οὕτως γινώσκομεν ὅτι ἐνήλλακται ὁ καιρὸς τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ. ὅταν δὲ ἔλθῃ ὁ καιρὸς τοῦ ἁγίου πάσχα, τότε πάλιν ἀνατέλλει τὰ δένδρα τὸν καρπὸν τῆς εὐωδίας· καὶ οὕτως γινώσκομεν ὅτι ἀρχὴ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐστίν· ἡ δὲ ἑορτὴ τῆς ἀναστάσεως τοῦ κυρίου ἐν πολλῇ ἀγρυπνίᾳ ἐκτελεῖται· ἐσόμεθα γὰρ ἀγρυπνοῦντες ἡμέρας τρεῖς καὶ νύκτας τρεῖς.

XIII. Οἴδαμεν δὲ καὶ τὸν χρόνον ἡμῶν τῆς τελειώσεως· οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν αἰκισμὸς καὶ βάσανος οὐδὲ κόπος τῷ σώματι ἡμῶν, οὔτε ἀκηδία οὔτε ἀρρώστημα, ἀλλ' ἔστιν εἰρήνη καὶ ἀνεκτότης πολλὴ καὶ ἀγάπη. οὔτε γὰρ ὀχλεῖται ἡ ψυχὴ ἡμῶν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀγγέλων τοῦ ἐξελθεῖν· χαίρουσιν γὰρ οἱ ἄγγελοι ὅταν παραλαμβάνωσιν ἡμῶν τὰς ψυχάς, χαίρουσιν δὲ καὶ αἱ ψυχαὶ σὺν τοῖς ἀγγέλοις ὅταν βλέπωσιν αὐτούς· ὥσπερ ἐκδέχεται νύμφη τὸν νυμφίον, οὕτως ἐκδέχεται ἡ ψυχὴ ἡμῶν τὸν εὐαγγελισμὸν

XII 21 ὅπερ] ἅπερ A

τῶν ἁγίων ἀγγέλων, οὐδὲν περισσὸν λέγοντες ἀλλ' ἢ μόνον τοῦτο· Καλεῖ σε ὁ κύριος. τότε ἡ ψυχὴ ἐξέρχεται τοῦ σώματος καὶ προσέρχεται τοῖς ἀγγέλοις· καὶ ἰδόντες τὴν ψυχὴν ἄσπιλον ἐξερχομένην χαίρουσιν οἱ ἄγγελοι, καὶ ἁπλώσαντες τὰς στολὰς αὐτῶν δέχονται αὐτήν· τότε μακαριοῦσιν αὐτὴν οἱ ἄγγελοι λέγοντες· Μακαρία σὺ ψυχή, ὅτι ἐπληρώθη τὸ θέλημα τοῦ κυρίου ἐν σοί.

XIV. Ὁ δὲ χρόνος τῆς ζωῆς ἡμῶν οὗτός ἐστιν· εἰ ἐν νεότητι ἐξερχόμενος ἐκ τοῦ σώματος, αἱ ἡμέραι τῆς ζωῆς αὐτοῦ αἱ ἐντεῦθεν ἔτη τριακόσια ἑξήκοντα· ὁ δὲ ἐν τῷ γήρει ἐξερχόμενος ἐκ τοῦ σώματος, αἱ ἡμέραι τῆς ζωῆς αἱ ἐντεῦθεν ἔτη ἑπτακόσια ὀγδοήκοντα ὀκτώ. δεδήλωται δὲ ἡμῖν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀγγέλων ἡ ἡμέρα τῆς συμπληρώσεως ἡμῶν. ὅτε δὲ ἔλθωσιν οἱ ἄγγελοι τοῦ θεοῦ λαβεῖν ἡμᾶς, πορευόμεθα μετ' αὐτῶν· καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι ἰδόντες τοὺς ἀγγέλους συνάγουσιν πάντα τὸν λαὸν, καὶ ἀπερχόμεθα μετὰ τῶν ἀγγέλων ψάλλοντες ἕως ἀπέλθωσιν οἱ ἄγγελοι ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον τῆς κατοικίας ἡμῶν. διὰ δὲ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν ἡμᾶς σκεῦος, οἱ ἄγγελοι τοῦ θεοῦ δι' ἑαυτῶν ποιοῦσιν τὴν θήκην τοῦ σώματος ἡμῶν· καὶ οὕτως κατέρχεται ὁ καλούμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, πάντες δὲ ἀσπαζόμεθα αὐτὸν ἀπὸ μικροῦ ἕως μεγάλου, προπέμποντες καὶ συντασσόμενοι· καὶ τότε ἡ ψυχὴ ἐξέρχεται ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος, καὶ ἀσπάζονται αὐτὴν οἱ ἄγγελοι· ἡμεῖς δὲ θεωροῦμεν τὸ εἶδος τῆς ψυχῆς ὡς εἶδος φωτὸς πεπληρωμένην καθ' ὅλου τοῦ σώματος χωρὶς τοῦ ἄρσενος καὶ τῆς θηλείας.

XV. Τότε οἱ ἄγγελοι ἀναλαμβάνοντες ᾄδουσιν ᾆσμα καὶ ὕμνον ψάλλοντες τῷ θεῷ, καὶ πάλιν ἄλλα τάγματα τῶν ἀγγέλων μετὰ σπουδῆς ὑπαντῶσιν ἀσπαζόμενοι τὴν ψυχὴν τὴν προσερχομένην καὶ εἰσερχομένην εἰς τὰ στερεώματα· καὶ ὅτε ἀπέλθῃ εἰς τὸν τόπον ἐν ᾧ δεῖ προσκυνεῖν τὸν θεὸν, αὐτὸς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ μετὰ τῶν ἀγγέλων δέχεται τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ μάκαρος καὶ προσφέρει πρὸς τὸν ἄχραντον πατέρα τῶν αἰώνων· καὶ πάλιν ὅταν ψάλλωσιν οἱ ἄγγελοι ἄνω, ἡμεῖς ὄντες κάτω ὑπακούομεν αὐτῶν, καὶ πάλιν ἡμεῖς ψάλλομεν καὶ αὐτοὶ ὑπακούουσιν ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ἄνω, καὶ οὕτως ἀνάμεσον ἡμῶν καὶ τῶν ἀγγέλων ἀνέρχεται ἡ δοξολογία τῆς ὑμνολογίας· ὅτε δὲ ἡ ψυχὴ τοῦ μάκαρος πεσοῦσα ἐπὶ πρόσωπον προσκυνῇ τὸν κύριον, τότε καὶ ἡμεῖς πεσόντες προσκυνοῦμεν τῇ αὐτῇ ὥρᾳ τὸν κύριον· ὅτε

δὲ ἀναστήσῃ αὐτὴν ὁ κύριος, τότε καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀνιστάμεθα· καὶ ὅτε ἀπέρχεται εἰς τὸν ὡρισμένον τόπον, καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀπερχόμεθα ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, πληροῦντες τὴν εὐχαριστίαν τοῦ κυρίου.

Ταῦτα γράψαντες, καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν διοίκησιν τῶν μακάρων, ἐδώκαμεν τῷ ἀδελφῷ Ζωσίμῳ, καὶ προεπέμψαμεν αὐτὸν ἕως τοῦ τόπου τῶν δένδρων πρὸς τῷ ποταμῷ τῷ Εὐμέλῃ.

XVI. Ἐγὼ δὲ Ζώσιμος ἐδεήθην πάλιν τῶν μακάρων ἵνα δεηθῶσιν ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ πρὸς τὸν κύριον ἵνα δέξωνταί με τὰ δένδρα τοῦ περάσαι με· καὶ κράξαντες πάντες πρὸς κύριον εἶπαν· Ὁ θεὸς ὁ δείξας ἡμῖν τὰ θαυμάσιά σου καὶ ποιήσας ἐλθεῖν τὸν δοῦλόν σου Ζώσιμον πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου τῆς ματαιότητος, πάλιν ἀποκατάστησον αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν τόπον αὐτοῦ μετ' εἰρήνης· καὶ κέλευσον κλιθῆναι τὰ δένδρα ταῦτα καὶ ἀναλαβεῖν τὸν δοῦλόν σου καὶ στῆσαι αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ πέραν. καὶ πληρωσάντων αὐτῶν τὴν εὐχὴν, εὐθέως ἐκλίθησαν τὰ δένδρα ἐνώπιον αὐτῶν καὶ ἐδέξαντό με καθὼς καὶ τὸ πρωὶ, καὶ σταθεὶς πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἔκραξα φωνῇ μεγάλῃ καὶ εἶπον· Ἄνθρωποι τῆς δικαιοσύνης, οἱ ὄντες ἀδελφοὶ τῶν ἁγίων ἀγγέλων, δότε μοι εὐχὴν μετ' εἰρήνης· ἰδοὺ γὰρ πορεύομαι ἀφ' ὑμῶν. καὶ ποιήσαντες εὐχὴν ἔκραξαν πάντες λέγοντες· Εἰρήνη, εἰρήνη σοι, ἀδελφέ.

XVII. Τότε ηὐξάμην πρὸς κύριον καὶ ἦλθέν μοι λαῖλαψ τοῦ ἀνέμου, καὶ ἔλαβέν με ἐπὶ τῶν πτερύγων αὐτοῦ καὶ εἵλκυσέν με ἕως τοῦ τόπου οὗ ηὗρέν με καθήμενον, καὶ ἀνέλυσέν <με> μετ' εἰρήνης. καὶ ἄρας φωνὴν εἶπεν πρός με ὁ ἄνεμος· Μακάριος εἶ, Ζώσιμε, ὅτι κατηριθμήθης μετὰ τῶν μακάρων. καὶ ἦλθεν τὸ ζῶον ἐκ τῆς ἐρήμου, ᾧ ὄνομα κάμηλος, καὶ ἔλαβέν με ἐπὶ τὸν τράχηλον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἤνεγκέν με ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ πέντε μονὰς, καὶ ἔθηκέν με εἰς τὸν τόπον οὗ ηὗρέν με προσευχόμενον· καὶ ἀνέλυσεν μετ' εἰρήνης κράζων καὶ λέγων· Μακάριος εἶ, Ζώσιμε, ὅτι μετὰ τῶν μακάρων κατηριθμήθης.

XVIII. Ἰδὼν δέ με ἐγκωμιαζόμενον ὁ Σατανᾶς ἠθέλησεν πειράσαι με, καὶ ἀκοντίσαι ἀπὸ τῆς μονῆς. ἦλθεν δὲ ἄγγελος τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ εἶπέν μοι· Ζώσιμε, ἰδοὺ ἔρχεται ὁ Σατανᾶς πειράσαι σε, ἀλλ' ἔσται πολεμῶν ὑπέρ σου ὁ κύριος· ἡ γὰρ δόξα τῆς πίστεώς σου †δεῖ σε ἔχει† τὸν Σατανᾶν. καὶ ἐφάνη ἄγγελος τοῦ θεοῦ κράζων καὶ λέγων· Καλῶς ἐλήλυθας, μάκαρ τοῦ

XVII 25 Μακάριος εἶ] μακαριῶσι A 30 κατηριθμήθης] ἐκατηριθμήθης A
XVIII 35 δεῖ σε] ? δῆσαι

Χριστοῦ· δεῦρο ἀπάξω σε ἐπὶ τὸ σπήλαιον τὸ γινόμενον κατοικητήριον τοῦ σώματός σου· ἔσται γὰρ τὸ σπήλαιόν σου μαρτύριον τῆς ἐρήμου, ἴασις τῶν προσερχομένων ἀσθενῶν, πειρατήριον καὶ βάσανος τῶν δαιμόνων. καὶ κρατήσας τῆς χειρός μου ἐνίσχυσέν με καὶ διήγαγέν με δι' ἡμερῶν τεσσαράκοντα εἰς τὸ σπήλαιον ἐν ᾧ ἤμην κατοικῶν· καὶ ἐγενήθη τράπεζα δικαιοσύνης, καὶ ἤμην αὐλιζόμενος μετὰ τῶν ἀγγέλων τοῦ θεοῦ· ἔθηκα δὲ τὰς πλάκας τὰς δοθείσας μοι ἀπὸ τῶν ἁγίων μακάρων ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου τοῦ ἐν τῷ σπηλαίῳ μου.

XIX. Καὶ ἰδοὺ ἀναβάντων τῶν ἀγγέλων τοῦ θεοῦ παρεγένετο ὁ διάβολος, σχῆμα ἔχων ἄγριον, καὶ θυμοῦ ἀγόμενος καὶ χολῆς, καὶ εἶπεν πρός με· Ἐγὼ ᾔδειν ὅτι οὕτως ποιῆσαί σε εἶχεν ὁ θεὸς ὡς καὶ τοὺς μάκαρας, καὶ ἔχουσιν εἶναι ἀναμάρτητοι καὶ εἶναι αὐτοὺς ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἀγγέλους, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο εἰσήνεγκα διάνοιαν πονηράν, καὶ εἰσῆλθον εἰς τὸ σκεῦος τῆς ὄφεως, πανουργῶν πρὸς πανοῦργον· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐποίησα παραβῆναι τὸν Ἀδαμ τὸν πρῶτον ἄνθρωπον, γεύσασθαι αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου τῆς ζωῆς· ἐπειδὴ δὲ παρήγγειλεν αὐτὸν ὁ θεὸς μὴ φαγεῖν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, ἵνα ἔμεινεν ἴσος τῆς δόξης τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τῶν ἁγίων ἀγγέλων, καὶ σὺ πάλιν ἀπελθὼν ἤνεγκας τὴν ἐντολὴν ταύτην, ἵνα μὴ ὦσιν ἀναμάρτητοι, ἐγώ σοι δείξω πῶς ἀπολέσω σε καὶ πάντας τοὺς δεχομένους τὴν ἐντολὴν ταύτην ἵνα μὴ ὦσιν ἀναμάρτητοι, καὶ τὴν βίβλον ἣν ἤνεγκας.

XX. Καὶ ταῦτα εἰπὼν ὁ διάβολος ἐπορεύθη ἀπ' ἐμοῦ· καὶ μεθ' ἡμέρας ὀκτὼ ἤγαγεν μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ χιλίους τριακοσίους ἑξήκοντα δαίμονας· καὶ ἥρπασέν με ἀπὸ τοῦ σπηλαίου προσευχόμενον· καὶ ἔτυπτόν με σφαιρίζοντες ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ἡμέρας τεσσαράκοντα. καὶ μετὰ τὰς τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέρας ἔκλαυσεν ὁ διάβολος ἔμπροσθέν μου καὶ εἶπεν· Οὐαί μοι ὅτι δι' ἕνα ἄνθρωπον τὸν κόσμον ἀπώλεσα· ἐνίκησέν με γὰρ διὰ τῆς προσευχῆς αὐτοῦ. καὶ ἤρξατο τρέχειν ἀπ' ἐμοῦ· ἐγὼ δὲ κρατήσας αὐτὸν ἔστησα καὶ εἶπον· Οὐ μὴ ἀποδράσῃς καὶ φύγῃς ἀπ' ἐμοῦ ἕως οὗ ὁμόσῃς μοι τοῦ μηκέτι ἄνθρωπον πειράσαι. καὶ κλαύσας κλαυθμῷ μεγάλῳ καὶ βιαίῳ ὤμοσέν μοι ἐν τῷ στερεώματι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ Ἕως οὗ ἡ κατοικία σου ἐστὶν, καὶ μετά σε, οὐ μὴ ἀπέλθω ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον ἐκεῖνον. τότε ἀπέλυσα αὐτὸν, ἐκπέμψας εἰς τὸ αἰώνιον πῦρ, καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ δαίμονας. τότε ἦλθεν ὁ

XVIII 2 ἔσται] ἔστω A

ἄγγελος ὁ συνευδοκήσας μοι ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης, καὶ ἤγαγέν με ἐν τῷ σπηλαίῳ μου μετὰ δόξης πολλῆς.

XXI. Ἔζησα δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο ἔτη τριάκοντα ἓξ, καὶ διέδωκα τὴν διοίκησιν τῶν μακάρων τοῖς πάτρασιν τοῖς ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ. ἔκλαυσεν δὲ ὁ διάβολος διὰ τὰς πλάκας τῆς διοικήσεως τῶν μακάρων, ὅτι Ἐὰν περιέλθῃ τοῦτο ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ, γέγονα καταγέλος, καὶ οὗτοι μενοῦσιν ἀναμάρτητοι, κἀγὼ μόνος ἐν τῇ μωρίᾳ. καὶ μετὰ τὴν συνπλήρωσιν τῶν τριάκοντα ἓξ ἐτῶν, παρεγένοντο οἱ ἄγγελοι τοῦ θεοῦ πρός με καθάπερ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς μάκαρας.

Συνήχθησαν δὲ πάντες οἱ μοναχοὶ καὶ πᾶς ὁ ἀκούσας· καὶ ἀνεγνώσθη ἐπὶ πάντων ἡ διαθήκη αὕτη· καὶ ἐν τῇ τοιαύτῃ πολιτείᾳ παρέδωκεν τὴν ψυχὴν τῷ θεῷ.

XXII. Ἐγὼ δὲ †Κρύσεως†, εἷς ὢν τῶν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ, ἐκβαλὼν ἔδωκα πᾶσιν τοῖς θέλουσιν μανθάνειν καὶ ὠφελεῖσθαι. οἱ οὖν ἄγγελοι τοῦ θεοῦ συνεκόμισαν τὸ σῶμα τοῦ ἁγίου Ζωσίμου ὡς πολύτιμον δῶρον, καὶ ἐθεασάμεθα τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ μακαρίου ὑπὲρ τὸν ἥλιον πεφωτισμένον ἑπταπλασίως· ἀνέβησαν δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον παραχρῆμα φοίνικες ἑπτὰ, καὶ ἐπεσκίασαν τὸ σπήλαιον· ἀνέβη δὲ καὶ πηγὴ ὕδατος ἐπὶ τοῦ τόπου ἐκείνου, ὕδωρ ἅγιον, καὶ ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας ταύτης ἴασις καὶ σωτηρία πάντων τῶν προσερχομένων ἀσθενῶν. εἰρήνη πᾶσιν τοῖς ἀκούουσιν τὴν μνήμην τοῦ ἁγίου Ζωσίμου. ἔστιν δὲ ὁ κύριος συνήγορος καὶ ὄφελος πάντων εἰς τοὺς ἀτελευτήτους αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.

XXII 14 δὲ †Κρύσεως†] δὲκρύσεως A

INTRODUCTION TO THE APOCALYPSE OF THE VIRGIN.

The Apocalypse of the Virgin, here printed *in extenso* for the first time so far as I know, has long been known to exist. Hardly any collection of Greek MSS. is without one or more copies of it; and similar documents, if not actual versions of this Greek text, are to be found in Slavonic (see Kozak's list of Slavonic Apocrypha in *Jahrbuch f. Prot. Theol.* Dec. 1891) and in Ethiopic (see Dillmann's *Catal. Codd. Aeth. Mus. Brit.* p. 21). I think it not worth while to enumerate the copies known to me; nor have I consulted more than a very few of them. I have simply printed the text of the book from the oldest copy I could find.

This I would assign to the XIth century. It occupies eight and a half leaves (ff. 342—350 *b*) in the Bodleian MS. marked Auct. E. 5. 12[1] (Cat. MSS. Bodl. i. 659). The Catalogue assigns the volume to the end of the XIIth century: but it is the opinion of some who have seen photographs of several pages that it is of an earlier time.

The contents are miscellaneous, including Homilies, Canons and Lives of Saints. The Apocalypse of the Virgin is the twelfth item out of 23: the eleventh is the Martyrdom of S. Demetrius, the thirteenth is a Homily on Job attributed to S. Chrysostom. The volume also contains the Acts of Andrew and Matthew (No. 6), the Martyrdom of Andrew (No. 7), and the Martyrdom of Thecla (No. 22). It was from this MS. that Hearne in 1715 edited that part of the Acts of Paul and Thecla which had been

[1] The other press-marks are: 5771 (*Cat. MSS. Angl.*), Huntington 457, Misc. Gr. 77.

wanting in the Baroccian MS. used by Grabe. The MS. is written in a beautiful hand, and one that seems to me remarkable. It is as a rule easy to read, but in the leaves containing the Apocalypse of the Virgin the ink has faded and has been renewed in modern times. To the orthography no praise can be awarded: I have never seen a text so crowded with itacisms. It may be as well to say at once that I have tacitly corrected these, but that I have preserved or noted neo-Greek forms of words—inflections and particles—whenever they occur.

In his *Apocalypses Apocryphae*, p. xxvii, Tischendorf has printed from the Oxford MS. the beginning of this book, as far as the word κέλευσμα (c. i., l. 10).

The Bodleian possesses a XVIth century copy of this Apocalypse in MS. Rawl. Auct. G. 4 (Misc. Gr. 142). In this the text is much shorter, and the language even more modern.

It may possibly be that I shall be criticised, either for not having collated a number of MSS. for the constitution of the text of this book, or, from another point of view, for having spent pains on editing so late and so dismal a work at all. The former, it appears to me, would be the better grounded objection of the two. It is evident that there are very wide differences between the copies of this book. For instance, a Venice MS. excerpted by Tischendorf (*ubi supra*) has an additional episode at the end, containing an account of the Virgin's visit to Paradise. It is said to be very short and in the nature of an appendix to the book. That it is really no part of the original work is clear, I think, from the opening words of the Apocalypse which, alike in the Venice and in the Oxford MS., only mention the place of punishment as the object of the Virgin's visit. Had it fallen in my way to obtain a copy of the Venice text I should have done so; and further, it would no doubt result from the comparison of a number of MSS. that several distinct recensions of the Apocalypse would be recognisable. Such an examination I have not been able to undertake, and it seemed better, since the opportunity was offered of issuing the present collection of texts, to include in it at once the oldest available text of this Apocalypse than to spend time in collecting and examining evidence which must be late and might be unimportant.

On the other hand, it does seem to me that the book is worth printing in some shape. I will concede to any critic that it is extremely monotonous, quite contemptible as literature, and even positively repulsive in some parts. But it is a member, and was a very popular member, of a most noteworthy class of books. The history of Apocalyptic literature cannot be written until all the available specimens of that literature have been made accessible. If nothing be gained by their publication save the knowledge that they are valueless, that gain is an appreciable one; and it will be allowed that it is more satisfactory to derive it from an independent examination of the original documents than to rely for it upon the verdict of some one else.

However, the Apocalypse of the Virgin does not merely furnish us with negative information. It throws, or may be made to throw, a good deal of light upon the dates and the mutual relations of the older documents upon which it is a variation.

In the first place, the idea of attributing a revelation of any kind to the Virgin is most likely taken from the literature connected with the Assumption. The Greek narrative attributed to S. John represents the Virgin as going every day to the Sepulchre to pray; and here she receives warning of her approaching death from Gabriel, who descends from heaven (as in the *Apocalypse*) to make the announcement. At the end of the Arabic narrative (ed. Max Enger) and in the Syriac *History of the Departure of my Lady Mary*, and also in the *Obsequies of the Virgin*[1], there are sections describing the visit of the Virgin to Hell and to Paradise which are of an apocalyptic nature. That the obligation, if any exists, must be on the side of the Apocalypse, does not seem doubtful. I would name the Assumption legends, then, as one source of the document before us.

Next to this, and more wide-reaching in its influence, is the Apocalypse of Paul. The leading idea of the Apocalypse of the Virgin, that of the intercession for the lost and the obtaining of a respite from torment for them, forms an episode in the Pauline Apocalypse. And those who will consult the passages of that

[1] See Wright, *Journal of Sacred Literature*, and *Contributions to the Apocryphal Literature of N. T.*

work, indicated in the marginal references attached to this text, will see that this is no isolated case. Indeed, Paul is expressly mentioned (with other saints) as not having interceded for a particular class of sinners (c. iv.). This idea of intercession for the lost I believe to have been suggested by Abraham's intercession for Sodom (Gen. xviii.), an incident alluded to in 4 Esdras (vii. 35): and very likely the first use made of it in Apocalyptic literature was in the Abrahamic apocryphon of which the main lines are preserved in the Testament of Abraham. It is amplified in the Apocalypse of Paul, and still further in that of the Virgin. Intercession for sinners generally is a leading idea in 4 Esdras, in the Apocalypse of Baruch, in the Apocalypse of Esdras, and in the Homily or Apocalypse of Sedrach: but in these books the intercession is not directly connected with any vision of torment[1].

The Apocalypse of Paul then, itself influenced in this particular, it may be, by the Testament of Abraham, has been a main source from which the author of the Apocalypse of the Virgin drew.

I should be inclined further to say that, not only through the medium of the Pauline vision but directly, our author is under obligation to the Apocalypse of Peter. In my edition of that book (p. 69) I said that the Apocalypse of the Virgin showed 'a large number of coincidences' with it. This statement requires guarding. I have marked ten places where some resemblance exists, but in some of them the immediate source is likely to be the Apocalypse of Paul. The recurrence of the resemblance to Frag. 6 of Peter is, however, striking: and there is no improbability whatever in the supposition that the Petrine Apocalypse existed down to a comparatively late date, perhaps the xth century, in a few copies. In fact, such evidence as we possess points to its having so survived, at least in Palestine.

I have further inserted some marginal references to the Apocalypse of Esdras. I cannot undertake to say that this too is a source of our book: in fact, it is not improbably of later date;

[1] To this statement the Apocalypse of Esdras forms a partial exception. Under this name I denote the late Greek book published by Tischendorf.

the one MS. which has preserved it is of the XVth century. As to the date which should be assigned to this production it is not easy to pronounce. To say that it is of the Byzantine period is vague if obvious: if we place it in or about the ninth century we shall probably not be far wrong.

In matters purely orthographical I have tacitly corrected the MS.: actual departures from the text are noted, and the reading of the MS. is given at the bottom of the page. Pointed brackets < > denote my own supplements, square brackets serve to mark words which should probably be omitted.

ΑΠΟΚΑΛΥΨΙΣ ΤΗΣ ΑΓΙΑΣ ΘΕΟΤΟΚΟΥ

περὶ τῶν κολασέων.

I. Ἤμελλεν ἡ παναγία θεοτόκος πορεύεσθαι πρὸς τὸ ὄρος τῶν ἐλαιῶν τοῦ προσεύξασθαι· προσευχομένης δὲ αὐτῆς πρὸς κύριον τὸν θεὸν ἡμῶν εἶπεν· Ἐπὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος κατελθάτω ὁ ἀρχάγγελος Γαβριὴλ, ὅπως εἴπῃ μοι περὶ τῶν κολασέων καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐπουρανίων καὶ ἐπιγείων καὶ καταχθονίων. καὶ ἅμα τῷ λόγῳ εἰποῦσα κατῆλθεν ὁ ἀρχάγγελος Μιχαὴλ μετὰ τοὺς ἀγγέλους τῆς ἀνατολῆς καὶ τῆς δύσεως καὶ ἀγγέλους τῆς μεσημβρίας καὶ τοῦ βορρᾶ, καὶ ἠσπάσαντο τὴν κεχαριτωμένην καὶ εἶπαν πρὸς αὐτήν· Χαῖρε τοῦ πατρὸς τὸ ἀπαύγασμα, χαῖρε τοῦ υἱοῦ ἡ κατοίκησις, χαῖρε τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος τὸ κέλευσμα, χαῖρε τῶν ἑπτὰ οὐρανῶν τὸ στερέωμα, χαῖρε τῶν ἕνδεκα ὀχυρωμάτων τὸ στερέωμα, χαῖρε τῶν ἀγγέλων τὸ προσκύνημα, χαῖρε τῶν προφητῶν ὑψηλοτέρα ἕως τοῦ θρόνου τοῦ θεοῦ. ἡ δὲ ἁγία θεοτόκος εἶπεν πρὸς τὸν ἄγγελον· Χαῖρε Μιχαὴλ ἀρχιστράτηγε, ὁ τοῦ ἀοράτου πατρὸς ὁ λειτουργός, χαῖρε Μιχαὴλ ἀρχιστράτηγε, καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ μου συνόμιλε, χαῖρε Μιχαὴλ ἀρχιστράτηγε, τῶν ἐξαπτερύγων ὁ ἔπαινος, χαῖρε Μιχαὴλ ἀρχιστράτηγε, ὁ τυραννῶν κατὰ ἁπάντων[1] καὶ τῷ θρόνῳ τοῦ δεσποτοῦ ἀξίως παριστάμενος, χαῖρε Μιχαὴλ ἀρχιστράτηγε, ὁ μέλλων σαλπίσαι καὶ ἐξυπνίσαι τοὺς ἀπ' αἰῶνος κεκοιμημένους· χαῖρε Μιχαὴλ ἀρχιστράτηγε, πρῶτε πάντων ἕως τοῦ θρόνου τοῦ θεοῦ.

II. Ὁμοίως καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἀγγέλους εὐφημήσασα ἡ κεχαριτωμένη ἐδέετο διὰ τοὺς κολαζομένους τὸν ἀρχιστρά-

[1] κ^ρ το απα των

τηγον, λέγουσα· Ἀνάγγειλόν μοι τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς πάντα. καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῇ ὁ ἀρχιστράτηγος ὅτι Ἐὰν εἴπῃς μοι, ἡ κεχαριτωμένη, ἐγώ σοι ἀναγγελῶ. ἡ δὲ κεχαριτωμένη εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτόν· Πόσαι κολάσεις εἰσὶν ὅπου κολάζονται τὸ γένος τῶν ἀνθρώπων ; καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτὴν ὁ ἀρχάγγελος· Ἀναρίθμητοι κολάσεις εἰσίν. εἶπεν δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἡ κεχαριτωμένη· Ἀνάγγειλόν μοι τὰ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.

III. Τότε ἐκέλευσεν ὁ ἀρχιστράτηγος Μιχαὴλ ἀποκαλυφθῆναι τοὺς ἀγγέλους τοὺς ἐπὶ δυσμῶν, καὶ ἔχανεν ὁ
Paul 31 ἅδης, καὶ εἶδεν τοὺς ἐν τῷ ἅδῃ κολαζομένους· καὶ ἐκεῖ κατέκειτο πλῆθος ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν, καὶ ὀδυρμὸς μέγας ἐγένετο. καὶ ἠρώτησεν ἡ κεχαριτωμένη τὸν ἀρχιστράτηγον· Τίνες εἰσὶν οὗτοι, καὶ τί τὸ ἁμάρτημα αὐτῶν ; καὶ εἶπεν ὁ ἀρχιστράτηγος· Οὗτοί εἰσιν, παναγία, οἱ τὸν πατέρα καὶ υἱὸν καὶ ἅγιον πνεῦμα μὴ προσκυνήσαντες, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὧδε οὕτως κολάζονται.

Pet. 6
Paul 37 IV. Καὶ εἶδεν ἐφ' ἕτερον τόπον σκότος μέγα· καὶ εἶπεν ἡ παναγία· Τί τὸ σκότος τοῦτο, καὶ τίνες εἰσιν οἱ κολαζόμενοι ; καὶ εἶπεν ὁ ἀρχιστράτηγος· Πολλαὶ ψυχαὶ κατακεῖνται ἐν τῷ σκότει τούτῳ. καὶ εἶπεν ἡ παναγία· Ἀρθήτω τὸ σκότος τοῦτο, ὅπως ἴδω καὶ ταύτην τὴν κόλασιν. καὶ εἶπεν ὁ ἀρχιστράτηγος τῇ κεχαριτωμένῃ· Οὐκ ἔστιν δυνατὸν, παναγία, ἵνα ἴδῃς καὶ ταύτην τὴν κόλασιν. καὶ ἀπεκρίθησαν οἱ ἄγγελοι οἱ φυλάσσοντες αὐτοὺς, καὶ εἶπον· Παραγγελίαν ἔχομεν παρὰ τοῦ ἀοράτου πατρὸς ἵνα μὴ ἴδωσιν τὸ φῶς ἕως οὗ ἐκλάμψῃ ὁ υἱός σου ὁ εὐλογημένος. καὶ ἐν λύπῃ γεναμένη ἡ παναγία πρὸς τοὺς ἀγγέλους ἀνέτεινεν τὸ ὄμμα αὐτῆς πρὸς τὸν ἄχραντον τοῦ πατρὸς λόγον, καὶ εἶπεν· Ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἀρθήτω τὸ σκότος, ὅπως ἴδω καὶ ταύτην τὴν κόλασιν. καὶ εὐθέως ἐπήρθη τὸ σκότος ἐκεῖνο καὶ τοὺς ἑπτὰ οὐρανοὺς ἐκάλυψεν· κἀκεῖ κατέκειτο πλῆθος ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ γυναικῶν, καὶ ὀδυρμὸς μέγας ἐγένετο καὶ βόη μεγάλη ἤρχετο. καὶ ἰδοῦσα αὐτοὺς ἡ παναγία ἐδάκρυσεν καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτούς· Τί ποιεῖτε, ἄθλιοι ; πῶς ἔχετε, ταλαίπωροι ; καὶ πῶς ἐνταῦθα εὑρέθητε ; καὶ οὐκ ἦν φωνὴ οὐδὲ ἀκρόασις. καὶ εἶπον

οἱ ἄγγελοι οἱ φυλάσσοντες αὐτούς· Τί οὐ λαλεῖτε τῇ κεχαριτωμένῃ; καὶ εἶπαν οἱ κολαζομένοι πρὸς αὐτήν· Ἡμεῖς, ἡ κεχαριτωμένη, ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰῶνος οὐκ εἴδομεν φῶς, καὶ οὐ δυνάμεθα ἀνανεῦσαι τὴν ἄνω. καὶ κατεχεῖτο[1] πίσσα κοχλάζουσα ἐπ' αὐτούς· καὶ ἰδοῦσα αὐτοὺς ἡ παναγία ἔκλαυσεν· καὶ πάλιν εἶπον πρὸς αὐτὴν οἱ κολαζομένοι· Πῶς δι' ἡμᾶς ἐρώτησας, ἅγια δέσποινα θεοτόκε; ὁ υἱός σου ὁ εὐλογημένος ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἦλθεν καὶ δι' ἡμᾶς οὐ κατερώτησεν, οὔτε Ἀβραὰμ ὁ προπάτωρ, οὔτε Ἰωάννης ὁ βαπτίστης, οὔτε Μωϋσῆς ὁ μέγας προφήτης, οὔτε ὁ ἀπόστολος Παῦλος[2], καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς οὐκ ἐπέφαναν[3]· καὶ πῶς, παναγία θεοτόκε, τὸ τεῦχος τῶν Χριστιανῶν, ἡ παρακαλοῦσα πολλὰ διὰ τοὺς Χριστιανούς, πῶς <δι'> ἡμᾶς κατερώτησας; τότε εἶπεν ἡ παναγία θεοτόκος πρὸς τὸν ἀρχιστράτηγον Μιχαήλ· Τί τὸ ἁμάρτημα αὐτῶν; καὶ εἶπεν ὁ ἀρχιστράτηγος Μιχαήλ· Οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὸν υἱὸν καὶ τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα μὴ πιστεύσαντες, καὶ σὲ θεοτόκον μὴ ὁμολογήσαντες ὅτι ἐκ σοῦ ἐτέχθη ὁ κύριος Paul 41
ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς καὶ σάρκα προελάβετο, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐνταῦθα κολάζονται. καὶ πάλιν δακρύσασα ἡ παναγία θεοτόκος εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτούς· Διὰ τί τοσαῦτα ἐπλανήθητε, ταλαίπωροι; οὐκ ἠκούσατε ὅτι τὸ ἐμὸν ὄνομα ὀνομάζει πᾶσα ἡ κτίσις; καὶ ταῦτα εἰποῦσα ἡ παναγία πάλιν ἔπεσεν τὸ σκότος ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ὡς ἦν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς.

V. Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ ἀρχιστράτηγος· Ποῖ θέλεις, ἡ κεχαριτωμένη, ἀπελθεῖν; ἐπὶ τὰς δυσμὰς ἢ ἐπὶ μεσημβρίαν; καὶ εἶπεν ἡ κεχαριτωμένη· Ἐπὶ μεσημβρίαν ἵνα ἀπέλθωμεν. καὶ εὐθέως παρέστησαν τὰ χερουβὶμ καὶ τὰ σεραφὶμ καὶ τετρακόσιοι ἄγγελοι, καὶ ἐξήγαγον τὴν κεχαριτωμένην ἐπὶ τὰς μεσημβρίας, ὅπου ὁ ποταμὸς ἐξήρχετο τοῦ πυρός, καὶ Paul 31
ἐκεῖ κατέκειτο πλῆθος ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ γυναικῶν, οἱ μὲν ἕως τῆς ζώσης, ἄλλοι ἕως τοῦ τραχηλοῦ, καὶ ἄλλοι ἕως τῆς κορυφῆς· καὶ ἰδοῦσα αὐτοὺς ἡ παναγία θεοτόκος ἐβόησεν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ πρὸς τὸν ἀρχιστράτηγον καὶ εἶπεν· Τίνες εἰσὶν οὗτοι, καὶ τί τὸ ἁμάρτημα αὐτῶν, οἱ ἐγκειμένοι ἕως τῆς ζώσης εἰς τὸ πῦρ; καὶ εἶπεν ὁ ἀρχιστράτηγος· Οὗτοί

[1] κατέκειτω [2] Παῦβλος
[3] καὶ σι μας σου και πεφαναν

εἰσιν, παναγία, πατρὸς καὶ μητρὸς κατάραν κληρονομήσαντες, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὧδε οὕτως κολάζονται ὡσεὶ κατηραμένοι.

VI. Καὶ εἶπεν ἡ παναγία· Καὶ τίνες εἰσιν οὗτοι ἕως τοῦ στήθους ἐγκειμένοι εἰς τὸ πῦρ; καὶ εἶπεν ὁ ἀρχιστράτηγος· Οὗτοί εἰσιν οἵτινες τοὺς συνδέκνους ἔριψαν καὶ εἰς πορνείαν ἐρύπωσαν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὧδε οὕτως κολάζονται.

VII. Καὶ εἶπεν ἡ παναγία πρὸς τὸν ἀρχιστράτηγον· Τίνες εἰσιν οὗτοι ἕως τοῦ τραχηλοῦ ἐγκειμένοι εἰς τὴν φλόγα τοῦ πυρός; καὶ εἶπεν ὁ ἀρχιστράτηγος· Οὗτοί εἰσιν, παναγία, οἵτινες ἀνθρώπων κρέα ἔφαγον. καὶ εἶπεν ἡ παναγία· Καὶ πῶς ἐστιν δυνατὸν ἵνα φάγῃ ἄνθρωπος ἑτέρου ἀνθρώπου κρέα; καὶ εἶπεν ὁ ἀρχιστράτηγος· Ἄκουσον, παναγία, καὶ ἐγώ σοι ἀπαγγελῶ· οὗτοί εἰσιν
Paul Lat. 40 Pet. 12 οἵτινες κατέφερον τὰ ἴδια τέκνα ἐκ τῆς κοιλίας αὐτῶν, καὶ ἔρριψαν αὐτὰ βρώματα τοῖς κυναρίοις, καὶ οἵτινες ἔδωκαν τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς αὐτῶν ἐνώπιον βασιλέων καὶ ἀρχόντων, οὗτοι ἔφαγον κρέα ἀνθρώπου, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὕτως κολάζονται.

VIII. Καὶ εἶπεν ἡ παναγία· Τίνες οὗτοι ἕως τῆς κορυφῆς ἐγκειμένοι εἰς τὸ πῦρ; καὶ εἶπεν ὁ ἀρχιστράτηγος· Οὗτοί εἰσιν, παναγία, οἵτινες τὸν τίμιον σταυρὸν κρατοῦσιν καὶ ὀμνύουσιν εἰς ψεῦδος[1]· Μὰ τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ σταυροῦ τοῦ κυρίου. οἱ ἄγγελοι τρέμουσιν καὶ μετὰ φόβου προσκυνοῦσιν, καὶ οἱ ἄνθρωποι κρατοῦσιν καὶ ὀμνύουσιν εἰς ψεῦδος καὶ οὐκ οἴδασιν τί μαρτυροῦσιν· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὧδε οὕτως κολάζονται.

Pet. 6 IX. Καὶ εἶδεν ἡ παναγία εἰς ἕτερον τόπον ἄνθρωπον κρεμάμενον ὑπὸ πόδας, καὶ σκώληκες κατήσθιον αὐτόν·
Pet. 9 καὶ ἠρώτησεν τὸν ἀρχιστράτηγον· Τίς ἐστιν οὗτος, καὶ τί τὸ ἁμάρτημα αὐτοῦ; καὶ εἶπεν ὁ ἀρχιστράτηγος· Οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τόκον λαμβάνων ἐκ τοῦ χρυσίου αὐτοῦ, καὶ διὰ
Pet. 16 Paul 37 τοῦτο ὧδε οὕτως κολάζεται.

X. Καὶ ἴδεν γυναῖκα κρεμαμένην ἐκ τῶν δύο ὤτων,
Pet. fr. 6 καὶ πάντα τὰ θηρία ἤρχοντο ἐκ τοῦ στοματος αὐτῆς καὶ κατέτρωγον αὐτήν· καὶ ἠρώτησεν ἡ κεχαριτωμένη τὸν ἀρχιστράτηγον· Τίς ἐστιν αὕτη, καὶ τί τὸ ἁμάρτημα αὐτῆς; καὶ εἶπεν ὁ ἀρχιστράτηγος· Αὕτη ἐστιν ἡ

[1] ψεύδους

παρακροωμένη εἰς τοὺς οἴκους τοὺς ἀλλοτρίους καὶ τῶν πλησίον αὐτῆς, καὶ συμβάλλουσα πρὸς τὸ ποιεῖν μαχὰς λόγους πονηροὺς, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὧδε οὕτως κολάζεται.

XI. Καὶ ταῦτα ἰδοῦσα ἡ παναγία θεοτόκος ἔκλαυσεν καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς τὸν ἀρχιστράτηγον· Καλὸν ἦν τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἵνα μὴ γεννηθῇ. καὶ εἶπεν ὁ ἀρχιστράτηγος· Ἀμὴν, παναγία, οὐχ ἑόρακας τὰς μεγάλας κολάσεις. καὶ εἶπεν ἡ παναγία πρὸς τὸν ἀρχιστράτηγον· Δεῦρο Μιχαὴλ ὁ μέγας ἀρχιστράτηγος, καὶ ἄπαγέ με ὅπως ἴδω πάσας τὰς κολάσεις. καὶ εἶπεν ὁ ἀρχιστράτηγος· Ποῦ θέλεις, ἡ κεχαριτωμένη, ἵνα ἐξέλθωμεν; <καὶ εἶπεν> ἡ κεχαριτωμένη· Ἐπὶ τὰς δυσμάς· καὶ εὐθέως παρέστησαν τὰ χερουβὶμ, καὶ ἐξήγαγον τὴν κεχαριτωμένην ἐπὶ τὰς δυσμάς.

XII. Καὶ ἴδεν νεφέλην πυρὸς ἁπλουμένην, καὶ κατ- Cf. Pet. 10
ἑκειτο πλῆθος ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν. καὶ εἶπεν ἡ παναγία· Τί τὸ ἁμάρτημα αὐτῶν; καὶ εἶπεν ὁ ἀρχιστράτηγος· Οὗτοί εἰσιν, παναγία, οἳ τὸ ὄρθρον τῆς κυριακῆς κατακεῖνται ὡσεὶ νεκροὶ, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὧδε οὕτως κολάζονται. καὶ εἶπεν ἡ παναγία· Ἐάν τις οὐ δύναται ἐγερθῆναι, τί ποιήσει; καὶ εἶπεν ὁ ἀρχιστράτηγος· Ἄκουσον, παναγία· ἐάν τινος ἐξάψῃ ὁ οἶκος ἐκ τεσσάρων καὶ κυκλώσῃ αὐτὸν καὶ οὐ δύναται ἐξελθεῖν, ἔχει συγχώρησιν.

XIII. Καὶ ἴδεν εἰς ἕτερον τόπον σκάμνια πύρινα, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτὰ ἐκάθηντο πλῆθος ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ ἐκαίοντο ἐν αὐτά. καὶ ἠρώτησεν ἡ παναγία· Τίνες εἰσὶν οὗτοι, καὶ τί τὸ ἁμάρτημα αὐτῶν; καὶ εἶπεν ὁ ἀρχιστράτηγος· Οὗτοί εἰσιν, παναγία, <οἱ> εἰ<ς> τὸν πρεσβύτερον μὴ ἐγειρόμενοι ὅταν εἰσέρχωνται εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὧδε οὕτως κολάζονται.

XIV. Καὶ ἴδεν ἡ παναγία εἰς ἕτερον τόπον δένδρον Paul Lat. rec. II. Br. p. 75
σιδηροῦν, καὶ εἶχεν κλώνους σιδηροῦς, καὶ ἐκρεμνοῦντο ἐν αὐτῷ πλῆθος ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν ἐκ τῶν γλωσσῶν. καὶ Pet. 7
ἰδοῦσα αὐτοὺς ἡ παναγία ἐδάκρυσεν, καὶ ἠρώτησεν τὸν ἀρχιστράτηγον λέγουσα· Τίνες εἰσὶν οὗτοι, καὶ τί τὸ ἁμάρτημα αὐτῶν; καὶ εἶπεν ὁ ἀρχιστράτηγος· Οὗτοί εἰσιν ἐπίορκοι, βλάσφημοι, καταλαληταὶ, οἵτινες ἐχώρισαν

ἀδελφοὺς ἀπὸ ἀδελφῶν. καὶ εἶπεν ἡ παναγία· Πῶς ἐστιν δυνατὸν χωρίσαι ἀδελφοὺς ἀπὸ ἀδελφῶν; καὶ εἶπεν ὁ ἀρχιστράτηγος· Ἄκουσον, παναγία, καὶ ἐγώ σοι περὶ τούτου ἀναγγελῶ· ἐάν τινες[1] ἀπὸ ἔθνους ἔμελλον[2] βαπτίζεσθαι, καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς ἕν<α> λόγον· Σὺ μιαροφάγε ἔθνος ἄπιστον· ὅτι οὕτως ἐβλασφήμησεν, καὶ ἀδιάλειπτον λήψεται τὴν τιμωρίαν.

XV. Καὶ εἶδεν ἡ παναγία εἰς ἕτερον τόπον κρεμώμενον ἄνθρωπον ἐκ τεσσάρων, καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὀνύχων αὐτοῦ ἐξήρχετο
Pet. 14 αἷμα σφοδρῶς, καὶ ἡ γλῶσσα αὐτοῦ ἐδεσμοῦτο ἐν φλογὶ πυρὸς, καὶ οὐκ ἠδύνατο στενάξαι καὶ εἰπεῖν τὸ Κύριε ἐλέησόν με. καὶ ἰδοῦσα ἡ παναγία ἔκλαυσεν καὶ εἶπεν αὐτὴ τὸ Κύριε ἐλέησον, τρίτον· καὶ μετὰ τὸ ποιῆσαι τὴν εὐχὴν ἦλθεν ὁ ἄγγελος ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς μάστιγος ἔχων τὴν ἐξουσίαν καὶ ἀνέλυσεν τὴν γλῶσσαν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου· καὶ ἠρώτησεν ἡ παναγία τὸν ἀρχιστράτηγον· Τίς ἐστιν οὗτος ὁ ἐλεεινὸς, ὁ ἔχων τοιαύτην κόλασιν; καὶ εἶπεν ὁ ἀρχιστράτηγος· Οὗτός ἐστιν, παναγία, ὁ οἰκονόμος ὅστις οὐκ ἐποίησεν τὸ θέλημα τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀλλ' ἔτρωγεν τὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας πράγματα καὶ ἔλεγεν Ὁ δουλεύων τοῦ ναοῦ ἐκ τοῦ ναοῦ θρεφθήσεται[3]· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὧδε οὕτως κολάζεται. καὶ εἶπεν ἡ παναγία· Κατὰ τὴν πίστιν αὐτοῦ γενηθήτω αὐτῷ. καὶ πάλιν ἐδέσμευσεν τὴν γλῶσσαν αὐτοῦ.

XVI. Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ ἀρχιστράτηγος Μιχαήλ· Δεῦρο, παναγία, καὶ ὑποδείξω σοι ποῦ κολάζονται οἱ ἱερεῖς. καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ἡ παναγία καὶ εἶδεν πρεσβυτέρους κρεμαμένους ἐκ τῶν εἴκοσι ὀνύχων, καὶ πῦρ ἐξήρχετο ἐκ τῆς κορυφῆς αὐτῶν. καὶ ἰδοῦσα αὐτοὺς ἡ παναγία ἠρώτησεν τὸν ἀρχιστράτηγον· Τίνες εἰσὶν οὗτοι, καὶ τί τὸ ἁμάρτημα αὐτῶν; καὶ εἶπεν ὁ ἀρχιστράτηγος· Οὗτοί εἰσιν, παναγία, οἱ τῷ θρόνῳ τοῦ θεοῦ παριστάμενοι, καὶ ὅτε ἐμέλιζον τὸ σῶμα τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἐξέπιπτον οἱ μαργαρῖται, καὶ ὁ φοβερὸς θρόνος τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἐσαλεύετο, καὶ τὸ ὑποπόδιον τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἔτρεμεν, καὶ αὐτοὶ οὐκ ἐσύνιον· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὧδε οὕτως κολάζονται.

XVII. Καὶ εἶδεν ἡ παναγία ἄνθρωπον, καὶ θηρίον πτερωτὸν ἔχοντα τρεῖς κεφαλὰς ὡσεὶ φλόγα πυρός· αἱ μὲν

[1] τινος [2] ἔμελεν [3] θρηφήσεται

δύο κεφαλαὶ πρὸς τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἡ τρίτη κεφαλὴ[1] πρὸς τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ. καὶ ἰδοῦσα αὐτὸν ἡ παναγία ἠρώτησεν τὸν ἀρχιστράτηγον· Τίς ἐστιν οὗτος ὅτι οὐ δύναται αὑτὸν ἐξελέσθαι ἐκ τοῦ στόματος τοῦ δράκοντος; καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτὴν ὁ ἀρχιστράτηγος· Οὗτός ἐστιν, παναγία, ὁ ἀναγνώστης ὁ μὴ ποιῶν κατὰ τὰ ἄξια τοῦ ἁγίου εὐαγγελίου τὸν αὐτὸν τρό<πον[2]†· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὕτως ὧ>δε κολάζεται.

XVIII. Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ ἀρχιστράτηγος· Δεῦρο, παναγία, καὶ ὑποδείξω σοι ποῦ κολάζεται τὸ ἀγγελικὸν καὶ ἀρχαγγελικὸν σχῆμα. ἐξῆλθεν καὶ εἶδεν αὐτοὺς ἐγκειμένους εἰς τὸ πῦρ, καὶ ἔτρωγεν αὐτοὺς ὁ σκώληξ ὁ ἀκοίμητος· καὶ Cf. Pet. 12
εἶπεν ἡ παναγία· Τίνες εἰσὶν οὗτοι, καὶ τί τὸ ἁμάρτημα αὐτῶν; καὶ εἶπεν ὁ ἀρχιστράτηγος· Οὗτοί εἰσιν, παναγία, οἱ τὸ ἀρχαγγελικὸν καὶ ἀποστολικὸν σχῆμα φορέσαντες. ἄκουσον, παναγία, περὶ τούτου· ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς[3] πατριάρχαι καὶ ἐπίσκοποι ἐκαλοῦντο, καὶ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτῶν οὐκ ἠξίωσαν· ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς Εὐλογεῖτε ἅγιοι ἤκουον, καὶ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ἅγιοι οὐκ ἐκλήθησαν, ὅτι οὐκ ἐποίησαν ὡς τὸ ἀρχαγγελικὸν σχῆμα φορέσαντες· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὧδε οὕτως κολάζονται.

XIX. Καὶ εἶδεν γυναῖκας κρεμωμένας ἐκ τῶν ἀκρονύχων αὐτῶν καὶ φλὸξ πυρὸς ἐξήρχετο ἐκ τοῦ στόματος αὐτῶν καὶ κατέκαιεν αὐτάς· καὶ πάντα τὰ θηρία ἐξερχόμενα ἐκ Cf. Pet. fr. 6
τοῦ πυρὸς κατέτρωγον αὐτὰς καὶ στενάζουσαι ἐβόουν· Ἐλεήσατε ἡμᾶς, ἐλεήσατε, ὅτι ἡμεῖς κολαζόμεθα χεῖρον πάντων τῶν ἐν ταῖς κολάσεσιν ὄντων. καὶ ἰδοῦσα αὐτὰς ἡ παναγία ἐδάκρυσεν, καὶ ἠρώτησεν τὸν ἀρχιστράτηγον Μιχαήλ· Τίνες εἰσὶν οὗτοι, καὶ τί τὸ ἁμάρτημα αὐτῶν; καὶ εἶπεν ὁ ἀρχιστράτηγος· Οὗτοί εἰσιν, παναγία, πρεσβυτέραι αἵτινες τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους οὐκ ἐτίμησαν, ἀλλὰ μετὰ τὸ ἀποθανεῖν τὸν πρεσβύτερον ἄνδρας ἔλαβον, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὕτως ὧδε κολάζονται.

[1] *αἱ τρεῖς κεφαλαὶ*

[2] F. 346 of the MS ends with *τρό . . .*: f. 346 *b* begins with *δι κολάζεται*. On the margin of this page is a line in a later hand, excessively contracted, which I am unable wholly to decipher, but which does not seem to contain the needed supplement: this cannot in any case be more than a few words.

[3] *ἐπὶ τ. γῆς περὶ τούτου*

XX. Καὶ εἶδεν ἡ παναγία τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ διακόνισσαν κρεμαμένην ἐν ἀκρημνίᾳ, καὶ θηρίον δε<κα>κέφαλον ἔτρωγεν τοὺς μασθοὺς αὐτῆς. καὶ ἠρώτησεν ἡ παναγία· Τί ἐστιν τὸ ἁμάρτημα αὐτῆς; καὶ εἶπεν ὁ ἀρχιστράτηγος· Αὕτη ἐστὶν, παναγία, ἀρχιδιακόνισσα ἥτις τὸ σῶμα αὐτῆς εἰς πορνείαν ἐρύπωσεν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὧδε οὕτως κολάζεται.

Cf. Pet. fr. 6, Esdr. p. 29

XXI. Καὶ εἶδεν ἄλλας γυναῖκας ἐγκειμένας εἰς τὸ πῦρ, καὶ πάντα <τὰ> θηρία κατέτρωγον αὐτάς. καὶ ἠρώτησεν ἡ παναγία τὸν ἀρχιστράτηγον· Τίνες εἰσὶν οὗτοι, καὶ τί τὸ ἁμάρτημα αὐτῶν; καὶ εἶπεν· Αὗταί εἰσιν αἱ μὴ ποιήσασαι[1] τὸ θέλημα τοῦ θεοῦ, φιλάργυροι, καὶ αἱ λαμβάνουσαι[2] τοὺς τόκους τῶν λογαρίων, καὶ αἱ ἄσεμνοι.

XXII. Καὶ ἀκούσασα ταῦτα ἡ παναγία ἐδάκρυσεν καὶ εἶπεν· Οὐαὶ τοὺς ἁμαρτωλούς. καὶ εἶπεν ὁ ἀρχιστράτηγος· Τί κλαίεις, παναγία; ἢ μὴν οὐχ ἑόρακας τὰς μεγάλας κολάσεις. καὶ εἶπεν ἡ κεχαριτωμένη· Δεῦρο, Μιχαὴλ, ὁ μέγας ἀρχιστράτηγος τῶν ἄνω δυνάμεων, ἀνάγγειλόν μοι ὅπως ἴδω πάσας τὰς κολάσεις. καὶ εἶπεν ὁ ἀρχιστράτηγος· Ποῦ θέλεις ἵνα ἀπέλθωμεν, παναγία; ἐπὶ τὰς ἀνατολὰς, ἢ ἐπὶ τὰ ἀριστερὰ μέρη τοῦ παραδείσου; καὶ εἶπεν ἡ παναγία· Ἐπὶ τὰ ἀριστερὰ τοῦ παραδείσου.

XXIII. Καὶ ἅμα τῷ λόγῳ εἰποῦσα, παρέστησαν τὰ χερουβὶμ καὶ τὰ σεραφὶμ καὶ ἐξήγαγον τὴν κεχαριτωμένην ἐπὶ τὰ ἀριστερὰ μέρη τοῦ παραδείσου· καὶ ἰδοὺ ἔκειτο ποταμὸς μέγας, καὶ ἦν ἡ ἰδέα τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐκείνου σκοτεινοτέρα πίσσης, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ ἔκειντο πλῆθος ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ γυναικῶν· ἐκόχλαζεν ὡς κάμινος χαλκείων, καὶ ὡς ἀγρία θάλασσα ἦν τὰ κύματα αὐτῆς ἐπάνω τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν· καὶ ὅταν ἀνέβαινον τὰ κύματα, ἐβύθιζεν τοὺς ἁμαρτωλοὺς μυρίας πηχέας καὶ οὐκ ἐδύναντο ἀνανεῦσαι καὶ εἰπεῖν· Ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς, δικαιοκρίτα· ἔτρωγεν γὰρ αὐτοὺς ὁ σκώληξ ὁ ἀκοίμητος, καὶ οὐκ ἦν ἀριθμὸς τῶν τρωγόντων αὐτούς. καὶ ἰδόντες τὴν παναγίαν θεοτόκον οἱ ἄγγελοι οἱ κολάζοντες αὐτοὺς ἀνεβόησαν μιᾷ φωνῇ· Ἅγιος ὁ θεὸς ὁ σπλαγχνιζόμενος διὰ τῆς θεοτόκου· εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, υἱὲ τοῦ θεοῦ, ὅτι ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰῶνος οὐκ εἴδαμεν φῶς, καὶ σήμερον διὰ τῆς θεοτόκου εἴδαμεν φῶς. καὶ πάλιν ἐβόησαν μιᾷ φωνῇ,

Paul 31

Pet. 6

[1] ποιήσαντες [2] λαμβάνοντες

λέγοντες· Χαῖρε, κεχαριτωμένη θεοτόκε· χαῖρε, λαμπὰς τοῦ ἀδύτου φωτός· χαῖρε καὶ σὺ, ἀρχιστράτηγε Μιχαὴλ, ὁ πρεσβεύων ἀπὸ πάσης τῆς κτίσεως· ἡμεῖς γὰρ ὁρῶντες τοὺς ἁμαρτωλοὺς κολαζομένους μεγάλως λυπούμεθα. καὶ ἰδοῦσα ἡ παναγία τοὺς ἀγγέλους τεταπεινωμένους διὰ τοὺς ἁμαρτωλοὺς ἔκλαυσεν καὶ εἶπεν· Οὐαὶ τοὺς ἁμαρτωλοὺς καὶ τοὺς γείτονας αὐτῶν. καὶ εἶπεν ἡ παναγία· Ἂς ἴδωμεν τοὺς ἁμαρτωλούς. καὶ ἐλθοῦσα ἡ κεχαριτωμένη μετὰ τοῦ ἀρχαγγέλου Μιχαὴλ καὶ πᾶσαι αἱ στρατιαὶ τῶν ἀγγέλων ἦραν μίαν φωνὴν, λέγοντες· Κύριε ἐλέησον. καὶ μετὰ τὸ ποιῆσαι τὴν εὐχὴν ἐκτενῆ, ἔπαυσεν ὁ κλύδων τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ ἐπράϋναν τὰ κύματα τὰ πύρινα καὶ ἐφάνησαν οἱ ἁμαρτωλοὶ ὡς κόκκον σινάπεως· καὶ ἰδοῦσα αὐτοὺς ἡ παναγία ἔκλαυσεν καὶ εἶπεν· Τίς ἐστιν ὁ ποταμὸς οὗτος, καὶ τί τὰ κύματα αὐτοῦ; καὶ εἶπεν ὁ ἀρχιστράτηγος· Οὗτος ὁ ποταμός ἐστιν τὸ πῦρ τὸ ἐξώτερον, καὶ οἱ βασανιζόμενοί εἰσιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι οἱ σταυρώσαντες τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ οἱ τὸ ἅγιον βάπτισμα ἀρνησάμενοι, καὶ οἱ πορνεύοντες περὶ ἄφλεκτον μύρον τῆς συντεκνίας, καὶ ὁ πορνεύων εἰς μητέρα καὶ θυγατέρα, καὶ οἱ φάρμακοι, καὶ οἱ ἀποκτείνοντες μετὰ ξίφους, καὶ αἱ πνίγουσαι τὰ βρέφη. καὶ εἶπεν ἡ παναγία· Κατὰ τὴν πίστιν αὐτῶν γενηθήτω αὐτοῖς. καὶ εὐθέως ἔδυσαν τὰ κύματα ἐπάνω τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν καὶ τὸ σκότος ἐπεκάλυψεν[1] αὐτούς. καὶ εἶπεν ὁ ἀρχιστράτηγος· Ἄκουσον, ἡ κεχαριτωμένη· ἐάν τις βληθῇ ἐν τῷ σκότει τούτῳ, οὐκέτι αὐτοῦ μνεία γίνεται Paul 41
ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ. καὶ εἶπεν ἡ παναγία θεοτόκος· Οὐαὶ τοὺς ἁμαρτωλοὺς, ὅτι ἀτελεύτητός ἐστιν ἡ φλὸξ τοῦ πυρός.

XXIV. Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ ἀρχιστράτηγος· Δεῦρο, παναγία, καὶ ὑποδείξω σοι τὴν λίμνην τοῦ πυρός· καὶ θεώρησον ποῦ κολάζεται τὸ γένος τῶν Χριστιανῶν. καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ἡ παν- Esdr. p. 28
αγία καὶ εἶδεν· καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἤκουεν, τοὺς δὲ οὐκ ἐθεώρει· καὶ ἠρώτησεν τὸν ἀρχιστράτηγον· Τίνες εἰσὶν οὗτοι, καὶ τί τὸ ἁμάρτημα αὐτῶν; καὶ εἶπεν ὁ ἀρχιστράτηγος· Οὗτοι εἰσιν, παναγία, οἱ βαπτισθέντες καὶ τῷ Χριστῷ λόγιον συνταξάμενοι, τὰ δὲ ἔργα τοῦ διαβόλου ποιήσαντες, καὶ ἀπώλεσαν τὸν καιρὸν τῆς μετανοίας αὐτῶν· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὧδε οὕτως κολάζονται.

[1] ἀπεκάλυψεν

XXV. Καὶ εἶπεν· Δέομαι, μίαν αἴτησιν αἰτοῦμαι παρά σου, ἃς κολάζωμαι καὶ ἐγὼ μετὰ τοὺς Χριστιανούς, ὅτι τέκνα τοῦ υἱοῦ μου εἰσίν. καὶ εἶπεν ὁ ἀρχιστράτηγος· Σὺ ἐν παραδείσῳ ἀναπαύει, ἁγία δέσποινα θεοτόκε. καὶ εἶπεν ἡ παναγία· Δέομαί σου, κίνησον τὰ δεκατέσσαρα στερεώματα καὶ τοὺς ἑπτὰ οὐρανούς, καὶ εὐξώμεθα διὰ τοὺς Χριστιανοὺς ὅπως ἐπακούσῃ ἡμῶν κύριος ὁ θεὸς καὶ
Paul 43 ἐλεήσῃ αὐτούς. καὶ εἶπεν ὁ ἀρχιστράτηγος· Ζῇ κύριος ὁ θεὸς, τὸ ὄνομα τὸ μέγα, ἑπτάκις τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ ἑπτάκις τῆς νυκτὸς, ὅταν τὸν ὕμνον τὸν δεσποτικὸν προσάγωμεν, μνείαν ποιοῦμεν διὰ τοὺς ἁμαρτωλοὺς, καὶ εἰς οὐδὲν ἡμᾶς λογίζεται ὁ κύριος.

XXVI. Καὶ εἶπεν ἡ παναγία· Δέομαί σου, ἀρχιστράτηγε, κέλευσον τὰς στρατιὰς τῶν ἀγγέλων καὶ ἀράτω με εἰς τὸ ὕψος τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ῥήξατέ με ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ ἀοράτου πατρός. καὶ εὐθέως ἐκέλευσεν ὁ ἀρχιστράτηγος, καὶ παρέστη τὸ ἅρμα τὸ χερουβικὸν καὶ τῶν σεραφὶμ, καὶ ὕψωσαν τὴν κεχαριτωμένην εἰς τὸ ὕψος τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἔστησαν αὐτὴν ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ ἀοράτου πατρός· καὶ ἐξέτεινεν τὰς χεῖρας αὐτῆς εἰς τὸν ἄχραντον τοῦ πατρὸς θρόνον καὶ εἶπεν· Ἐλέησον, δέσποτα, τοὺς ἁμαρτωλοὺς Χριστιανούς, ὅτι εἶδον αὐτοὺς κολαζομένους καὶ οὐ βαστάζω τὸν θρῆνον αὐτῶν· ἃς ἐξέλθω καὶ ἃς κολάζωμαι ἐγὼ μὲ τοὺς ἁμαρτωλοὺς Χριστιανούς. καὶ ἦλθεν φωνὴ πρὸς αὐτὴν λέγουσα·
Esdr. pp. 25, 26 Πῶς ἔχω αὐτοὺς ἐλεῆσαι, ὅτι οὐκ ἠλέουν αὐτούς; ἡ δὲ ἁγία θεοτόκος εἶπεν πρὸς τὸν ἄχραντον τοῦ πατρὸς θρόνον· Οὐ δέομαι, δέσποτα, διὰ τοὺς ἀπίστους Ἰουδαίους, ἀλλὰ διὰ τοὺς Χριστιανοὺς παρακαλῶ τὴν σὴν εὐσπλαγχνίαν. καὶ ἦλθεν δευτέρα φωνὴ ἐκ τοῦ ἀοράτου πατρὸς λέγουσα· Πῶς ἔχω ἐλεῆσαι αὐτοὺς, ὅτι τοὺς ἰδίους ἀδελφοὺς οὐκ ἠλέησαν; καὶ εἶπεν ἡ παναγία· Δέσποτα, τοὺς ἁμαρτωλοὺς ἐλέησον· ἔπιδε ἐπὶ τὰς κολάσεις, ὅτι πᾶσα ἡ κτίσις τὸ ὄνομά μου[1] ὀνομάζει ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς· καὶ ὅταν ἐξέρχηται ἡ ψυχὴ ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος Ἁγία δέσποινα θεοτόκε, βοᾷ λέγουσα[2]. τότε εἶπεν αὐτῇ ὁ κύριος· Ἄκουσον, παναγία θεοτόκε, εἴ τις τὸ ὄνομά σου ὀνομάζει καὶ ἐπικαλεῖται, ἐγὼ αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐγκαταλείπω, οὔτε ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, οὔτε ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.

[1] σου [2] λέγωντα

XXVII. Καὶ εἶπεν ἡ παναγία· Ποῦ ἐστιν ὁ Μωϋσῆς; ποῦ εἰσιν πάντες οἱ προφῆται καὶ πατέρες οἱ μηδέποτε ἁμαρτήσαντες; ποῦ εἶ, ἅγιε Παῦλε τοῦ θεοῦ; ποῦ ἡ ἁγία κυριακή, τὸ καύχημα τῶν Χριστιανῶν; ποῦ ἡ δύναμις τοῦ τιμίου καὶ ζωοποιοῦ σταυροῦ, ὁ τὸν Ἀδὰμ καὶ τὴν Εὔαν ἐκ τῆς ἀρχαίας κατάρας ῥυσάμενος; τότε Μιχαὴλ καὶ πάντες οἱ ἄγγελοι ἦραν μίαν φωνὴν λέγοντες· Ἐλέησον, δέσποτα, τοὺς ἁμαρτωλούς. τότε ἐλάλησεν καὶ Μωϋσῆς· Ἐλέησον, δέσποτα, οὓς ἐγὼ τὸν νόμον σου ἔδωκα. τότε ἐβόησεν καὶ Ἰωάννης· Ἐλέησον, δέσποτα, οὓς ἐγὼ <τὸ εὐαγγέλιόν σου ἔδωκα. τότε ἐβόησεν καὶ Παῦλος· Ἐλέησον, δέσποτα, οὓς ἐγὼ> τὰς ἐπιστολάς σου ἔφερον ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ. καὶ εἶπεν κύριος ὁ θεός· Ἀκούσατε, πάντες δίκαιοι· ἐὰν κατὰ τὸν νόμον, ὃν δέδωκεν Μωϋσῆς, καὶ κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ὃ δέδωκεν Ἰωάννης, καὶ κατὰ τὰς ἐπιστολὰς ἃς ἔφερεν Παῦλος, οὕτως ἃς κριθῶσιν. καὶ οὐκ εἶχον τὸ τί εἰπεῖν εἰ μὴ Ἐλέησον, δικαιοκρίτα.

XXVIII. Καὶ εἶπεν ἡ παναγία θεοτόκος· Ἐλέησον, δέσποτα, τοὺς Χριστιανούς, ὅτι καὶ τὸν νόμον σου ἐφύλαξαν, καὶ τὸ εὐαγγέλιόν σου ἐτήρησαν, ἀλλὰ ἰδιῶται ὑπῆρχον. τότε εἶπεν αὐτῇ ὁ κύριος· Ἄκουσον, παναγία· ἐάν τις ἐποίησεν αὐτοῖς κακὸν, καὶ τὸ κακὸν οὐκ ἀνταπέδωκαν αὐτοῖς, καλῶς λέγεις ὅτι καὶ ἐν νόμῳ μου καὶ ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ μου ἐμελέτησαν, εἰ δὲ οὐκ ἐποίησαν αὐτοῖς κακὸν, καὶ τὸ κακὸν ἀνταπέδωκαν αὐτοῖς, πῶς εἴπω ὅτι ἄνθρωποί[1] εἰσιν οὗτοι; νῦν ἀποδοθήσεται αὐτοῖς κατὰ τὰ κακὰ αὐτῶν. τότε πάντες ἀκούσαντες τὴν φωνὴν τοῦ δεσπότου τί ἀποκριθῆναι οὐκ εἶχον· καὶ ἰδοῦσα ἡ παναγία ὅτι ἠπόρησαν οἱ ἅγιοι, καὶ ὁ δεσπότης αὐτῶν οὐκ ἀκούει, καὶ τὸ ἔλεος αὐτοῦ [οὐκ] ἀπεκρύβη ἀπ᾽ αὐτῶν, τότε εἶπεν ἡ παναγία· Ποῦ ἐστιν Γαβριὴλ, ὁ μηνύσας μοι τὸ Χαῖρε, ὅτι πρὸ αἰώνων συλλήψῃ τὸν συνάναρχον τῷ πατρὶ, καὶ ἄρτι ἐπὶ τοὺς ἁμαρτωλοὺς οὐκ ἐπιβλέπει; ποῦ ἐστιν ὁ μέγας ἀρχιστράτηγος; δεῦτε, πάντες οἱ ἅγιοι οὓς ὁ θεὸς ἐδικαίωσεν, καὶ πέσωμεν ἔμπροσ<θεν> τοῦ ἀοράτου πατρὸς, ὅπως ἐπακούσῃ ἡμῖν κύριος ὁ θεὸς, καὶ ἐλεήσῃ τοὺς ἁμαρτωλούς. τότε Μιχαὴλ ὁ ἀρχιστράτηγος καὶ πάντες οἱ ἅγιοι ἔπεσαν

[1] Perhaps ἅγιοι: ανοι being misread.

ἐπὶ πρίσωπον ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ ἀοράτου πατρὸς, λέγοντες· Ἐλέησον, δέσποτα, τοὺς ἁμαρτωλοὺς Χριστιανούς.

XXIX. Τότε ἰδὼν ὁ δεσπότης τὴν δέησιν τῶν ἁγίων σπλαγχνισθεὶς εἶπεν· Κάτελθε, υἱέ μου ἀγαπητέ, καὶ διὰ τὴν δέησιν τῶν ἁγίων ἐπίφανον τὸ πρόσωπόν σου ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἁμαρτωλούς. τότε κατῆλθεν ὁ δεσπότης ἐκ τοῦ ἀχράντου αὐτοῦ θρόνου· καὶ ἰδόντες αὐτὸν οἱ ἐν ταῖς κολάσεσιν ὄντες ἦραν πάντες μίαν φωνὴν λέγοντες· Ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς, βασιλεῦ τῶν αἰώνων. τότε εἶπεν ὁ δεσπότης τῶν ἁπάντων· Ἀκούσατε ἅπαντες ἁμαρτωλοὶ καὶ δίκαιοι· παράδεισον ἐποίησα καὶ ἄνθρωπον ἐποίησα κατ' εἰκόνα ἐμήν· αὐτὸς δὲ παρέβη καὶ τοῖς ἰδίοις ἁμαρτήμασιν θανάτῳ παρεδόθη· ἐγὼ δὲ οὐκ ἔφερον τὰ ἔργα τῶν χειρῶν μου τυραννουμένων ὑπὸ τοῦ δράκοντος· διὸ καὶ ἔκλινα οὐρανοὺς καὶ κατέβην καὶ ἐτέχθην ἐκ τῆς ἁγίας ἀχράντου θεοτόκου Μαρίας ἵνα ὑμᾶς ἐλευθερώσω· εἰς τὸν Ἰορδάνην ἐβαπτίσθην ἵνα τὴν παλαιωθεῖσαν ὑπὸ τῆς ἁμαρτίας φύσιν
Paul Lat. 44, Esdr. p. 26 διασώσω· τῷ σταυρῷ προσηλώθην διὰ τὸ ἐλευθερῶσαι ὑμᾶς ἐκ τῆς ἀρχαίας κατάρας· ὕδωρ ἐζήτησα καὶ ἐδώκατέ μοι ὄξος μετὰ χολῆς μεμιγμένον· ἐν μνημείῳ ἐτέθην· τὸν ἐχθρὸν κατεπάτησα· τοὺς ἐκλεκτούς μου ἀνέστησα, καὶ
Paul 44 οὐδὲ οὕτως ἠθελήσατέ μου ἀκοῦσαι. νυνὶ δὲ, διὰ τὴν δέησιν τῆς μητρός μου Μαρίας, ὅτι ἔκλαυσεν δι' ὑμᾶς πολὺ, καὶ διὰ Μιχαὴλ τὸν ἀρχάγγελόν μου, καὶ διὰ τὰ πλήθη τῶν ἁγίων μου χαρίζομαι ὑμῖν τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς πεντηκοστῆς ἔχειν ἀνάπαυσιν εἰς τὸ δοξάζειν πατέρα καὶ υἱὸν καὶ ἅγιον πνεῦμα.

XXX. Τότε πάντες ἄγγελοι καὶ ἀρχάγγελοι, θρόνοι, κυριότητες, ἀρχαὶ, ἐξουσίαι, δυνάμεις καὶ τὰ πολυόμματα χερουβὶμ καὶ τὰ ἑξαπτέρυγα σεραφὶμ καὶ πάντες ἀπόστολοι καὶ προφῆται καὶ μάρτυρες καὶ πάντες ἅγιοι ἦραν μίαν φωνὴν λέγοντες· Δόξα σοι, δέσποτα· δόξα σοι, φιλάνθρωπε· δόξα σοι, βασιλεῦ τῶν αἰώνων· δόξα τῇ σῇ εὐσπλαγχνίᾳ· δόξα τῇ σῇ μακροθυμίᾳ· δόξα τῇ σῇ ἀνεκδιηγήτῳ [σου] δικαιοκρισίᾳ, ὅτι ἐμακροθύμησας ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτωλῶν καὶ ἀσεβῶν· σοῦ ἐστιν τὸ ἐλεεῖν καὶ σώζειν. αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος ἅμα τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ υἱῷ καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.

ON THE APOCALYPSE OF SEDRACH.

The fifth and last of the complete texts which are here printed is at once later in form and earlier in substance than any of the other four. Later in form, for its language degenerates not seldom into modern Greek; earlier in substance, for it is a humble descendant of the Book of Job, the Fourth Book of Esdras and the Apocalypse of Baruch. Like those books, it is an attempt to justify the ways of God to man: and, as in the case of the two last-named books, this attempt takes the shape of a colloquy between God and a man eminent for piety. Of the three ancient books mentioned one is more closely followed in this late Apocalypse than the rest; namely, the Fourth Book of Esdras. In more than one passage, indeed, the lost Greek text of that work has plainly been used. This fact alone would, I think, be some justification for printing the book: another justification is afforded by the consideration that it is necessary to print all documents of an Apocalyptic kind in order to form a complete idea of the development of this branch of literature.

In a former number of this series I have briefly described this book and printed some passages from it[1]. It will be necessary in this place to repeat the particulars there given as to the manuscript source of the text. There is but one copy known to me, in the Bodleian, Cod. Misc. Gr. 56 (Auct. E. 4. 11: olim 3060), given by Tho. Cecill Earl of Exeter in 1618: it is of the xvth century, on paper, and in two hands, of which the second and latest has written only our document—the 11th and last item in the volume.

The text is full of itacisms and in places very corrupt, par-

[1] *Texts and Studies*, II. ii. pp. 31—33, 66.

ticularly in c. xi., which contains a lamentation uttered by Sedrach over the various members of his body. As in the case of the Apocalypse of the Virgin I have tacitly corrected the itacisms, emended where I could the corruptions, and left the neo-Greek forms.

Something has already been said of the sources of this little Apocalypse: in a former publication, referred to above, I have noted two points in which there are resemblances to the Testament of Abraham, namely, the intercession for sinners (c. xiv.) and the reluctance to die (cc. ix.—xi.): mention was also made in the same place of resemblances to Tischendorf's *Apocalypsis Esdrae*, which, as I have elsewhere done, I propose to call the Apocalypse of Esdras, in contradistinction to the old and famous Fourth Book of Esdras. It is now the time to examine some of these resemblances in detail; we will take the Apocalypse of Esdras first.

The Apocalypse of Esdras, like that before us, is preserved in only one copy, likewise a late one (Cod. Par. Gr. 929 of cent. xv.). The name of the seer is also corrupt in both: 'Esdram' and 'Sedrach' are both of them unfamiliar, the one as a form of 'Esdras,' the other as the name of a prophet. These are accidental resemblances, but they serve to bring the two books together in so far as they show a similarity of textual history.

Passing to resemblances in language and subject-matter, we have the following:

Esdras (p. 24 Tischendorf).	*Sedrach.*
It were better for man that he had not been born (and pp. 25, 30).	c. iv. init.
p. 25. Judge me on behalf of the sinners.	c. v. fin.
Ask...what son pleads against his father.	c. iii. init.
p. 26. The '*χεῖρες αἱ ἄχρανται*' of God: the creation of Adam.	c. iv. init.
p. 27. Number the stars and the sand, etc. (and p. 28).	c. ix. fin.
p. 31. 'Whence will ye take my soul?' and the whole scene of the reluctance to die: the word *παρακαταθήκη* applied to the soul, etc.	cc. ix., x.
p. 32. A prayer for forgiveness of sins for those who transcribe the book.	c. xvi. fin.

Resemblances to the Fourth Book of Esdras also exist, though in smaller numbers.

4 *Esd.* iii. 5—7.	*Sedrach.*
Adam's creation and transgression. iv. 5—7 (v. 36, 37).	c. iv.
uade, pondera mihi ignis pondus, etc. 49, 50.	c. ix.
rain and drops used in a metaphor. v. 23—27.	ibid.
ex omni silua terrae et ex omnibus arboribus eius elegisti uineam unam...foueam unam... lilium unum...riuum unum...Sion...columbam unam...ouem unam...populum unum. vii. 36 sqq., viii.	c. viii.
Intercession for sinners.	Sedrach *passim*.

The last instance but one is very striking: there is no parallel in the Apocalypse of Esdras, and one is consequently forced to the belief that Sedrach had indeed access to 4 Esdras.

A brief notice of two other points is necessary. The first relates to the name of the seer Sedrach. The view which commends itself to me is that this is a corruption of Esdras. But it should be remembered that the name Sidrac or Sydrac as that of an eminent philosopher is attached to a very popular mediaeval Western romance (*Livre de Sydrac et de Boctus*: see the British Museum *Catalogue of Romances* by Mr G. F. Warner). Further, Sedrach is the LXX. form of Shadrach in the Book of Daniel; and again, Sirach is a possible origin for the name.

The second point is this: the document as it appears in the MS. consists of two fragments, one a Homily on Love, the other the Apocalypse. The first occupies about $3\frac{1}{2}$ pages, and I have only printed a few lines of the beginning and end of it. It is as far as I can judge quite unimportant, and quite irrelevant.

APOCALYPSIS SEDRACH.

[f. 92] Τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ μακαρίου Σεδραχ λόγος περὶ ἀγάπης καὶ περὶ μετανοίας καὶ ὀρθοδόξων Χριστιανῶν καὶ περὶ δευτέρας παρουσίας τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. Δέσποτα εὐλόγησον.

I. Ἀγαπητοὶ, μηδὲν προτιμήσωμεν πλὴν τῆς ἀνυποκρίτου ἀγάπης· πολλὰ γὰρ πταίομεν καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτα καὶ ὥραν. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὴν ἀγάπην κτησώμεθα, αὐτὴ γὰρ καλύπτει πλῆθος ἁμαρτιῶν· τί γὰρ τὸ ὄφελος, τέκνα μου, ἐὰν τὰ πάντα ἔχωμεν, τὴν δὲ σώζουσαν ἀγάπην οὐκ ἔχωμεν[1]; . . . . .

[f. 93 b] Ὦ μακαρία ἀγάπη, χορηγὲ πάντων ἀγαθῶν. μακάριος ἄνθρωπος ὁ τὴν ἀληθινὴν πίστιν καὶ ἀνυπόκριτον κτησάμενος ἀγάπην, καθὼς εἶπεν ὁ δεσπότης ὅτι Μειζότερον τῆς ἀγάπης οὐδέν ἐστιν ἵνα τις τὴν ψυχὴν θῇ ὑπὲρ τῶν φίλων αὐτοῦ.

II. Καὶ φωνὴν ἀοράτως ἐδέξατο ἐν ταῖς ἀκοαῖς αὐτοῦ· Ὧδε, Σεδραχ, ὅτι βούλῃ καὶ ἐπιθυμεῖς ὁμιλῆσαι σὺν θεῷ καὶ αἰτῆσαι παρ' αὐτοῦ ἵνα ἀποκαλύψῃ αὐτῷ ἅπερ βούλῃ ἐρωτᾶν. καὶ εἶπεν Σεδράχ· Τί, κύριέ μου; καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ ἡ φωνή· Ἐγὼ ἀπεστάλην πρός σε ἵνα ἀναβάσω σε ὧδε εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν. ὁ δὲ εἶπεν· Ἤθελον λαλῆσαι στόμα ὑπὸ στόματος θεοῦ· οὐκ εἰμὶ ἱκανὸς, κύριε, τοῦ ἀνελθεῖν εἰς τοὺς οὐρανούς. καὶ ἐκτείνας ταῖς πτερυξὶν αὐτοῦ ἔλαβεν αὐτὸν καὶ ἀνῆλθεν εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς εἰς αὐτὴν τὴν φλόγα, καὶ ἔστησεν αὐτὸν ἕως τρίτου οὐρανοῦ, καὶ ἔστη ἐν αὐτῷ ἡ φλὸξ τῆς θεότητος.

III. Καὶ λέγει αὐτὸν ὁ κύριος· Καλῶς ἦλθες, ἀγαπητέ μου Σεδράχ· τί δίκην ἔχεις πρὸς τὸν θεὸν τὸν πλάσαντά
[f. 94] σε, ὅτι εἶπας Ἤθελον λαλῆσαι πρὸς στόματος θεοῦ; λέγει αὐτῷ Σεδράχ· Ναὶ, ἔχει ὁ υἱὸς δίκην μὲ τὸν πατέρα· κύριέ

[1] The remainder of the Homily is omitted: see p. 129.

μου, διὰ τί ἐποίησας τὴν γῆν; λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ κύριος· Διὰ τὸν ἄνθρωπον. λέγει Σεδράχ· Καὶ διὰ τί ἐποίησας τὴν θάλασσαν; διὰ τί ἔσπειρας πᾶν ἀγαθὸν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς; λέγει ὁ κύριος· Διὰ τὸν ἄνθρωπον. λέγει αὐτῷ Σεδράχ· Εἰ ταῦτα ἐποίησας, διὰ τί ἀπώλεσας αὐτόν; εἶπεν δὲ ὁ κύριος· Ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἔργον μου ἐστὶν καὶ πλάσμα τῶν χειρῶν μου, καὶ παιδεύω αὐτὸν καθὼς εὑρίσκω.

IV. Λέγει αὐτῷ Σεδράχ· Κόλασις καὶ πῦρ ἐστιν ἡ παίδευσίς σου· πικροί εἰσιν, κύριέ μου· καλὸν ἦν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ εἰ οὐκ ἐγεννήθη· τί τάχα ἐποίησας, κύριέ μου; διὰ τί ἐκοπίασας τὰς ἀχράντους σοῦ χεῖρας καὶ ἔπλασας τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἤθελες ἐλεῆσαι αὐτόν; λέγει αὐτὸν ὁ θεός· Ἐγὼ ἐποίησα τὸν πρωτόπλαστον Ἀδὰμ καὶ ἔθηκα αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ φυτοῦ τῆς ζωῆς, καὶ εἶπα αὐτῷ· Ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν καρπῶν φάγε, μόνον τὸ ξύλον τῆς ζωῆς φύλαξον· ἐὰν γὰρ φάγῃς ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ, θανάτῳ ἀποθανεῖ. αὐτὸς δὲ παρήκουσέ μου τὴν ἐντολὴν καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ διαβόλου ἀπατηθεὶς ἔφαγεν ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου.

V. Λέγει αὐτῷ Σεδράχ· Σοῦ θελήματος ἠπατήθη, δέσποτά μου, ὁ Ἀδάμ· σὺ ἐκέλευσας τοὺς ἀγγέλους σου τὸν Ἀδὰμ προσκυνεῖν, αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ πρῶτος τῶν ἀγγέλων παρήκουσέν σου τὸ πρόσταγμα καὶ οὐ προσεκύνησεν αὐτὸν, καὶ σὺ ἐξώρισας αὐτὸν, διότι παρέβη τὸ πρόσταγμά σου καὶ οὐ προσῆλθεν τῶν χειρῶν σου τὸ πλαστούργημα· ἐὰν τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἠγάπησας, τὸν διάβολον διὰ τί οὐκ ἐφόνευσας τὸν τεχνίτην τῆς ἀδικίας; τίς δύναται πολεμεῖν ἀθεώρητον πνεῦμα; αὐτὸς δὲ ὡς καπνὸς εἰσέρχεται εἰς τὰς καρδίας τῶν ἀνθρώπων <καὶ> διδάσκει αὐτοὺς πᾶσαν ἁμαρτίαν· αὐτός σε τὸν ἀθάνατον θεὸν πολεμεῖ, ὁ δὲ ἐλεεινὸς ἄνθρωπος τί ἄρα ἔχει ποιῆσαι αὐτῷ; ἀλλὰ ἐλέησον, δέσποτα, καὶ ἀνάλυσον τὰς κολάσεις· εἰ δὲ μὴ, δέξαι καὶ ἐμὲ μὲ τοὺς ἁμαρτωλούς· ἐὰν τοὺς ἁμαρτωλοὺς οὐκ ἐλεήσῃς, ποῦ εἰσιν τὰ ἐλέη σου, ποῦ ἡ εὐσπλαγχνία σου, κύριε;

VI. Λέγει αὐτὸν ὁ θεός· Γνωστὸν ἔστω σοι ὅτι πάντα εὐδιάλλακτα ἐπέταξα αὐτόν· ἐποίησα αὐτὸν φρόνιμον καὶ κληρονόμον οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς, καὶ πάντα αὐτῷ ὑπέταξα, καὶ πᾶν ζῷον φεύγει ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ προσώπου αὐτοῦ· [f. 95] ἀλλ᾽ αὐτὸς τὰ ἐμὰ λαβὼν ἀλλότριος ἐγένετο μοιχαλὶς καὶ

ἁμαρτωλός· ποῖος πατὴρ προικίσας, εἰπέ μοι, τῷ υἱῷ αὐτοῦ, καὶ λαβὼν τὴν οὐσίαν καταλιπὼν τὸν πατέρα ἀπῆλθεν καὶ ἐγένετο ἀλλότριος καὶ δουλεύει ἀλλοτρίῳ, καὶ ἰδὼν ὁ πατὴρ ὅτι ἐγκατέλιπεν αὐτὸν ὁ υἱὸς καπνίζεται τὴν καρδίαν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἀπελθὼν ὁ πατὴρ λαμβάνει τὴν οὐσίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐξορίζει αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ διότι ἐγκατέλιπεν τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ; πῶς δὲ ἐγὼ ὁ θαυμαστὸς καὶ ζηλωτὴς θεὸς τὰ πάντα δέδωκα αὐτῷ, καὶ αὐτὸς λαβὼν ταῦτα ἐγένετο μοιχαλὶς καὶ ἁμαρτωλός;

VII. Λέγει αὐτῷ Σεδράχ· Σύ, δέσποτα, ἔπλασας τὸν ἄνθρωπον· οἶδας ποταπῆς βουλῆς ἦν καὶ ποταπῆς γνώσεώς ἐσμεν, καὶ προφασίζεις τὸν ἄνθρωπον εἰς τὴν κύλασιν· ἀλλ' ἔκβαλον αὐτόν· μὴ γὰρ ἐγὼ μόνος γεμίσω τὰ ἐπουράνια; <εἰ δὲ μή>, καὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον σῶσον, κύριε· σοῦ θελήματος ἥμαρτεν, κύριε, ἐλεεινὸς ἄνθρωπος. Τί ἀπέβαλες λόγους πρός με, Σεδράχ; ἐγὼ ἔπλασα τὸν Ἀδὰμ καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν ἥλιον καὶ εἶπα· Ἴδετε ἀλλήλους ποῖός ἐστιν φωτοειδής· ἡ δὲ γυνὴ τοῦ Ἀδὰμ φωτεινοτέρα ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ κάλλει τῆς σελήνης, καὶ τὴν ζωὴν ἐχαρίσατο αὐτῆς. λέγει Σεδράχ· Καὶ τί ὠφελοῦν τὰ κάλλη ἐὰν εἰς γῆν μαραίνωνται; πῶς εἶπας, κύριε, Κακὸν ἀντὶ κακοῦ μὴ ἀποδώσῃς; πῶς ἐστιν, δέσποτα; τῆς θεότητός σου ὁ λόγος οὐδέποτε ψεύδεται, καὶ διὰ τί ἀποδίδως τὸν ἄνθρωπον; ἢ οὐ θέλεις κακὸν ἀντὶ κακοῦ; ἐγὼ οἶδα ὅτι ἄλογόν ἐστιν κακότεχνον ἡμίονος εἰς τὰ τετράποδα— ἄλλον οὐκ ἔστιν· ἀλλὰ τῆς μετὰ χαλιναρίου κόπτομεν αὐτὸ ὅταν ἡμεῖς θέλωμεν· σὺ δὲ ἔχεις ἀγγέλους· ἀπόστειλον τοῦ φυλάξαι αὐτούς, καὶ ὅταν κινήσῃ ὁ ἄνθρωπος πρὸς τὴν ἁμαρτίαν, τὸν πόδα αὐτοῦ τὸν ἕνα κρατήσαι καὶ οὐ μὴ πορεύεται ὅπου δὲ θέλει.

VIII. Λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ θεός· Ἐὰν κρατήσω αὐτοῦ τὸν πόδα, λέγει ὅτι Οὐκ ἐποίησάς μοι χάριν εἰς τὸν κόσμον. ἀλλὰ ἀφῆκα αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ θέλημά του ὅτι ἠγάπησα αὐτόν. διότι τοὺς δικαίους μου ἀγγέλους ἀπέστειλα τοῦ φυλάσσειν
[f. 96] αὐτὸν ἐν νυκτὶ καὶ ἡμέρᾳ. λέγει Σεδράχ· Οἶδα, δέσποτα, ὅτι εἰς τὰ κτήματά σου πρῶτον ἠγάπησας τὸν ἄνθρωπον, εἰς τὰ τετράποδα τὸ πρόβατον, εἰς τὰ ξύλα τὴν ἐλαίαν, εἰς τοὺς καρποὺς τὸ κλῆμα, εἰς τὰ πετόμενα τὸ μελίσσιον, εἰς

τοὺς ποταμοὺς τὸν Ἰορδάνην, εἰς τὰς πόλεις τὴν Ἰερουσαλήμ· καὶ ταῦτα πάντα ἀγαπᾷ καὶ ὁ ἄνθρωπος, δέσποτά μου. λέγει ὁ θεὸς τὸν Σεδράχ· Ἐρωτῶ σε ἕνα λόγον, Σεδράχ· ἐάν μοι εἴπῃς, καλῶς με συμαχᾷ σε, εἰ καί τινος ἐπείραζες τὸν πλάσαντά σε. λέγει Σεδράχ· Εἰπέ. <λέγει> κύριος ὁ θεός· Ἀφ' ἧς ἐποίησα τὰ πάντα πόσοι ἄνθρωποι ἐγεννήθησαν, καὶ πόσοι ἀπέθανον, καὶ πόσοι θέλουν ἀποθανεῖν, καὶ πόσας τρίχας ἔχουσιν; εἰπέ μοι, Σεδρὰχ, ἀφ' οὗ ἐκτίσθη ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ πόσα δένδρα ἐγένοντο εἰς τὸν κόσμον, καὶ πόσα ἔπεσον, καὶ πόσα θέλουν πεσεῖν, καὶ πόσα θέλουν γενηθῆναι, καὶ πόσα φύλλα ἔχουσιν; εἰπέ μοι, Σεδρὰχ, ἀφ' οὗ ἐποίησα τὴν θάλασσαν πόσα κύματα ἤγειραν, καὶ πόσα ὑποδιέβησαν, καὶ πόσα μέλλουν ἐγεῖραι, καὶ πόσοι ἄνεμοι πνέουσιν παρὰ τὸ χεῖλος τῆς θαλάσσης; εἰπέ μοι, Σεδρὰχ, ἀπὸ κτίσεως κόσμου τῶν αἰώνων βρέχοντος τοῦ ἀέρος πόσα σταλάγματα ἔπεσον εἰς τὸν κόσμον, καὶ πόσα μέλλουν πεσεῖν; καὶ εἶπεν Σεδράχ· Μόνος σὺ γινώσκεις ταῦτα πάντα, κύριε· μόνος σὺ ἐπίστασαι ταῦτα πάντα· μόνον δέομαί σου ἐλευθέρωσον τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐκ τὴν κόλασιν, καὶ οὐ χωρίζομαι ἀπὸ τὸ γένος ἡμῶν.

IX. Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ· Ὕπαγε, λαβὲ τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ ἠγαπημένου μου Σεδρὰχ, καὶ ἀποθοῦ αὐτὴν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ. λέγει ὁ μονογενὴς υἱὸς τὸν Σεδράχ· <Δός μοι τὴν παρακαταθήκην>[1] ἣν παρέθετο ὁ πατὴρ ἡμῶν ἐν τῇ κοιλίᾳ τῆς μητρός σου ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ σου σκηνώματι ἐκ βρέφους. λέγει Σεδράχ· Οὐ δίδωμί σοι τὴν ψυχήν μου. λέγει αὐτὸν ὁ θεός· Καὶ διὰ τί ἀπεστάλην ἐγὼ καὶ ἦλθα ὧδε, σὺ δέ μοι προφασίζεις; ἐγὼ γὰρ παρηγγέλθην παρὰ τοῦ πατρός μου μὴ ἀναισχύντως λάβω τὴν ψυχήν σου· εἰ <δὲ> μὴ, δός μοι τὴν ποθεινοτάτην ψυχήν σου.

X. Καὶ εἶπεν Σεδρὰχ τὸν θεόν· Καὶ πόθεν μέλλεις λαβεῖν τὴν ψυχήν μου, καὶ ἐκ ποιοῦ μέλους; καὶ λέγει [f. 97] αὐτὸν ὁ θεός· Οὐκ οἶδας ὅτι χορηγεῖται ἐν μέσῳ τῶν πνευμόνων σου καὶ τῆς καρδίας σου <καί> ἐστι διεσπορισμένη εἰς πάντα τὰ μέλη σου; ἀναφέρνεται διὰ φάρυγγος καὶ λάρυγγος καὶ τοῦ στόματος· καὶ οἵαν ὥραν μέλλει

[1] Supplied from Esdr. (p. 31, Tischendorf).

ἐξέρχεσθαι ἀρχὴν σπάρναται καὶ συνάζεται ἀπὸ τῶν ἀκρονύχων καὶ ἀπὸ πάντων μελῶν, καί ἐστι μεγάλη ἀνάγκη τοῦ χωρισθῆναι ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος καὶ ἀποσπασθῆναι τῆς καρδίας. ταῦτα πάντα ἀκούσας ὁ Σεδρὰχ καὶ ἐνθυμηθεὶς τοῦ θανάτου τὴν μνήμην ἐξέστη λίαν, καὶ εἶπεν Σεδρὰχ τὸν θεόν· Δός μοι, κύριε, ἴασιν ὀλίγην, ἵνα κλαύσω, ὅτι ἤκουσα <ὅτι> πολλὰ δύνανται τὰ δάκρυα καὶ ἴαμα πολὺ γίνεται τοῦ ταπεινοῦ σώματος τοῦ πλάσματός σου.

XI. Καὶ ἤρξατο κλαίων καὶ ὀδυρόμενος λέγειν· Ὦ κεφαλὴ παράδοξε οὐρανοκόσμητε· ὦ ἡλιοφώτιστε οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς· γνωσταὶ αἱ τρίχες σου ἀπὸ Θαιμὰν, οἱ ὀφθαλμοί σου ἀπὸ Βοσόρ, αἱ ἀκοαί σου ἐκ βροντῆς, ἡ γλῶσσά σου ἐκ σάλπιγγος, καὶ ὁ ἐγκέφαλός σου ἐστὶν μικρὸν κτίσμα, κεφαλὴ ὅλου τοῦ σώματος κίνησις· καλοπιστε† καὶ καλλίστατε ἀπὸ πάντων φιλούμενον, καὶ ἄρτι πεσὼν εἰς τὴν γῆν ἄγνωστος γίνεται. ὦ χεῖρες εὔκρατοι καλοδιδακτοὶ καματηροὶ δι' ἃς τὸ σκεῦος τρέφεται· ὦ χεῖρες εὔστοχοι ἀπὸ πάντων οἱ σωρεύοντες τοὺς οἴκους ἐστολίσατε. ὦ δάκτυλοι καλλωπισμένοι καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν χρυσῶν καὶ ἀργυρῶν ἐστολισμένοι· καὶ μέγαλα κτίσματα ὑπὸ τῶν δακτύλων ἄγονται· τὰς παλαμὰς ἁπλονοῦσιν οἱ τρεῖς ἁρμοὶ, καὶ τὰ κάλλη σωρεύουν· καὶ ἄρτι πάροικοι γίνεσθε τοῦ κόσμου τούτου. ὦ πόδες καλοπεριπατητοὶ αὐτόδρομοι ταχύτατοι λίαν ἀνικητοί· ὦ γόνατα συνηρμοσμένα ὅτι πλήν σου τὸ σκεῦος οὐ κινεῖται· οἱ πόδες συντρέχουσιν τὸν ἥλιον καὶ τὴν σελήνην ἐν νυκτὶ καὶ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ τὰ πάντα σωρεύοντες, τὰς τρυφὰς καὶ τὰς πόσεις, καὶ τὸ σκεῦος διατρέφοντες· ὦ πόδες ὠκύτατοι καὶ καλόδρομοι, ἐπὶ προσώπου τῆς γῆς ταρασσόμενοι, τοὺς οἴκους εὐτρεπίζοντες παντὸς ἀγαθοῦ· ὦ πόδες ὅλον τὸ σῶμα βαστάζοντες, εἰς τοὺς ναοὺς ἀνα-
[f. 98] τρέχοντες, μετανοίας ποιοῦντες καὶ παρακαλοῦντες τοὺς ἁγίους, καὶ ἄρτι ἀκίνητοι μένετε. ὦ κεφαλὴ καὶ χεῖρες καὶ πόδες, ἕως ἄρτι σώζω σας. ὦ ψυχὴ, τί γάρ σε ἐνέβαλεν εἰς τὸ ταπεινὸν καὶ ταλαίπωρον σῶμα; καὶ ἄρτι χωριζομένη ἀπ' αὐτοῦ [καὶ] ἀνερχέσαι ἔνθα καλεῖ σε ὁ κύριος, καὶ τὸ σῶμα τὸ ταλαίπωρον ἀπέρχεται εἰς κρίσιν· ὦ σῶμα καλλωπισμένον, τρίχες ἀστεροχαιται, κεφαλὴ οὐρανοκόσμητε ἐστολισμένον· ὦ πρόσωπον καλομύριστον, ὀφ-

θαλμοὶ φωταγωγοί, φωνὴ σάλπιγγος ἦχος, γλῶσσα εὐδιάλλακτε, γένειον καλλωπισμένον, τρίχες ἀστερόμορφοι, κεφαλὴ οὐρανομῆκες, ἐστολισμένον σῶμα, τὸ φωταγωγὸν γλεύφορον πάγγνωστον καὶ ἄρτι πεσὸν εἰς τὴν γῆν, ὑπὸ γῆς κάλλος σου ἀφανὲς γίνεται.

XII. Λέγει αὐτὸν ὁ Χριστός· Παῦσον, Σεδράχ· ἕως πότε δακρύζεις καὶ στενάζεις; ὁ παράδεισός σοι ἠνοίγη καὶ ἀποθανὼν ζήσεις. λέγει αὐτῷ Σεδράχ· Ἔτι ἅπαξ λαλήσω σοι, κύριε· ἕως πότε ζῶ πρὶν ἀποθανεῖν με; καὶ μὴ παρακούσῃς τῆς αἰτήσεώς μου. λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ κύριος· Λέγε, ὦ Σεδράχ. <λέγει ὁ Σεδράχ·> Ἕτη ὀγδοήκοντα ἢ ἐνενήκοντα ἐὰν ζήσῃ ἄνθρωπος ἢ ἑκατὸν, καὶ ζήσῃ αὐτοὺς ἐν ἁμαρτίαις, καὶ πάλιν ἐπιστρέψῃ καὶ ζήσῃ ἄνθρωπος ἐν μετανοίᾳ, πόσας ἡμέρας ἀφίεις αὐτοῦ τὰς ἁμαρτίας; λέγει αὐτὸν ὁ θεός· Ἐὰν ἐπιστρέψας ζῶν τὰ ἑκατὸν <ἢ> ὀγδοήκοντα μετανοήσας τρία ἔτη καὶ ποιήσῃ καρπὸν δικαιοσύνης καὶ φθάσῃ ὁ θάνατος, οὐ μὴ μνησθῶ πάσας τὰς ἁμαρτίας αὐτοῦ.

XIII. Λέγει αὐτῷ Σεδράχ· Πολλά εἰσιν τὰ τρία ἔτη, κύριέ μου, μὴ φθάσῃ ὁ θάνατος αὐτοῦ καὶ οὐ πληρώσῃ τὴν μετάνοιαν αὐτοῦ· ἐλέησον, κύριε, τὴν εἰκόνα σου καὶ σπλαγχνίσθητι, ὅτι πολλά εἰσιν τὰ τρία ἔτη. λέγει αὐτὸν ὁ θεός· Ἐὰν μετὰ ἑκατὸν ἔτη ζήσῃ ἄνθρωπος καὶ μνησθῇ τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁμολογήσῃ ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ εὕρω αὐτὸν, μετὰ χρόνον ἀφίω πάσας τὰς ἁμαρτίας αὐτοῦ. λέγει πάλιν ὁ Σεδράχ· Κύριε, τὴν εὐσπλαγχνίαν σου καὶ πάλιν παρακαλῶ <διὰ> τὸ πλάσμα σου. πολύς ἐστιν ὁ χρόνος μὴ ὁ θάνατος αὐτοῦ φθάσῃ καὶ ἁρπάσῃ αὐτὸν συντόμως. λέγει αὐτὸν ὁ σωτήρ· Ἐρωτῶ σε ἕνα λόγον, Σεδρὰχ, ἀγαπητέ μου, εἶτα ἀναιτήσεις με· ἐὰν [f. 99] μετανοήσῃ ὁ ἁμαρτωλὸς εἰς ἡμέρας τεσσαράκοντα, οὐ μὴ μνησθῶ πάσας τὰς ἁμαρτίας αὐτοῦ ἃς ἐποίησεν.

XIV. Καὶ λέγει Σεδρὰχ πρὸς τὸν ἀρχάγγελον Μιχαήλ· Ἐπάκουσόν μου, πρόστατα δυνατὲ, καὶ βοήθει μοι καὶ πρεσβεύσαι ἵνα ἐλεήσῃ ὁ θεὸς τὸν κόσμον. καὶ πεσόντες ἐπὶ πρόσωπον παρεκάλουν τὸν θεὸν καὶ εἶπον· Κύριε, δίδαξον ἡμᾶς πῶς δεῖ καὶ ἐν ποίᾳ μετανοίᾳ σωθήσεται ὁ ἄνθρωπος, ἢ ἐν ποίῳ κόπῳ; <λέγει ὁ θεός·> Ἐν μετανοίαις,

ἐν παρακλήσεσιν, ἐν λειτουργίαις, ἐν δάκρυσιν ὀχετοῦ, ἐν στεναγμοῖς θερμοῖς. οὐκ οἶδας ὅτι ὁ προφήτης μου Δαυεὶδ ἐκ δακρύων, καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ οἶδας ὅτι ἐσώθησαν ἐν μιᾷ ῥοπῇ; οἶδας, Σεδρὰχ, ὅτι εἰσὶν ἔθνη τὰ μὴ νόμον ἔχοντα <καὶ τὰ> τοῦ νόμου ποιοῦσιν· ὅτι <εἴ> εἰσιν ἀβάπτιστοι καὶ ἐνέβη τὸ θεῖόν μου πνεῦμα εἰς αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐπιστρέφονται πρὸς τὸ ἐμὸν βάπτισμα καὶ δέχομαι αὐτοὺς μετὰ τῶν δικαίων μου ἐν κολποῖς Ἀβραάμ· καὶ εἰσίν τινες οἱ βαπτισθέντες τὸ ἐμὸν βάπτισμα καὶ τὸ θεῖόν μου μέρος μερισθέντες καὶ γίνονται ἀπογνώστοι τὴν τέλειαν ἀπόγνωσιν καὶ οὐ μέλλουσιν μεταγνῶναι· καὶ ἀναμένω αὐτοὺς μετὰ πολλῆς εὐσπλαγχνίας καὶ πολλοῦ ἐλέους καὶ πλούτους ἵνα μετανοήσωσιν, ἀλλὰ ποιοῦσιν ἃ μισεῖ μου ἡ θεότης, καὶ οὐκ ἤκουσαν τὸν σοφὸν ἐρωτῶντα λέγων Δικαιοῦμεν οὐδαμῶς ἁμαρτωλόν. παντελῶς οὐκ οἶδας ὅτι γέγραπται Καὶ οἱ μετανοήσαντες οὐ μὴ ἴδουν τὴν κόλασιν; καὶ <οὐκ ἤκουσαν> ἀποστόλων οὔτε ἐμοῦ λόγου ἐν τοῖς εὐαγγελίοις καὶ λυποῦσιν τοὺς ἀγγέλους μου, καὶ ἢ μὴν ἐν ταῖς συνάξεσιν καὶ ἐν ταῖς λειτουργίαις μου οὐ προσέχουσιν τὸν ἄγγελόν μου καὶ οὐχ ἵστανται ἐν ταῖς ἁγίαις μου ἐκκλησίαις, ἀλλ' ἵστανται καὶ οὐ προσκυνοῦσιν ἐν φόβῳ καὶ τρόμῳ ἀλλὰ μεγαλορημονοῦσιν ἃ οὐ δέχομαι ἐγὼ οὔτε οἱ ἄγγελοί μου.

XV. Λέγει Σεδρὰχ πρὸς τὸν θεόν· Κύριε, σὺ μόνος εἶ ἀναμάρτητος καὶ πολὺ εὔσπλαγχνος, ὁ ἁμαρτωλοὺς ἐλεῶν καὶ οἰκτείρων, ἀλλ' ἡ σὴ θεότης εἶπεν Οὐκ ἦλθον δικαίους καλέσαι ἀλλὰ ἁμαρτωλοὺς εἰς μετάνοιαν. καὶ εἶπεν ὁ κύριος τὸν Σεδράχ· Οὐκ οἶδας, Σεδρὰχ, τὸν λῃστην, μιᾷ
[f. 100] ῥοπῇ ἐσώθη μεταγνῶναι; οὐκ οἶδας ὅτι <ὁ> ἀπόστολός μου καὶ εὐαγγελιστὴς ἐν μιᾷ ῥοπῇ ἐσώθη; <...*peccatores autem non saluantur*>, ὅτι εἰσὶν αἱ καρδίαι αὐτῶν ὡς λίθος σαθρός· οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ πορεύοντες ἀσεβέσιν ὁδοῖς καὶ ἀπολόμενοι μετὰ τοῦ ἀντιχριστοῦ. λέγει Σεδράχ· Κύριέ μου, καὶ εἶπας ὅτι Τὸ θεῖόν μου πνεῦμα ἐνέβη εἰς τὰ ἔθνη ἃ μὴ νόμον ἔχοντα τὰ τοῦ νόμου ποιοῦσιν. ὁμῶς δὲ καὶ ὁ λῃστης καὶ ὁ ἀπόστολος καὶ εὐαγγελιστὴς καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ οἱ φθάσαντες εἰς τὴν βασίλειάν σου, κύριέ μου· οὕτως καὶ τοὺς ἐπ' ἐσχάτων ἁμαρτήσαντάς σοι συγχώρησον, κύριε· ὅτι ὁ βίος πολύμοχθός ἐστιν καὶ ἀμετανόητος.

XVI. Λέγει κύριος τὸν Σεδράχ· Ἐποίησα τὸν ἄνθρωπον τρισὶ τάξεσιν· ὅτε ἐστὶν νεὸς, ὡς νεοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐπαράβλεπον τὰ πταίσματα αὐτοῦ· ὅτε δὲ πάλιν ἀνὴρ, ἐτήρουν αὐτοῦ τὴν διάνοιαν· ὅταν δὲ πάλιν γηράσῃ, καὶ τηρῶ αὐτὸν ὅπως μετανοήσῃ. λέγει Σεδράχ· Κύριε, σὺ ταῦτα πάντα οἶδας καὶ ἐπίστασαι· μόνον συμπαθήσαι τοῖς ἁμαρτωλοῖς. λέγει αὐτὸν ὁ κύριος· Σεδρὰχ, ἀγαπητέ μου, ὑπόσχομαι συμπαθῆσαι καὶ κάτωθεν τῶν τεσσαράκοντα ἡμερῶν ἕως εἴκοσι· καὶ ὅστις μνησθῇ τοῦ ὀνόματός σου οὐ μὴ ἴδῃ κολαστήριον ἀλλὰ ἔσται μετὰ τῶν δικαίων ἐν τόπῳ ἀναψύξεως καὶ ἀναπαύσεως· καὶ εἴ τις συγγράψει τὸν λόγον τοῦτον τὸν θαυμαστὸν οὐ μὴ λογισθῇ ἁμαρτία αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦ αἰῶνος. καὶ λέγει Σεδράχ· Κύριε, καὶ εἴ τις ποιήσει φωταγωγίαν τῷ δούλῳ σου, ῥύσαι αὐτὸν, κύριε, ἀπὸ παντὸς κακοῦ. καὶ λέγει ὁ δοῦλος τοῦ θεοῦ Σεδράχ· Ἄρτι λαβὲ τὴν ψυχήν μου, δέσποτα. καὶ ἔλαβεν αὐτὸν ὁ θεὸς καὶ ἔθηκεν αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ μετὰ τῶν ἁγίων ἁπάντων. ᾧ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.

A FRAGMENT OF THE APOCALYPSE OF ADAM IN GREEK.

The text of the principal remains of the Apocalypse (or Testament) of Adam is to be found, as students of this literature are aware, in the *Journal Asiatique* for 1853 (sér. v. tom. 2), pp. 427—471. They are there given in Syriac and for the most part also in Arabic with a masterly Essay by Renan. Further light was subsequently thrown on them by Dr Hort in his article on Books of Adam in the *Dictionary of Christian Biography*. Since the date of this last work, not much has been added to the material. I am able to contribute a small fragment here, in the shape of a Greek version of the *νυχθήμερον* or Table of the Hours of the Day and Night which, in Renan's edition, appears as Fragments 1 and 2.

This Greek fragment, to which I have made allusion in another place[1], is not altogether new, though it has not been hitherto recognised as coming from the Apocalypse of Adam. In the notes to his edition of Michael Psellus *de operationibus daemonum*[2], Gilbert Gaulmyn of Moulins quoted part of it from the MS. from which the whole is now printed. This is a great magical MS. at Paris (Cod. Gr. 2419) written at the beginning of the xvIth century in a rather difficult hand. It is a perfect storehouse of Byzantine 'occultism,' containing much Solomonic matter, and would no doubt repay a more careful examination than I was able to give it.

[1] *Texts and Studies*, II. ii. 127.

[2] The text and notes are reprinted in Migne's Cedrenus, vol. ii.

Our extracts appear on f. 247 *b*, under the heading Ἀπολλωνίου μαθηματικοῦ: what particular Apollonius may be meant, whether of Tyana or elsewhere, is not specified. They will be printed here as they occur in the MS., with one reservation: each hour has in the MS. a Hebrew name, exceedingly ill written. I give one or two of these, but the majority yielded no satisfactory result: I have inserted an asterisk in the text where they occur. Renan in a note on p. 461 gives some similar mystic names of the hours from one Arabic copy. They do not occur in the Syriac.

The text of the *νυχθήμερον* follows, together with a collation of the corresponding Arabic and Syriac fragments, and of a parallel quotation in Cedrenus (i. 41 in Migne, p. 18, ed. Par.): this last passage is introduced by words which, as Renan recognised, indicate plainly the source used, as the Μετάνοια or Ἀποκάλυψις Ἀδάμ.

Ἀδὰμ τῷ ἑξακοσιοστῷ ἔτει μετανοήσας ἔγνω δι' ἀποκαλύψεως τὰ περὶ τῶν ἐγρηγόρων καὶ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ καὶ τὰ περὶ μετανοίας καὶ τῆς θείας σαρκώσεως, καὶ περὶ τῶν καθ' ἑκάστην ὥραν ἡμερινὴν καὶ νυκτερινὴν ἀναπεμπομένων εὐχῶν τῷ θεῷ ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν κτισμάτων δι' Οὐριὴλ τοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς μετανοίας ἀγγέλου. ὥρᾳ πρώτῃ, κ.τ.λ.

Paris text (Cod. Gr. 2419, f. 247 *b*).

Ἀπολλωνίου μαθηματικοῦ.

ὀνομασίαι ιβ' ἡμερινῶν.

I. (*a*) ὥρα α' καλεῖται אֵיאהכ ἐν ᾗ ἀγαθόν ἐστιν προσεύχεσθαι.

(*b*) Syr. Arab. *First hour of the day.* Prayer of the heavenly beings.

(*c*) Cedren. ὥρᾳ πρώτῃ ἡμερινῇ πρώτη εὐχὴ ἐπιτελεῖται ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ.

II. (*a*) ὥρα β' καλεῖται נַכוּת ἐν ᾗ εὐχαὶ τῶν ἀγγέλων καὶ ὕμνοι.

(*b*) *Second hour.* Prayer of the angels.

(*c*) δευτέρᾳ εὐχὴ ἀγγέλων.

III. (*a*) *ὥρα γ΄ καλεῖται* פַּרַשׁ *ἐν ᾗ εὐχαριστοῦσιν τὰ πετεινὰ τῷ θεῷ· ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ ἀποτελεῖται πᾶν στοιχεῖον.*

(*b*) *Third hour.* Adoration of the birds.

(*c*) *τρίτη εὐχὴ πτηνῶν.*

IV. (*a*) *ὥρα δ΄ * ἐν ᾗ εὐχαριστοῦσιν πάντα τὰ ποιήματα τοῦ θεοῦ, ἐν ᾗ στοιχειοῦνται* (illegible Hebrew) *καὶ πάντα τὰ ἰοβόλα.*

(*b*) *Fourth hour.* Adoration of the animals on earth.

(*c*) *τετάρτη εὐχὴ κτηνῶν.*

V. (*a*) *ὥρα ε΄ καλεῖται * ἐν ᾗ αἰνεῖ πᾶν ζῶον τὸν θεόν· ἐν ᾗ ἀποτελεῖται πᾶν . . . .*

(*b*) *Fifth hour.* Adoration of the beings that are above the heavens.

(*c*) *πεμπτῇ εὐχὴ θηρίων.*

VI. (*a*) *ὥρα ϛ΄ καλεῖται * <ἐν> ᾗ δυσωποῦσιν τὰ χερουβὶμ τὸν θεὸν ὑπὲρ ἀνθρώπων.*

(*b*) *Sixth hour.* Adoration of the Cherubim, who pray on behalf of the sins of men.

(*c*) *ἕκτη ἀγγέλων παράστασις καὶ διάκρισις πάσης κτίσεως.*

VII. (*a*) *ὥρα ζ΄ * ἐν ᾗ αἰνοῦσιν ἀγγέλων τάγματα καὶ παριστάμενα τῷ θεῷ.*

(*b*) *Seventh hour.* Entering in and going out before God. The prayers of all living beings enter in and cast themselves down and go out.

(*c*) *ἑβδόμῃ ἀγγέλων εἴσοδος πρὸς θεὸν καὶ ἔξοδος ἀγγέλων.*

VIII. (*a*) *ὥρα η΄ καλεῖται* וְכַנ.

(*b*) *Eighth hour.* Adoration of the light and of the waters.

(*c*) *ὀγδόῃ αἴνεσις καὶ θυσίαι ἀγγέλων.*

IX. (*a*) *ὥρα θ΄ καλεῖται * <ἐν> ᾗ εὐχὴ ἀνθρώπων·*[1] *ἐν ᾗ οὐδὲν τελεῖται.* (Probably one of these clauses belongs to the VIIIth hour.)

[1] *ἡ χα παυρουν cod.*

(*b*) *Ninth hour.* Prayer of the angels who stand before the throne of the Majesty.

(*c*) *ἐννάτῃ δέησις καὶ λατρεία ἀνθρώπου.*

X. (*a*) *ὥρα ι', * ἐν ᾗ αἰνοῦσιν τὰ ὕδατα, καὶ πνεῦμα θεοῦ καταβαῖνον ἐπιπολάζει αὐτοῖς καὶ ἁγιάζει αὐτά· εἰ γὰρ μὴ οὕτως ἦν, ἔβλαπτον ἂν οἱ πονηροὶ δαίμονες ἀνθρώπους· ἐν ᾗ ἐ<ὰν> ἄνθρωπος ἄρῃ* נֵרוֹן (*νέρον*) *καὶ μίξῃ μετὰ ἁγίου ἐλαίου, πᾶν* נוּשַׁם (*νόσημα*) *ἰᾶται· καὶ δαιμονῶντας καθαίρει καὶ δαίμονας ἀπελαύνει.*

(*b*) Syriac. *Tenth hour.* Visitation of the waters: the Holy Spirit comes down and broods upon the waters and the springs. And if the Spirit of the Lord came not down and did not thus brood upon the waters and the springs, the race of men would be destroyed and the demons would cause to perish with a look whomsoever they would. And if at this hour a man take water and the priest of God mingle holy oil therewith and anoint the sick therewith, they recover health immediately.

Arabic. At the tenth hour, the prayer of the waters: and at this hour the Holy Spirit waves his wings and broods upon the waters and sanctifies them and drives away the demons therefrom: and if every day at this hour the Holy Spirit did not brood upon the waters, all that drank of them would perish because of the evil operation of the demons. And if at this hour a man take water and one of the priests of God mingle holy oil therewith and anoint therewith the sick and those that are possessed with unclean spirits, they are healed immediately.

(*c*) *δεκάτῃ ἐπισκοπαὶ ὑδάτων καὶ δεήσεις οὐρανίων καὶ ἐπιγείων.*

XI. (*a*) *ὥρα ια', * ἐν ᾗ εὐφραίνονται οἱ ἐκλεκτοὶ τοῦ θεοῦ.*

(*b*) *Eleventh hour.* Joy and exultation of the righteous.

(*c*) *ἑνδεκάτῃ ἀνθομολόγησις καὶ ἀγαλλίασις πάντων.*

XII. (*a*) *ὥρα ιβ' * ἐν ᾗ εὐπρόσδεκτοι αἱ τῶν ἀνθρώπων εὐχαί.*

(*b*) *Twelfth hour, which is that of the evening.* Prayer of men to the Good Will which abideth before God the Lord of all things.

(*c*) *δωδεκάτῃ ἔντευξις ἀνθρώπων εἰς εὐδοκίας.*

ὀνομασίαι ὡρῶν νυκτερινῶν.

I. (*a*) *ὥρα α΄ * ἐν ᾗ οἱ δαίμονες αἰνοῦντες τὸν θεὸν οὔτε ἀδικοῦσιν οὔτε κολάζουσιν.*

(*b*) *First hour of the night.* This is the hour of the adoration of the demons; throughout the time that their adorations last they cease to do evil and to harm men because the hidden might of the Creator of the universe restrains them.

II. (*a*) *ὥρα β΄ * ἐν ᾗ ὑμνοῦσιν οἱ ἰχθύες τὸν θεὸν, καὶ τὸ τοῦ πυρὸς βάθος· ἐν ᾗ ὀφείλει στοιχειοῦσθαι ἀποτελέσματα εἰς δράκοντας καὶ...καὶ πῦρ.*

(*b*) *Second hour.* This is the hour of the adoration of the fish and of all creeping things that are in the sea.

III. (*a*) *ὥρα γ΄, * ἐν ᾗ αἰνοῦσιν ὄφεις καὶ κύνες καὶ πῦρ.*

(*b*) *Third hour.* Adoration of the lower depths, and of the light which is in the depths, and of the lower light which man cannot fathom.

IV. (*a*) *ὥρα δ΄, * ἐν ᾗ διέρχονται δαίμονες ἐν τοῖς μνήμασιν, καὶ ἐρχόμενος ἐκεῖσε βλαβήσεται καὶ φόβον καὶ φρίκην ἐκ τῆς τῶν δαιμόνων λήψεται φαντασίας· ἐν ᾗ ὀφείλει <στοιχειοῦσθαι ἀποτελέσματα...> καὶ παντὸς γοητικοῦ πράγματος.*

(*b*) *Fourth hour.* Trisagion of the Seraphim. Before my sin, O my son, I used to hear the sound of their wings in paradise: for the Seraphim were wont to clap their wings making therewith a melodious sound in the temple consecrated to their worship. But after that I had sinned and transgressed the commandment of God I ceased to see them and to hear the sound of them, as was right.

V. (*a*) *ὥρα ε΄ * ἐν ᾗ αἰνοῦσιν τὰ ἄνω ὕδατα τὸν θεὸν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ.*

(*b*) *Fifth hour.* Adoration of the waters that are above the heavens. At this hour, O my son Seth, we, even I and the angels, used to hear the sound of the great waves lifting up their voices to give praise to God, because of the hidden seal of God that moveth them.

VI. (*a*) *ὥρα ϛ′ * ὅτε δέον ἡσυχάζειν καὶ ἀναπαῦσαι, διότι ἔχει φόβον.*

(*b*) *Sixth hour.* Gathering of the clouds and a great holy fear which marks the middle of the night.

VII. (*a*) *ὥρα ζ′ * ἐν ᾗ ἀναπαύει πάντα <τὰ> ζῶα [ταῦτα]. ἐάν τις ἄνθρωπος καθαρὸς ἁρπάσῃ* נֵרוֹן *(νέρον) καὶ βάλλει αὐτὸ ὁ ἱερεὺς καὶ μίξῃ μετ᾽ ἐλαίου καὶ ἁγιάσῃ αὐτὸ καὶ ἀλείψῃ ἀπ᾽ αὐτὸ ἀσθενῆ ἀγρυπνοῦντα παρευθὺ τῆς νόσου ἀπαλλαγήσεται.*

(*b*) *Seventh hour.* Rest of the powers and of all natures while the waters sleep; and at this hour if anyone take water and the priest of God mingle holy oil with it and anoint with this oil those who are suffering and cannot sleep, they are healed.

VIII. (*a*) *ὥρα η′ * ἐν ᾗ δὲ ἀποτελοῦμεν (? δέον ἀποτελεῖν) στοιχεῖον περὶ * καὶ παντοίων φυτῶν.*

(*b*) *Eighth hour.* Thanksgivings paid to God for the bringing forth of herbs and grain, at the time when the dew of heaven descends upon them.

IX. (*a*) *ὥρα θ′ * ἐν ᾗ τελεῖται οὐδέν.*

(*b*) *Ninth hour.* Worship of the angels who stand before the throne of the Majesty.

X. (*a*) Omitted in its proper place, and confused with the Eleventh Hour.

(*b*) *Tenth hour.* Adoration of men: the gate of heaven opens in order to let in thereby the prayers of every living thing: they prostrate themselves and then go out. At this hour, all that a man asks of God is granted him, at the moment when the Seraphim clap their wings and the cock crows.

XI. (*a*) *ὥρα ια΄, * ἐν ᾗ ἀνοίγονται αἱ πύλαι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἄνθρωπος ἐν κατανύξει γενόμενος εὐήκοος γενήσεται· ἐν ταύτῃ πέτονται ταῖς πτέρυξιν σὺν ἤχῳ οἱ ἄγγελοι καὶ χερουβὶμ καὶ σεραφίμ· καί ἐστιν χαρὰ ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ γῇ· ἀνατέλλει δὲ καὶ ὁ ἥλιος ἐξ Ἐδέμ.*

(*b*) *Eleventh hour.* Great joy in all the earth at the moment when the Sun mounts out of the paradise of the living God upon the creation and rises upon the universe.

XII. (*a*) *ὥρα ιβ΄ * ἐν ᾗ ἀναπαύονται τὰ πύρινα τάγματα.*

(*b*) *Twelfth hour.* Attention and deep silence among all the orders of lights and of spirits until the priests have placed odours before God: then all the orders and all the powers of heaven separate.

The Paris MS. adds:

αὗταί εἰσιν αἱ ὀνομασίαι τῶν ὡρῶν· τῷ οὖν καλῶς ταῦτα νοήσαντι οὐδὲν...τοιούτων ἀποκρυβήσεται ἀλλὰ πάντα ὑποταγήσονται.

and then follow lists of the names of the angels who preside over the days of the week, the months, etc.

The fragments of the Apocalypse of Adam which we possess may be enumerated here. These are, first, those published by Renan: viz. Fragments i., ii. Hours of the Night and of the Day. iii. Prophecy, addressed by Adam to Seth, of the coming of Christ: Christ's promise to deliver Adam: a few lines on the Fall: a prophecy of the Deluge: the Burial of Adam. 'End of the Testament of Adam.' iv. An account of the nine Orders of Angels, containing mention of Sennacherib's defeat, and of the visions of Zechariah: consequently in its present form not Adamic. This fragment is also called the End of the Testament.

The account of the Burial of Adam in fr. iii., short as it is, betrays a decided likeness to the Apocalypse of Moses (so called) printed by Tischendorf: and this book is largely incorporated into the Latin *Vita Adae* of which a good text has been edited by Meyer in the *Abhandlungen d. k. bayer. Akad.* 1889.

The Latin book also shows marked resemblances to the Apo-

calypse of Adam in parts which are not found in the Apocalypse of Moses.

One more small fragment of the Apocalypse appears to exist in Greek. In the Epistle of Barnabas ii. 10 we have this quotation following soon after the citation of Is. i. 11—14: *θυσία τῷ θεῷ καρδία συντετριμμένη. ὀσμὴ εὐωδίας τῷ κυρίῳ καρδία δοξάζουσα τὸν πεπλακότα αὐτήν.*

Here the Constantinople MS. has the marginal note: *ψαλμ. Ν′ καὶ ἐν ἀποκαλύψει Ἀδάμ.*

Part of this quotation resembles Ps. l. [li.] 19, *θυσία τῷ θεῷ πνεῦμα συντετριμμένον· καρδίαν συντετριμμένην, κ.τ.λ.* But all the rest from *ὀσμὴ—αὐτὴν* is not Biblical. Irenaeus iv. 17 (29). 3 (2), after quoting Is. i. 16—18, goes on: Quemadmodum alibi ait: Sacrificium Deo cor contribulatum; odor suauitatis Deo cor clarificans eum qui plasmauit.

Clement, *Paedag.* iii. 12 (p. 306 Potter) after quoting Is. i. 11—13 has the following: *πῶς οὖν θύσω τῷ κυρίῳ; Θυσία, φησὶ, τῷ κυρίῳ πνεῦμα συντετριμμένον. πῶς οὖν στέψω ἢ μύρῳ χρίσω ἢ τί θυμιάσω τῷ κυρίῳ; Ὀσμὴ, φησὶν, εὐωδίας τῷ θεῷ καρδία δοξάζουσα τὸν πεπλακότα αὐτήν.*

Again, in *Str.* ii. 18 (p. 470 Potter): *τοιαῦτα καὶ τὰ παρὰ Ἡσαΐᾳ· Τί μοι πλῆθος τῶν θυσιῶν ὑμῶν; λέγει Κύριος. καὶ πᾶσα ἡ περικοπή. Λύε πάντα σύνδεσμον ἀδικίας· αὕτη γὰρ θυσία θεῷ δεκτὴ, καρδία συντετριμμένη καὶ ζητοῦσα τὸν πεπλακότα. ζυγὰ δόλια βδέλυγμα ἔναντι θεοῦ κ.τ.λ.*

This is not the place to work out the relation between these passages. I am only anxious to point out that in the first place we have no reason to distrust the information of the Constantinople MS. of Barnabas, and in the second place, that a quotation such as the one before us would find a very fit place in a book one of whose names was the *Penitence of Adam*, and which contained revelations made to Adam by Uriel, the angel who is over repentance. (See the passage from Cedrenus on p. 139.)

A FRAGMENT OF THE BOOK OF ENOCH IN LATIN.

THE question of the existence of a complete Latin version of the Book of Enoch has more than once been the subject of discussion. It is obvious that several Latin writers have quoted passages from it, as Tertullian, Hilary, Priscillian; but it was not certain that any of these writers were not translating from the Greek text or borrowing their quotations from Greek books. Recently Zahn has called attention to the fact that in the anonymous treatise *Contra Novatianum* we have the passage which S. Jude quotes from the Book of Enoch in a form which seems to be taken from the Book itself, and points to the existence of an Old Latin version[1].

In February of this year I was reading through Casley's Catalogue of the Royal MSS. (now in the British Museum) printed in 1734, and my attention was caught by the description of the MS. 5 E xiii., which reads as follows:

1. Tractatus Theologicus qui incipit: *In nomine sanctae Trinitatis. Amen.....on in ebreica regula in graeca.* Deficit in fine.
2. Cypriani Carthaginis Episcopi Testimoniorum ad Quirinum liber tertius.
3. Quaedam de libro synodali dempta. *Episcopatus autem nomen est Honeris, non* Honoris.
4. Bedae Presbyteri de Remediis Peccatorum tractatus.
5. Bonifacii Moguntini Archiepiscopi Edictum de poenitentibus.
6. Prophetia Enoc de Diluvio.
7. De Vindictis peccatorum. *Initium omnis peccati superbia.*
8. Passio Christi secundum Nichodemum.

[1] Zahn *NTlicher Kanon*, ii. 2. 797.

On Feb. 16 I was able to examine the volume; and my delight was great when I found that the 6th item was really a fragment of Enoch in Latin, containing a shortened text of c. 106.

The volume containing it is decidedly an interesting one on other accounts. It seems to be of English origin, and was certainly in an English monastic library. On the last leaf (f. 100 *b*) is a press-mark which indicates this; this mark seems to be of the XIVth or XVth century.

cxcii
Testimoniale
sc̄i cip'ani R
cxc· xxix

Item penitentiale. Item passio secundum nichodemum et alia.

The press-mark is not one with which I am familiar. Its position on the last leaf of the volume, and its form, are both unusual. The library to which it belonged must have been of some considerable size. The monasteries which have contributed most largely to the Royal collection are those of Rochester (over 80 volumes) and S. Alban's, but I do not know that the mark in question is that of either of these houses.

As to the date and contents of the MS. It is written in beautiful minuscules of the VIIIth century. The text of the *Testimonia* and of the *Gesta Pilati* contained in it would certainly be worth examination considering their high antiquity: the latter at least does not seem to have been used by any editor.

The Enoch-fragment is preceded in the MS. by a penitential Edict of S. Boniface and followed by an imperfect tract on the punishment of certain sins, especially that of gluttony, which seems to be part of a dialogue, and contains *inter alia* an account of the famine at the siege of Samaria extracted from 2 Kings vii. The Enoch-fragment has no heading. It occupies parts of ff. 79 *b* and 80.

I have communicated the text to Mr Charles for his forthcoming edition of the Book of Enoch: but it seemed not unreasonable to print it in this collection also. The only text with which I have been able to compare it is the Ethiopic: I have used Mr Schodde's

English version (Andover, U.S.A., 1882) and marked in the Latin the corresponding verse-divisions.

Italicised letters show contractions expanded : pointed brackets enclose supplements, square brackets enclose superfluous words or letters. The division into lines is that of the MS.

[1]Factum est autem cum esset lamech annorum
tricentorum quinquagenta natus est ei filiu<s>
[2]cui oculi sunt sicut radi solis, capilli autem eius
candi<di>ores in septies niue, corpori autem eius ne-
mo hominum potest intueri : [3]et surexit inter manus
obstetricis suae et adorauit dominum uiuentem in
secula <et> laudauit. [4]et timuit lamech [6]ne non ex eo
natus esset nisi nontius dei et uenit ad patrem suum
mathusalem et narrauit illi omnia. [7]dixit mathusalem
Ego autem non possum scire nisi eamus ad pa-
trem nostrum enoc. [8]quum autem uidit enoc filium
suum mathusalem uenientem ad se [et] ait
Quid est quod uenisti ad me, nate ? [9, 10]dixit Quod natus est
filio suo nomine lamech cui oculi sunt sicut radi solis,
capilli[s] eius candidiores septies niue, corpori autem
eius nemo hominum potest intueri, [11]et surexit f. 80
inter manus obstetricis suae eadem hora qua
procidit de utero matris suae <et ad>orauit dominum uiuentem
in secula et laudauit : [12]et timuit lamech. [13]et dixit enoc.
Nontiatum est mihi, fili, [15]quia post quingentos annos
mittet deus cataclismum aquae ut deleat omnem crea-
turam · xl · <diebus, sicut> ostendit · oculis nostris, [16]et erunt
illi · iii ·
filii, et erunt nomina filiorum eius · sem cham ·
iafeth, [18]et ipse uocabitur noe qui interpretatur
requies quia requiem prestabit in archam.

Chap. 106. And after *some* days, my son Methuselah took a wife for his son Lamech, and she became pregnant by him, and gave birth to a son. 2. His body was white as snow and red as the bloom of a rose, and the hair of his head was white as wool, and his eyes beautiful; and when he opened his eyes, they

illuminated the whole house like the sun, and the whole house became exceedingly light. 3. And as he was taken from the hand of the midwife, he opened his mouth, and conversed with the Lord of justice. 4. And his father Lamech was afraid of him, and fled, and came to his father Methuselah. 5. And he said to him: "I have begotten a singular son, unlike a man, but similar to the children of the angels of heaven, and his creation is different, and not like ours, and his eyes are like the feet [i.e. rays] of the sun, his face glorious. 6. And it seems to me he is not from me, but from the angels; and I fear that wonderful things will happen in his days over the earth. 7. And now, my father, I am here petitioning and asking of thee that thou shouldst go to Enoch, our father, and hear of him the truth, for he has his dwelling-place with the angels." 8. And when Methuselah had heard the words of his son, he came to me, at the ends of the earth, for he had heard that I was there, and cried aloud, and I heard his voice and came to him. And I said to him: "Behold, here I am, my son, because thou hast come to me." 9. And he answered and said to me: "I have come to thee concerning a great thing, and concerning a disturbing vision it is that I have approached. 10. And now, my father, hear me, for there has been born to my son Lamech a son, whose similarity and kind is not like the kind of men; his color is whiter than snow, and redder than the bloom of a rose, and the hair of his head is whiter than white wool, and his eyes like the feet [i.e. rays] of the sun; and he opened his eyes, and they illuminated the whole house. 11. And when he was taken from the hands of the midwife, he opened his mouth, and blessed the Lord of heaven. 12. And his father Lamech was afraid, and fled to me, and did not believe that he was from him, but that his similarity was from the angels of heaven; and behold I have come to thee that thou shouldst teach me justice [i.e. the truth]." 13. And I, Enoch, answered, and said to him: "The Lord will make new things on the earth, and this I know, and have seen in a vision, and I announce it to thee that in the generations of my father Jared some from the heights of heaven departed from the word of the Lord. 14. And behold, they committed sin, and departed from the law, and united themselves with women, and committed sin with them, and married *some* of

them, and begat children from them. 15. And great destruction will be over all the earth, and there will be the water of a deluge, and a great destruction will be for one year. 16. This son who is born to thee will be left on the earth, and his three children will be saved with him; when all men who are on the earth shall die, he and his children will be saved. 17. [They beget on earth giants, not according to the spirit, but according to the flesh, and there will be great punishment on the earth, and the earth will be washed of all its uncleanness.] 18. And now announce to thy son Lamech that he who was born to him is in truth his son, and call his name Noah, for he will be a remnant of you; and he and his children will be saved from the destruction which will come over the earth on account of all the sins and all the injustice which will be completed in his days over the earth. 19. And after that, injustice will exceed that which was first committed on the earth; for I know the mysteries of the holy ones, for he, the Lord, has showed me, and has instructed me, and I have read in the tablets of heaven."

This translation from the Ethiopic version shows that the fragment before us can only be regarded as a shortened text. But there seems no reason to doubt that it is an extract from a complete Latin version of the Book of Enoch. The chapter from which it is taken is generally regarded as one of the Noachian fragments. It is noteworthy that a combination of the Latin and Ethiopic in vv. 2 and 10 gives us a striking parallel to the newly-recovered fragment of the Apocalypse of Peter. Thus

'His body was white as snow and red as the bloom of a rose,' 'oculi eius sicut radi solis, capilli autem eius candidiores in septies niue, corpori autem eius nemo hominum potest intueri.' With this compare the description of the Blessed in *Apoc. Petri*, § 3.

δύο ἄνδρες...οἷς οὐκ ἐδυνήθημεν ἀντιβλέψαι· ἐξήρχετο γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς ὄψεως αὐτῶν ἀκτὶν ὡς ἡλίου....τὰ γὰρ σώματα αὐτῶν ἦν λευκότερα πάσης χιόνος καὶ ἐρυθρότερα παντὸς ῥόδου....ἥ τε γὰρ κόμη αὐτῶν οὔλη ἦν καὶ ἀνθηρά.....

I must leave further discussion of the fragment to other scholars, only remarking that its discovery seems to help us towards answering in the affirmative the question whether there ever existed a complete Latin version of the Book of Enoch.

AN APOCALYPTIC FRAGMENT IN LATIN.

THE accompanying pages contain a Latin Apocalyptic fragment of some interest. It is a description of Antichrist taken from an uncial MS. of the 8th century in the Stadtbibliothek at Trèves, where I read and copied it in April 1891. The MS. in question is no. 36 in the excellent catalogue now in course of publication by the Librarian, Herr Max Keuffer, to whom I should like to express my thanks for his readiness to afford help to me in my work.

The volume is a small folio of 115 leaves of vellum, dated 719 A.D., written in 22 lines to a page, in uncials. Its contents are:

1. S. Prosper Aquitanus *De promissionibus et praedictionibus.* f. 1—112.
2. The fragment here printed. f. 113.
3. *Versus Sybille.* Inc.: Veniet enim Rex omnipotens et aeternus. f. 113^{b}.
4. Colophon. f. 115.

A facsimile of a page will be found in Zangemeister and Wattenbach *Exempla codicum latinorum*, pl. xlix.

The book came from the Abbey of S. Matthias outside Trèves.

The principal interest of the fragment lies in the fact that it is the literal equivalent of certain sections of the tract known as the *Testament of the Lord*, which is printed in Syriac by Lagarde from the Codex Sangermanensis 38, in *Reliquiae Iuris Ecclesiastici antiquissimae Syriace*; a retranslation into Greek by Lagarde will be found in the *Rel. Iur. Eccl. antiq. Graece*, p. 80. I add a

translation of the passages in question, as well as the Syriac text. Of this book and its probable connexion with the Apocalypse of Peter I have said something in my edition of the new fragment of that work (p. 53—58): my view is not accepted at present by Dr Schürer or Dr Harnack, but I hope to be able shortly to adduce fresh evidence on the point.

I have added some further descriptions of Antichrist—the most copious which the apocalyptic literature affords. The book from which the first of these is taken—the Apocalypse of Zephaniah—existed, as it seems, in the 2nd century: the Apocalypses of Esdras and of John (apocryphal) date from a much later period, possibly the 8th and 9th centuries.

Further discussion will be most fitly reserved for the present.

ܐܦ ܡܛܠ ܐܬܘ̈ܬܐ ܕܚܪܬܗ ܘܕܕܒܘ̈ܪܬܗ ܕܐܟܠܩܪܨܐ.
ܕܐܝܟ ܐܠܝܢ ܐܬܚܙܝܢ. ܘܗܠܝܢ ܐܬܘ̈ܬܐ ܕܠܗ. ܪܫܝܡܘܗܝ
ܐܝܟ ܠܒܘܠܬܐ ܕܢܘܪܐ. ܚܙܘܗ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܡܪܝܟܐ ܒܕܡܐ.
ܗܝ ܕܝܢ ܕܣܡܠܐ ܐܝܬܘܗ ܐܓܪ̈ܝܬܐ. ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܬܪ̈ܬܝܢ
ܥܝ̈ܢܐ. ܬܠܝ̈ܦܢ ܣܢܝ̈ܩܢ. ܘܦܬܝܗ ܗܝ ܬܚܝܬܝܬܐ ܪܒܐ.
ܨܒ̈ܥܘܗܝ ܕܝܢ ܕܡܝ̈ܢܐ ܡܟܝܟܢܐ. ܬ̈ܠܝܦܢ ܩܘ̈ܠܝܢ. ܬܪ̈ܝܢܐ
ܘܦܠܝܓܐ ܒ̈ܢܝܗ ܗܝ ܪܒܬܐ. ܗܘܐ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܡܫܟܠܐ
ܕܚܘܪܒܐ.

ܘ ܡܛܠ ܐܬܘ̈ܬܐ ܕܒܫܡܝܐ: ܗܘܝܢ ܢܗܘܘܢ ܒܫܡܝܐ
ܐܬܘ̈ܬܐ. ܩܫܬܐ ܬܬܚܙܐ ܘܩܪܢܐ ܘܠܡܦܝܕܐ. ܘܫܡܫܐ
ܕܠܐ ܒܙܒܢܗ ܘܩܠܐ. ܘܦܘܪ̈ܥܢܐ ܕܫܡܫܐ ܘܟܘ̈ܟܒܬܐ
ܕܐܪܥܐ. ܝ ܡܛܠ ܗܠܝܢ ܕܥܠ ܐܪܥܐ: ܘܥܠ ܐܪܥܐ ܕܝܢ
ܢܗܘܘܢ ܐܬܘ̈ܬܐ. ܡܘ̈ܠܕܐ ܕܚܝ̈ܘܬܐ ܡܢ ܒܢ̈ܝܢܫܐ. ܒܗ
ܒܕܡܘܬܐ ܐܦ ܕܚܝܘܬ ܚܝܘܬܐ. ܘܦܠ̈ܓܘܬܐ ܕܗܘܝܢ ܠܟܢ̈ܫܐ
ܫܐܬܝܬܐ. ܬܐܠܕܢ ܥܒܪܐ ܕܡܡܠܠܝܢ ܡ̈ܠܐ ܡܫܬ̈ܠܡܢܝܬܐ.
ܘܡܡܕܟܝܢ ܐܟܚܕܐ ܐܚܪ̈ܢܐ. ܘܡܚܘܝܢ ܕܢܬܦܠܛܘܢ ܣܝܒܬܐ

ܕܝܢ ܕܠܗܘܢ ܬܗܘܐ ܐܬܐܡܪܬ. ܐܡܝܢܐ ܕܗ̈ܢܘܢ ܕܡܠܠܝܢ
ܒܫ̈ܡܝܐ. ܘܗ̈ܪܐ ܠܒܪ ܢܗܘܘܢ ܐܬܬܗܘܢ ܗܢܘܢ
ܕܡܬܬܠܝܢ. ܐܠܐ ܐܦ ܢܦ̈ܩܐ ܬܐܠܕ݂ ܥܒܕ̈ܐ ܙ̈ܗܝܝܢ
ܬ̈ܟܠܐ. ܗܠܝܢ ܕܝܢ ܙ̈ܘܥܐ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܬܐܠܕ݂ ܗܠܝܢ ܕܝܢ.
ܟܕ ܙ̈ܘܥܐ ܠܦܩܬܐ ܬܐܠܕ݂ ܒܩ̈ܠܝܗܘܢ. ܐܣܬܝܬܐ
ܕܝܢ ܡܬܚ̈ܝܬܐ ܒܟܪ̈ܘܒܐ ܘܡܬܓܠܠܬ ܒܥܘ̈ܪܐ ܢܗ̈ܘܘܢ.
ܘܡܬܚ̈ܙܝܢܬܐ ܐܬܘ̈ܬܐ ܐܣܬܝܬܐ ܕܣܬ̈ܠܬܐ ܢܗ̈ܘܘܢ. ܝ ܡܛܠ
ܥܠܘܗܝ ܘܒܠܠܐ ܕܒܥ̈ܒܪܐ ܘܕܪ̈ܒܘܬܐ: ܒܒܗܢܐ
ܕܝܢ ܕܒܥ̈ܒܪܐ ܘܒܬ̈ܪܬܐ. ܒܩ̈ܠܠܐ ܦ̈ܩܚܐ ܢܗܘܘܢ.

Codex Treverensis 36.	Testament of the Lord.
	§ 11. *Concerning the signs of the appearance and the likenesses of the devil, of what sort they are.*
HEC SUNT SIGNA ANTICHR*ISTI*: Caput eius sicut flam*ma* ignis, oculi eius fellini: sed dexter sanguine mixtus erit, sinister autem glaucus[1] et duos pupulos habens: supercilia uero alba,	And these are the signs of him: his head *is* as a flame of fire, his right eye minged with blood, but the left is green, having two pupils: his eyebrows white,
labium inferiorem maiorem,	his lower lip large,
dextrum femur eius macrum,	but his right thigh lean,
tibie tenues,	
pedes lati,	his feet broad,
fractus erit maior digitus eius:	broken and thin *is* his great finger:
Iste est falx desolationis[2]	he is the scythe[3] of devastation.
et multis quasi chr*ist*us adstabit.	
	§ 6. *Concerning the signs in heaven.*
Sed ante hec in caelo erunt signa alia.	Then shall there be signs in the heaven:
arcus in caelo parebit et cornum et lampada	a bow shall be seen and a horn and a torch
et sonus et uox et maris Bullitio et terrae rugitus.	and untimely noises and voices and boilings of the sea and roarings of the earth.

[1] *cod.* gaudens. [2] *cod.* fallax dilectionis.

[3] The Syr. text reads 'tower' but a marginal reading is 'scythe': see note.

§ 7. *Concerning those* (i.e. *signs*) *upon earth.*

et in terra erunt monstrua,

draconum generatio de homines similiter et serpentium,
et mox nubserit femina pariet filios dicentes sermones perfectos et nuntiantes posteriora tempora, et rogabunt ut interficiantur;

uisio enim eorum erit sic quasi seniorum in annis;
cani erunt enim[1] qui nascuntur:

et aliae mulieres filios quadr<u>pedes generabunt,
aliae autem mulieres uentum solum generabunt,
aliae autem cum spiritibus inmundis generabunt filios,
aliae uero in utero diuinabunt:

et multa alia monstrua erunt.

And upon the earth also shall be signs:
births of dragons from men, and likewise of ravening beasts;
and damsels newly wedded to husbands shall bring forth babes speaking complete words and announcing the last times and entreating to be killed;
and their appearance shall be as of those advanced in years,
for they that are born shall be white (haired):
but also women shall bring forth four-footed babes,
and some shall bring forth wind[2] only,
and some with unclean spirits shall bear their children,
and some shall be diviners in the belly and ventriloquists:
and there shall be many other fearful signs.

§ 8. *Concerning the disturbance and confusion of the nations and the shepherds.*

<et> in populis et in ecclesiis[3] conturbationes multe erunt.

haec autem omnia ante uentum antichristi erunt.
Dexius erit nomen antichristi.
Explicit.

And in the assembly of the nations and in the churches shall be many confusions.

[1] *cod.* in eis.
[2] Pointed as plural, identical with 'spirits' in the next clause.
[3] *cod.* erunt in populis et in ecclesiis.

ADDITIONAL DESCRIPTIONS OF ANTICHRIST.

I.

Apocalypse of Zephaniah, fragments *e, f.*

In the fourth year of that king will the son of wickedness [ὁ υἱὸς τῆς ἀδικίας] appear and say: 'I am the Christ'; although he is not. Believe ye not on him: the Christ when He cometh, cometh in the form of a dove with a ring of doves about Him, hovering upon the clouds of heaven, with the sign of the cross before Him, which shall appear to the whole world like as the sun shining from the regions of the east to the regions of the west. So shall He come with all His angels about Him.

On the other hand the son of wickedness will stand once more upon the holy place: he will say to the sun: 'Be eclipsed!' and it will be so: he will say: 'Shine!' and it will obey him: he will say: 'Be darkened!' and it will be darkened. He will say to the moon: 'Be thou turned into blood!' and it will be so: he will make it vanish from the heaven. He will walk upon the sea and the rivers as upon the dry land: he will cause the lame to walk, the deaf to hear, the dumb to speak, and the blind to see: he will cleanse the lepers, heal the sick, cast devils out of them that are possessed, and will multiply his signs and wonders before all the world. He will do the things that the Christ will do, save only the raising of the dead. Thereby shall ye know that he is the son of wickedness, in that he hath no power over souls.

Lo, I will tell you his marks, that ye may know him: he is somewhat weak, young (*or* tall) and lame: he hath a white place on his forehead; he is bald to his ears, and hath marks of leprosy on his hands. He will change himself before them that look upon him; he will make himself at one time young and at another time old: in respect of all his marks will he change himself, but the marks upon his head will not be able to be changed. Thereby shall ye know that he is the son of wickedness.

[See Stern, in *Zeitschr. f. Ägypt. Sprache*, 1886, p. 124, and Coptic text, ed. Bouriant, in *Mémoires de la Mission Archéol. au Caire* i. 242--304.]

Probably this account may be the source of a passage in the Pseudo-Athanasian *Quaestiones ad Antiochum Ducem* (108), where mention is made of a belief that Antichrist would appear in Egypt, would be one-eyed and one-handed, and would perform all miracles except the raising of the dead.

II.

Apocalypse of Esdras; Tisch. *Apoc. Apocr.*, p. 28.

οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ λέγων· Ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοὺς λίθους ἄρτους ποιήσας καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ οἶνον. καὶ εἶπεν ὁ προφήτης· Κύριε, γνώρισόν μοι ποῖον σχῆμά ἐστιν, κἀγὼ παραγγέλλω τὸ γένος τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἵνα μὴ πιστεύσωσιν αὐτῷ. καὶ εἶπέν μοι·

Τὸ εἶδος τοῦ προσώπου αὐτοῦ <ζοφώδες, αἱ τρίχες τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ ὀξεῖαι ὡς βέλη, οἱ ὀφρύες αὐτοῦ>[1] ὡσεὶ ἀγροῦ, ὁ ὀφθαλμὸς αὐτοῦ ὁ δεξιὸς ὡς ὁ ἀστὴρ ὁ τὸ πρωῒ ἀνατέλλων, καὶ ὁ ἕτερος ἀσάλευτος[2], τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ ὡς πῆχυν μίαν, οἱ ὀδόντες αὐτοῦ σπιθαμιαῖοι, οἱ δάκτυλοι αὐτοῦ ὡς δρέπανα, τὸ ἴχνος τῶν ποδῶν αὐτοῦ σπιθαμῶν δύο, καὶ εἰς τὸ μέτωπον αὐτοῦ γραφὴ, ἀντίχριστος. ἕως τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ὑψώθη[3], ἕως τοῦ ᾅδου καταβήσεται[4].

ποτὲ μὲν γενήσεται παιδίον, ποτὲ γέρων. καὶ εἶπεν ὁ προφήτης· Κύριε, καὶ πῶς σὺ ἀφεῖς, καὶ πλανᾶται τὸ γένος τῶν ἀνθρώπων; καὶ εἶπεν ὁ θεός· Ἄκουσον, προφητά μου· καὶ παιδίον γίνεται καὶ γέρων, καὶ μηδεὶς αὐτῷ πιστεύει ὅτι ἔστιν ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητός.

Apocalypse of John; Tisch. *l. c.* p. 74.

καὶ πάλιν εἶπον· Κύριε, ἀποκάλυψόν μοι ποταπός ἐστιν.

καὶ ἤκουσα φωνῆς λεγούσης μοι·

ποιῶν ψευδοφαντασίας.

III.

A Venice MS. of the Apocalypse of John (Marc. cl. ii, cod. xc; E in Tischendorf *l. c.* p. 74) gives further particulars:

αἱ τρίχες τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ ὡς βέλη ἠκονημένα, οἱ ὀδόντες αὐτοῦ σπιθαμήν· οἱ δάκτυλοι αὐτοῦ ὡς δρέπανα, τὰ σκέλη αὐτοῦ ὅμοια ἀλέκτορι (*cod.* λεκτούρ)· τὸ ἴχνος τῶν ποδῶν αὐτοῦ σπιθαμῶν δύο· οἱ ὀφρύες (*cod.* ὡσφρὺς) αὐτοῦ <πλήρεις>

[1] om. *Esdr.* [2] ὡς λέοντος *Jo.* [3] ὑψωθήσεται, καὶ *Jo.* [4] καταβήσει *Esdr.*

πάσης δυσωδίας καὶ ἀγριότητος· καὶ εἰς τὸ μέτωπον αὐτοῦ γραφὴ, ἀντίχριστος· κρατῶν ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ ποτήριον θανάτου, καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ πίνουσιν πάντες οἱ προσκυνοῦντες αὐτόν· ὁ μὲν ὀφθαλμὸς αὐτοῦ ὡς ἀστὴρ τὸ πρωῒ ἀνατέλλων, καὶ ὁ ἕτερος ὥσπερ λέοντος, ὅτε αἰχμαλωτεύθη ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀρχαγγέλου Μιχαὴλ, καὶ ἦρεν ἐξ αὐτοῦ τὴν θεότητα· καὶ ἀπεστάλην ἐγὼ ἐκ τῶν κόλπων τοῦ πατρός μου, καὶ συνέστειλα τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ τοῦ μεμιαμένου, καὶ ἐσβέσθη ὁ ὀφθαλμὸς αὐτοῦ..... καὶ εἶπον· Κύριέ μου, καὶ τί σημεῖα ποιεῖ; Ἄκουσον, δίκαιε Ἰωάννη· ὄρη καὶ βουνοὺς μετακινήσει καὶ διανεύσει τῆς μεμιαμένης χειρὸς αὐτοῦ· Δεῦτε πρός με πάντες. καὶ διὰ φαντάσματα καὶ πλάνης συνάγονται ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ τόπῳ. νεκροὺς οὐκ ἐγείρει· τὰ δὲ πάντα ἄλλα (*cod.* ὅλα) ὡς θεὸς ὑποδεικνύει.

SUPPLEMENT TO THE ACTS OF PHILIP.

The eleventh-century manuscript, Codex Baroccianus 180 in the Bodleian Library, is well known to students of apocryphal literature. From it Tischendorf edited the only Greek text of the *Acta Petri et Andreae* which has seen the light. The same volume contains, moreover, an interesting text of the concluding portion of the *Acta Philippi*, of which Tischendorf printed a considerable portion in his *Apocalypses Apocryphae*, pp. 151—156. He did not, however, give the text *in extenso*; in fact, he omitted two portions which seem to me worth printing. The first of these fragments occurs in the course of the text, in a discourse of Philip's dealing with the Serpent. That it formed part of the original Gnostic Acts I have little doubt: its place is in § 24 (ed. Tischdf.) after the words *ἀλλὰ γένους ἐστὶ φθορᾶς καὶ κατηργήθη ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ*. Here the Baroccian MS. has the following paragraph:

καὶ ἐγενήθη ὁ ὄφις ἀπὸ τῆς χολῆς τοῦ ἀέρος· ὅτε γὰρ ἡ πᾶσα ὕλη ἐξηργάσθη καὶ ἐξηπλήσθη (? ἐξεπλάσθη) ἐν παντὶ τῷ συστήματι τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, ἐδεήθησαν τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ τὰ δημιουργήματα τὴν ἑαυτὸν (? ἑαυτῶν or αὐτοῦ) δόξαν· καὶ ὅτε ἐθεάσαντο, τότε <τὸ> θέλημα αὐτῶν ἐγένετο χολὴ (cod. *χολὴν*) *καὶ πικρία· καὶ ἡ γῆ ἐγένετο ἀποθήκη τοῦ πλανηθέντος καὶ συνήχθη τὸ ἀποτέλεσμα καὶ τὸ περισ<σ>ὸν τῆς γῆς, καὶ ἐγένετο ὥσπερ ᾠόν, καὶ εὐθὺς ἐγεννήθη ὁ ὄφις· ἀλλὰ κατήραται ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ· διὰ τοῦτο εἱλικτός ἐστι καὶ σκολιός· κ.τ.λ.*

The drift of this is not very plain: but it seems to be a version of the well-known legend (which occurs in the Latin *Vita Adae* among other places) that the angels were called upon to adore the newly-created Adam, and that certain of them through pride and

envy refused to do so. In this passage, their jealousy is materialised and takes the form of the serpent. The second portion of text which the Baroccian MS. contains is an account of the translation of Philip's body; it follows continuously upon the Martyrdom. It does not seem to come from the author of the Acts, for, to take one crucial point, it distinguishes between the towns of Ophiorymus (so, not Ophioryme) and Hierapolis, which, in the Acts, are identical. But it has points of interest of its own.

First, like the Acts of Xanthippe and Polyxena, it shows a knowledge of more than one Gnostic romance. In c. ii, there is a reference to a visit paid by S. John to Hierapolis on his way to Laodicea. This journey to Laodicea appears to have been recorded in the Leucian *Acta Joannis* (Zahn, *Act. Jo.* p. 225). Again in c. iv, the various countries mentioned by the demons who are flying from Hierapolis point to a knowledge of these same apocryphal romances: Rome, Apamea, Galilee, Achaia, India, Persia occur first; and of these, Rome, Achaia and India at once recall the names of Peter, Andrew and Thomas: while Persia may point to Bartholomew's labours, or to those of Simon and Jude. We naturally find that the author of the supplement is familiar with the complete Acts of Philip. The following countries and cities are mentioned in the passage just referred to as having been visited by that apostle—Greece, Ophiorymus, Gaza, Azotus, Samaria, and the land of the Candacenes; and, while it is true that the canonical Acts are the ultimate source whence most of these names were drawn, it is far more likely that our author had in his mind the Acts of Philip, which give detailed accounts of Philip's journeys and miracles in these regions[1]. The ten Athenian philosophers, who figure in the narrative here printed, are personages borrowed from that section of the Philip romance which is printed by Tischendorf under the name of *Acta Philippi in Hellade.*

In the second place, this short story contains an interesting illustration of an episode in the famous Gospel of Peter. In that document we have the fantastic image of a cross which follows the risen Saviour and gives utterance to a mysterious word. Here

[1] See the newly-discovered portions of these Acts, edited by P. Batiffol in *Analecta Bollandiana*, vol. ix.

(in c. iii) we have an apparition of a cross which accompanies the glorified form of Philip. "And many voices in the heavens sounded the Amen and the Alleluia: and the cross was taken up and spake unto Philip: Behold the place of thy rest until I come in the glory of my Father and awake thee; and now receive thou the crown of thine apostleship in the heavens, where I am sitting at the right hand of my Father." The identification of the cross with the Son is perhaps not to be pressed, for it is clearly not intended in the Acts, where, in many places, the cross of light plays a prominent part: but the occurrence of a speaking cross is by no means a common feature, and any document which contains it is worth some notice. The reader of this narrative should compare it with the latter part of the *Acta Matthaei* in Tischendorf's collection: he will find that the two documents throw some light upon one another, and both show the growth of a tendency among later Gnostics to attach great importance to the burial-places and relics of departed saints.

TRANSLATIO PHILIPPI.

I. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ πέρατα[1] τῆς ἀνατολῆς κατὰ τῆς δύσεως καὶ τὰ νότα καὶ τὰ βόρια διέδραμεν ἡ φήμη ὅτι ὁ μακάριος Πέτρος κατὰ κεφαλῆς ἐσταυρώθη ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ, ὁ Ἀνδρέας ἐν Πατραῖς[2] ἐν τῷ πόντῳ τῆς Ἀχαίας, ὡσαύτως καὶ οὗτος[3] ὁ Φίλιππος κατὰ τὴν Ὀφιόρυμον καὶ ἀντιστρόφως τὸν τοῦ Χριστοῦ σταυρὸν ἐτίμησεν, πάντες σχεδὸν οἱ πιστεύσαντες ἔσπευσαν ὅπου τὰ σώματα τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων ἔκειντο προσκυνῆσαι· τὰ δὲ τοῦ μακαρίου Φιλίππου μετηνέχθησαν εἰς Ἱερὰν πόλιν ὑπὸ τῶν πιστῶν· ἐπιφανεὶς γὰρ ὁ ἅγιος Φίλιππος μετὰ μ΄ ἡμέρας τοῦ σταυρωθῆναι πᾶσιν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς κατὰ πᾶσαν ἐκκλησίαν ἐφάνη· καὶ ἐν ταῖς Ἀθηναῖς τινῶν φιλοσόφων γινομένων, ἀπὸ Ἱερᾶς πόλεως ὄντες, καθοδηγηθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ Φιλίππου εἰς τὴν Ὀφιόρυμον ὅπου ἦν σταυρωθεὶς, καὶ ἐπιμείναντες γ΄ ἡμέρας καὶ κοινωνήσαντες τοῖς ἐκεῖσε ἀδελφοῖς, λάθρα λαβόντες τοῦ ἀποστόλου τὰ λείψανα, τὰ μὲν διὰ θαλάττης πλεῖς (*sic*), τὰ δὲ δι' ἐρήμου ἀβάτου, ὡς ἂν τὰ τοῦ σώφρονος Ἰωσὴφ ἕφερον τὰ ὀστέα, ὡς καὶ τὸν Ἰησοῦν φαίνεσθαι αὐτοῖς ἐν σχήματι τοῦ Φιλίππου, καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ τὴν ὁδὸν τῷ λαμπρῷ αὐτοῦ καταλάμπεσθαι φωτί. καὶ ὀλίγαις ἡμέραις οἱ φιλοσόφοι ἦλθον εἰς τὴν Ἱερὰν πόλιν ἔχοντες τοῦ ἁγίου Φιλίππου τὰ λείψανα.

II. Καὶ νυκτὸς οὔσης διεπόρουν, ὅτι ἡ πύλη κεκλεισμένη ἦν· καὶ εἷς ἐξ αὐτῶν ὀνόματι Βασιλεικὸς ἐξεφώνησεν· Ὦ σταυρὲ φωτεινὲ, καὶ ἐν θαλάττῃ γαληνιάσας[4] καὶ ἐν ἐρήμῳ φῶς φωτίζων ὁδηγήσας, ἐλθὲ νῦν, τὴν βαρυτάτην πύλην ἄνοιξον. καὶ εὐθὺς ἠνεῴχθησαν αἱ πύλαι, ἡ δὲ πόλις πᾶσα ὡς ἐν ἀστραπῇ ἐφωτίζετο,

[1] νέρατα [2] Πατρες [3] οὕτως [4] ἐγαλ.

καὶ διὰ πάσης θυρίδος τὸ φῶς τοῦ σταυροῦ εἰσερχόμενον ἐσαλεύετο· καὶ μεσαζούσης τῆς νυκτὸς ἔκθαμβοι πάντες διεγειρομένοι ἐξεπήδων εἰς τὰς πλατείας, λέγοντες πρὸς ἀλλήλους· Καινὸν θάμβος καὶ ξένον φῶς τὴν πόλιν καταλάμπει ἐν μέσῃ νυκτί. καὶ ὡς ἅπαντες διηπόρουν καὶ σχεδὸν τὸ πλῆθος τῆς πόλεως, Ἑλλήνων τε καὶ Ἰουδαίων καὶ πιστῶν ἀδελφῶν, οἵτινες ἦσαν ἐν τῇ διαβάσει τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου πιστεύσαντες, ἀπερχομένου εἰς τὴν Λαοδικίαν, φωνὴ ἠνέχθη ἀπὸ τῶν οὐρανῶν· Ὦ τὸ πλῆθος τὸ ἔτι ὕπαρχον ἐν τῷ μέσῳ τῆς νυκτὸς ὡς ὅτε νυστάζοντες, ἐπάρατε τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ὑμῶν ἐπὶ τὰ δεξιά, καὶ ἐπικλίνατε τὰ ὦτα· καὶ ἵνα τί οὕτως ἔστε ἔκπληκτοι; καὶ ἐστράφησαν ἅπαντες καὶ εἶδον ἐπὶ τινὸς τόπου τῆς πόλεως σταυρὸν ἑστῶτα ἕως τῶν οὐρανῶν, καὶ ἦσαν ὕμνοι κελαδούμενοι καὶ φωναὶ πολλαί, καὶ κατὰ ῥῆμα ἐπέλεγον· Ἀλληλουΐα· ἡ δόξα τῷ πατρί, ἡ αἴνεσις τῷ ἐσταυρωμένῳ, ἡ τιμὴ τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι.

III. Πολλοὶ δὲ ἠθέλησαν ἐγγίσαι τῷ τόπῳ ἐκείνῳ ἐν ᾧ ἱστήκει ὁ σταυρὸς, καὶ οὐκ ἠδυνήθησαν διὰ τὸ φῶς τῆς ἀστραπῆς· ἦν δὲ ἐκεῖ ἐπίσκοπος ὑπὸ Ἰωάννου κατασταθεὶς, ὅστις μετὰ πρεσβυτέρων κδ' καὶ ψαλτῶν καὶ παρθένων συνκατασφραγίσας ὁ ἐπίσκοπος[1] ἤγγισαν μετὰ φόβου τῷ φανέντι σταυρῷ· καὶ φωνὴ ἠνέχθη ἀπ' οὐρανῶν· Προσέλθατε τῷ τοῦ κυρίου σταυρῷ καὶ φωτίσθητε. προσελθόντες δὲ εἶδον πρὸς τῷ σταυρῷ ἄνδρα ἔκλαμπρον, καὶ τοὺς δέκα φιλοσόφους, καὶ φωνὴ ἐγένετο· Εὐλογημένος εἶ, ἐπίσκοπε Ἐλιφαθὰ, ὅτι τοῦτο τὸ ὄνομά σου· εὐλογημένον τὸ ποιμνίον σου ὅτι ἑόρακάς με· ἐγὼ γάρ εἰμι Φίλιππος ὁ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀπόστολος, καὶ ἐν Ὀφιορύμῳ σταυρωθεὶς ἀντικεῖμαι, ἐν δὲ τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ ἡσυχάζω· καὶ ποίησόν μοι οἰκοδόμημα καὶ βλαστήσουσιν ἀκήρατα ἄνθη· καὶ πρόσεχε πῶς ἡ γῆ ἀνοίγει ἑαυτὴν καὶ ἁπλοῖ τόπον ἵνα δέξηταί μου τὰ λείψανα. καὶ πολλαὶ φωναὶ ἤχησαν ἐν οὐρανοῖς τὸ Ἀμήν· καὶ τὸ Ἀλληλουΐα. καὶ ἀνελήμφθη ὁ σταυρὸς καὶ ἐλάλησεν τῷ Φιλίππῳ· Ἰδοὺ ὁ τόπος τῆς καταπαύσεώς σου ἕως ἔλθω ἐν τῇ δόξῃ τοῦ πατρός μου, καὶ ἐξυπνίσω σε· ἀπόλαβε δὲ νῦν τὸν στέφανον τῆς ἀποστολῆς σου ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, ὅπου εἰμὶ ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ τοῦ πατρός μου καθεζόμενος.

IV. Καὶ λαμπρᾶς ἡμέρας γενομένης ἤνοιξεν ἡ γῆ ἄνοιγμα εὐωδίας, καὶ κατέθεντο οἱ φιλοσόφοι τοῦ ἁγίου Φιλίππου τὰ

[1] ? συνκατασφραγισαμένοι ἑαυτοὺς

λείψανα χαίροντες ἐν ἀγαλλιάσει· καὶ συνέδραμον πᾶσα ἡ πόλις καὶ ἐγέμισαν τὸν τόπον ἀρωμάτων πολυτίμων· καὶ συνήγαγεν ἡ γῆ πάλιν τὸ ἄνοιγμα, καὶ ἐσκεπάσθη τὰ ὀστέα τὰ <τι>μιώτερα τῶν ἀρωμάτων. ὁ δὲ ἐπίσκοπος προσήνεγκεν προσφορὰν τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ υἱῷ καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι, ἐνδόξως εἰπόντες τὸ Ἀμήν· καὶ ὡς ἕκαστος ἐπορεύετο ἀπὸ τοῦ τόπου, φωναὶ θορύβων καὶ κλαυθμὸς πολὺς ἠκούετο καὶ μάστιγες, ὡς ὅτι Πᾶσα ἡ δαιμονικὴ φύσις ὑπὸ τοῦ σταυροῦ κατήργηται, καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ὁ διάβολος ἐξερρίζωται[1], καὶ πανταχόθεν ἠτονήσαμεν φυγαδευόμενοι· ἀπὸ Ῥώμης ἐδιώχθημεν, ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀπαμέας, ἀπὸ τῆς Γαλιλαίας, ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀχαίας καὶ τῆς Ἰνδίας· εἰς τὴν Περσικὴν χώραν ἐπεδημήσαμεν καὶ ὁ σταυρωθεὶς ἠπείλησεν ἡμῖν ἄσβεστον φλόγαν· μέχρι δὲ καὶ νῦν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἱερᾶς πόλεως, ὅθεν ἐκβαλλόμεθα τῶν λειψάνων τοῦ Φιλίππου ἐπιδημησάντων, ὃς τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἡμᾶς καὶ τῆς Ὀφιορύμου καὶ τῆς Γάζης καὶ Ἀζώτου καὶ Σαμαρίας καὶ τῶν Καυδακηνῶν γῆς ἐφυγάδευσεν· καὶ νῦν τὰ τοῦ Φιλίππου λείψανα ἡμῖν εἰς ὄλεθρον ἐληλύθασιν, τῇ δὲ πόλει σωτηρίαν εὐηγγελίσαντο.

V. Πάντας δὲ τοὺς ἀκούσαντας φόβος ἔλαβεν, καὶ λοιπὸν χαρὰ μεγάλη ἦν ἐν τῇ πόλει· διαδραμόντες γὰρ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ πάσας τὰς χώρας τῆς Λαοδικίας[2] διήγγειλαν ὅτι Φίλιππος ὁ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀπόστολος ἐπιφανεὶς τῇ Ἱερᾷ πόλει ἀνεπαύσατο διὰ τοῦ ἐπιφανέντος σταυροῦ τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ· καὶ ἐν ὀλίγαις ἡμέραις πολλοὶ ἰάσεως καὶ θεραπείας ἐτύχοντο[3], δοξάζοντες τὸν θεὸν καὶ τὴν μνήμην τελοῦντες τοῦ ἁγίου ἀποστόλου Φιλίππου, εἰς δόξαν πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου πνεύματος, ᾧ μόνῳ ἡ μεγαλωσύνη εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.

[1] ἐξεριζοτε [2] ἀλοδικίας [3] πολλαῖς ἰάσεις καὶ θερ. ἐτοίχωντο

FOUR APOCRYPHAL FRAGMENTS IN LATIN.

THE manuscript from which the four fragments here printed are taken became known to me through the publication of Herr Schenkl's valuable *Bibliotheca Patrum Latinorum Britannica*, the second part of which contains a catalogue of a portion of the great Phillipps collection of MSS. now at Thirlestane House, Cheltenham. Schenkl's description of the volume (l. c. p. 13) may be appended, with additional notes of my own.

391 4° vellum, saec. XI. exeuntis [ff. 92, written in double columns in a fine small hand]. Hieronymi Opera:

1. De quaestionibus Hebraicis libri vii. [There is a fine initial to this on fol. 1 *b*, in red outline.]
2. De decem temptationibus in deserto.
3. In canticum Debore.
4. De quaestionibus hebraicis Regum libri iii.
5. De quaestionibus hebraicis Paralipomenon libri ii. f. 44 *b*.
6. [12 in Schenkl] Hieronymus in abacuc prophetam.
7. De ieiuniis disputatio [f. 45; ends on f. 45 *b* col. 2, f. 46 *a* is blank].
8. Cronica succincte scripta de regno hebreorum f. 46 *b*.
9. Isidori liber proemiorum de librorum ueteris et noui testamenti plenitudine, etc. f. 47 *a*.
10. [Quaestiones librorum noui testamenti f. 50 *b*.
11. The Hebrew alphabet, with explanations, f. 51 *b*.]
12. Hieronymi interpretatio nominum hebraicorum.
13. Isidori de ortu de obitu sanctorum f. 74.
14. Epistola Isidori ad Orosium. Defloratio eiusdem in nominatissimis nominibus legis et euangeliorum ad eundem f. 81.
15. Oratio Moysi in die obitus eius f. 87 *b* col. 1.
16. Visio Zenez patris Gothoniel ibid. col. 2.

17. Threnus Seilae Iepthitidis in monte Stelaceo f. 88 col. 1.
18. Citharismus regis Dauid contra demonium Saulis ibid. col. 2.
19. De ponderibus, de liquidis mensuris, de agrestibus mensuris f. 88 *b*.
[20. De termino paschali. De martyriis apostolorum, in two different hands, f. 89 *a* col. 2.
21. Homily on Judas Iscariot in another hand f. 89 *b*, 90 *a*, 91 *b*, 92 *a*.
22. Epistola Eugenii pro liberatione orientalis ecclesiae in a hand of cent. XII. f. 90 *b*, 91 *a*.]

The manuscript was one of a large collection bought from Leander Van Ess by Sir Thomas Phillipps. I am not sure that it did not belong at one time to a monastic library in England. There is a XVth century table of contents on f. 1 *a*, and above it a press mark consisting (like those of the Bury S. Edmund's Library) of a Lombardic capital and an Arabic numeral: it appears to have been C ·1· or ·7·. Above this again have been two lines of writing, now carefully erased, which no doubt contained the name of the monastery.

The names of the items marked 15, 16, 17, 18 were naturally attractive to one on the look out for scraps of apocryphal literature: so, on April 6, I visited Thirlestane House and was enabled by the ready kindness of Mr Fenwick to take a copy of the two pages in question. I think it will be allowed that the matter contained in them has not a few points of interest. It is hardly conceivable that I should be able to elucidate them satisfactorily singlehanded, corrupt as they are and containing matter apparently so little connected for the most part with other uncanonical books. I therefore place them in the hands of scholars, adding only such slight and imperfect comments as I am able to give at the moment.

With regard to the texts: I have printed them as they stand in the MS. with the following alterations: (1) contractions are expanded, (2) proper names have an initial capital, (3) 'ae' is printed for 'e,' (4) colons, commas and semicolons are inserted. The MS. is responsible for the capitals which begin sentences.

1. *The Prayer of Moses.*

The Prayer of Moses bears upon it the marks of being a fragment of a larger work. The word 'adhuc' in the first line seems to show that the speaker is here asking the last of a long series of questions; and again the unexplained word 'tempus' is so introduced as to suggest that it has already been the subject of discussion. There may possibly be a gap between the words 'in gloria' and 'et mortuus est': at least, the MS. indicates the beginning of a new paragraph here by placing the E of 'Et' just outside the line, contrary to its habit.

Next, it appears to me that this fragment is a translation from a Greek original: two words seem to indicate this more especially,—'unanimes' which seems to be a rendering of *ὁμοθυμαδόν*, and 'militum' which means 'the hosts of heaven' and probably stands for *στρατιῶν* or *στρατευμάτων*.

If these two positions be correct, we have further to inquire whether we can determine the source of the fragment, and assign a reason for its occurrence in an eleventh century MS.

I may say at once that I believe it to be a fragment of the conclusion of the *Assumptio Moyseos;* the text has most likely been shortened, just as the text of the Latin fragment of Enoch given above has been shortened, and only just enough has been retained to make the extract intelligible. Probably also, as we shall see, the calculation of dates has been altered from the original text. It is an obvious and a tempting conjecture to assign this new fragment to an old and famous book, but I really do not see any other probable origin for it. And, short as the extract is, it contains several points of connexion with the *Assumptio.*

In the first place, we are sure that a Latin version of that book existed, for we possess a considerable portion of it. The Graecisms

of that version find two parallels in our fragment, as was pointed out above. Again, the calculations in the *Assumptio* are frequently expressed in terms of 'tempora'; here the word 'tempus' is twice used in a similar connexion. Further, we have here the striking phrase 'mutata est effigies eius in gloria'; and we know that in the *Assumptio* (as quoted by Clement of Alexandria, Origen and Evodius) Moses was seen in two forms, one of which was glorious. The attendance of angels upon the obsequies of Moses was plainly narrated in the *Assumptio:* this we gather from the authorities just mentioned, and also from a passage of Epiphanius (*Haer.* IX. 4, p. 28) in which he is generally allowed to be quoting the *Assumptio.* The almost superhuman position assigned to Moses in our fragment agrees very well with such assertions as that 'God foreordained me (Moses) before the foundation of the world to be the mediator of his covenant' *Ass. Mos.* I. 14. There seems, then, to be a good deal to connect the *Assumptio* with our fragment; and it would certainly be difficult to suggest the name of any other Greek book which dealt with the death of Moses and introduced apocalyptic calculations of the kind which we find here.

But there is a very serious obstacle in the way of our assigning this fragment to the Assumption of Moses. The first extant words of that book state that the death of Moses took place in the '2500th year from the creation of the world,' or, according to those who are in the east, in the ...th year (the number is lost) from the 'profectio fynicis.' In order to suit the calculation of our fragment, Moses should have died in the 4500th year of the creation. This date is certainly a good deal at variance with most reckonings of early times, which place his death in about 3800 A.M.

This reckoning of the *Assumptio* agrees well enough with that of the *Book of Jubilees,* which would place the entrance into Canaan in the year 2450 A.M.

Further, the *Assumptio* states that 250 'times' are to elapse before the coming of Messiah. These 'times' are commonly taken to be weeks of years: 250 weeks of years make 1750 years, and $2500 + 1750 = 4250$ years for the duration of the world. With this estimate the calculations of 4 Esdras as estimated by Hilgen-

feld almost agree; they attribute a duration of 4116 years. But this reckoning of Hilgenfeld's is based on a series of conjectures.

Now, the year 2500 (or 2450) A.M., which according to the *Assumptio* is the date of Moses' death, is somewhere about 350 weeks of years from the creation: and 250 more such weeks are to follow it. It is not much out of the way, I think, to indicate the numbers 350 and 250 by the expressions $3\frac{1}{2}$ and $2\frac{1}{2}$. The sum of them is 6. If then in our fragment we read $3\frac{1}{2}$ instead of $4\frac{1}{2}$ we should get a calculation really identical with that of the *Assumptio;* and we could easily see a reason why a Christian transcriber should have altered his original. By substituting $4\frac{1}{2}$ for $3\frac{1}{2}$ he would get a total of 7 (i.e. 7000 years) for the duration of the world; and, reckoning the date of Moses as circa 1400 B.C. he would get 1000 A.D. as the date of the end of the world.

The belief that the world was to last 7000 years (the last millennium being occupied by the reign of the Messiah) is familiar to students of Jewish lore; and it is equally well known that this belief became a Christian one. Only, in later Christian times, the doctrine of a millennial reign fell into discredit, while the duration of 7000 years was still held. I have said that, according to the calculation of our fragment in its present form, the 7000th year would fall in or near the year 1000 A.D. But was it not an almost universal belief in the West that the end of the world was to come in precisely that year? And have we not here an explanation of the occurrence of our fragment in an eleventh century manuscript? I take it that the passage was copied out of the *Assumptio* by some one about the year 1000 because of its remarkable confirmation of a belief then very widely spread, and that the Cheltenham MS. contains a transcript of this selected fragment. My belief is confirmed when, on turning to the Vision of Kenaz, I find a similar duration of 7000 years predicted for the world.

Until, then, some strong reason to the contrary is adduced, I shall continue to believe that in this short fragment we have recovered a part of the lost conclusion of the *Assumptio Moyseos.* But if this belief be correct, we shall hereafter have to recognise

the probability that the Fourth Book of Esdras was directly influenced by the Assumption of Moses. For we can hardly fail to be struck by the similarity of the methods of reckoning and the imagery of the two books. Compare the corrupt clause '†Istic mel; apex magnus:† momenti plenitudo, et ciati (=cyathi) guttum,' with 4 Esdras iv. 48—50. The prophet has asked what proportion of time has yet to come: and in answer to his question a vision is shown to him. A flame passes before him and the smoke remains; a shower passes, and a few drops remain. The smoke and the drops represent the proportion of time as yet unfulfilled. Again, in vi. 9 we are told that there is 'the hand of a man' between this age and the coming one. Compare, again, the $4\frac{1}{2}$ and $2\frac{1}{2}$ 'parts' of our fragment with 4 Esdr. xiv. 11. 'For the world is divided into twelve parts, and ten parts thereof are already past, and half of the eleventh part, and there remains that which follows the half of the eleventh part.' It should be noted, also, that Esdras is said to have been 'assumed' as Moses was. But, after all, is there not a very intelligible reason why the *Assumptio Moyseos* should have had a large share in determining the form of the Fourth Book of Esdras? Esdras, as conceived of by the Jews of the first century, was really a second Moses: he had brought the people out of Captivity and he had restored the Law under the direct inspiration of God. It was, then, a sufficiently obvious course to shape the revelation made to Esdras, and the manner of his departure from the world, on the model of the revelations vouchsafed to Moses at a corresponding point of his career, and of the story of his end as recorded in the Assumption of Moses.

Enough has been said for the present as to the nature of the document. We must pass to a brief consideration of the text. The state of this is not all that could be desired. There is at least one bad corruption, namely, in the words 'Istic mel; apex magnus.' I can at present suggest no satisfactory emendation of these words: the context requires that both phrases should be descriptive of something which represents brief duration. Possibly in the words 'Istic mel' may lurk either 'STIGMA ET' or less probably ICTVS (OCVLI) (cf. 1 Cor. xv. 52) 'the twinkling of an eye,' while for 'apex magnus' I am rather inclined to suggest 'apex

manus,' the tip of the hand or finger, comparing the 'hand of a man' in 4 Esdr. vi. 9.

It is specially noteworthy that our fragment shows no trace of being influenced either by the Vulgate or the LXX.: for instance, the phrase 'secundum os domini' corresponds neither to *διὰ ῥήματος κυρίου* of the latter nor to 'iubente domino' of the former, while it is a literal rendering of the Hebrew of Deut. xxxiv. 5. Most likely the reference to God's promise that He would bury Moses would find its explanation in the lost portion of the *Assumptio*.

The description of the great angelic pageant which escorted Moses to his grave has a parallel in the account of the burial of Adam in the book which Tischendorf edited under the name of the 'Apocalypse of Moses.' The obscure phrase at the end of the fragment 'in lumine totius orbis' may perhaps mean that all the luminaries of the universe assisted at the obsequies, as the sun and moon did at those of Adam; but it may also be an obscured hint of the *νεφέλη φωτοειδής* which for ever covered the site of Moses' grave.

Attention should be once more called to this fact, that the MS. leaves nearly half a column blank at the end of this fragment, whereas the three pieces which follow are copied without gaps between them. This may be accidental; but it may also indicate a consciousness on the part of the scribe (or his archetype) that the two groups (No. 1, and Nos. 2, 3, 4) came from different sources.

Before I leave the Assumption of Moses I may as well put on record the suggestion that Cedrenus made use of that book in his Chronicle. We know that he repeatedly quotes the Book of Jubilees, and we know also that the *Assumptio* was circulated in close connexion with the Book of Jubilees. We find two passages in Cedrenus which deal with the death of Moses: one is on p. 93 of the Paris edition (i. 121 of Migne). *Καὶ θάψας αὐτὸν ὁ λαὸς καὶ κλαύσας ἡμέρας μ', οὐδεὶς εἶδε τὴν ταφὴν αὐτοῦ.* (This is from the LXX. *ἔθαψαν αὐτόν κ.τ.λ.*, Deut. xxxiv. 6.) *καὶ οὐκ ἀνέστη ἔτι προφήτης ἐν Ἰσραὴλ ὡς Μωϋσῆς. ἔκτοτε οὖν καὶ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν φωτοειδὴς νεφέλη ἐπισκιάζει τὸν τόπον ἐκεῖνον ἀμαυροῦσα καὶ ἀποτειχίζουσα τὰς ὄψεις τῶν ὁρώντων ἵνα μὴ γινώσκοιεν αὐτοῦ*

τὸν τάφον εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα. The story about the cloud of light is known to have occurred in the *Assumptio*. The other passage is on p. 140 ed. Par. (171 Migne). Μωϋσῆς δὲ τῷ ια′ μηνὶ τοῦ μ′ ἔτους τῆς ἐξόδου ἑκατοστῷ δὲ εἰκοστῷ ἕτει τῆς ζωῆς αὐτοῦ εὐλογήσας πάντα τὸν λαὸν ἀναβὰς εἰς τὸ ὄρος Ναβὰν (Ναβαῦ LXX.) ἤτοι Ἀμβρεὶμ κείμενον ἐν τῇ (? γῇ) Μωαβιτίδι πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου κατὰ πρόσωπον Ἰεριχὼ καὶ κατοπτεύσας τὴν γῆν τὴν ἐπηγγελμένην αὐτῷ τῷ Ἰσραὴλ ἐτελεύτησε, καὶ οὐκ εἶδεν οὐδεὶς τὸν τάφον αὐτοῦ καὶ οὐκ ἠμαυρώθησαν οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ αὐτοῦ οὐδὲ ἐφθάρησαν τὰ χείλη (χελώνια LXX.) αὐτοῦ. ἐπείραζε δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ διάβολος ὡς ἡμαρτηκότα τῷ θεῷ συνελκύσαι μετὰ τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν. ἀλλ' ἀρχαγγελικῇ διεκρούσθη χειρὶ ὡς προπετὴς καὶ θρασὺς καὶ τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ φίλων δυσμενής· ἐγένετο δὲ νεφέλη καὶ σκότος κατὰ τὸν τόπον, ὡς μὴ ἰδεῖν τινα ποῦ ἐτάφη Μωϋσῆς, καθὼς Ἰώσηπος ἱστορεῖ. According to Jos. *Ant.* iv. 8. 48 προσομιλοῦντος αὐτοῖς ἔτι, νέφους αἰφνίδιον ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ στάντος, ἀφανίζεται κατά τινος φάραγγος. The statements about the attack of Satan and about the cloud at the tomb evidently came directly or indirectly from the *Assumptio*. The date at the beginning of the extract also reads rather like the opening verses of the same book.

Will not some one investigate the Slavonic legends of Moses? They are already in print, and may very possibly contain the whole text of the *Assumptio*.

I have attempted a retranslation of the fragment into Greek, which may possibly prove useful.

ORATIO MOYSI IN DIE OBITVS SVI.

Domine deus, si adhuc potero petere de te iuxta multitudinem misericordiae tuae, non indigneris mihi. Et ostende mihi quanta quantitas temporis transiit, et quanta remansit. Et dixit ad eum: †Istic mel, apex magnus[1]:† momenti plenitudo, et ciati guttum; et omnia compleuit tempus. Quatuor enim semis transiit, et duo semis supersunt. Et audiens Moyses repletus est sensu, et mutata est effigies eius in gloria.

Et mortuus est in gloria secundum os domini, et sepeliuit eum iuxta quod promiserat ei. Et luxerunt angeli in morte eius, et praecedebant eum fulgura et lampades et sagittae omnes unanimes. Et in illa die non est dictus ymnus militum processu Moysis: nec fuit talis dies ex quo fecit dominus hominem super terram, nec erit talis adhuc in sempiternum ut humiliet pro hominibus ymnum angelorum: quoniam ualde amauit eum. Et sepeliuit eum per manus suas super excelsam terram in lumine totius ORBIS.

[1] *leg.* stigma et apex manus.

προσευχὴ μωυσέως ἐν ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ.

Κύριε ὁ θεὸς, εἰ ἔτι δυνήσομαι αἰτῆσαι παρά σου κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος τοῦ ἐλέους σου, μή μοι ὀργίσθῃς· καὶ δεῖξόν μοι πόσον μέγεθος χρόνου παρῆλθεν καὶ πόσον περίεστιν[1]. καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτόν· Στιγμὴ καὶ ἄκρον χειρός· ῥοπῆς πλήρωμα καὶ κυάθου σταγών· καὶ πάντα πεπλήρωκεν ὁ χρόνος· τέσσαρα γὰρ καὶ ἥμισυ παρῆλθεν καὶ δύο καὶ ἥμισυ περίεστιν. καὶ ἀκούσας ὁ Μωϋσῆς ἐνεπλήσθη συνέσεως καὶ ἠλλάγη ἡ ἰδέα αὐτοῦ ἐν δόξῃ.

Καὶ ἀπέθανεν ἐν δόξῃ κατὰ τὸ στόμα τοῦ Κυρίου, καὶ ἔθαψεν αὐτὸν καθ' ὃ ἐπηγγείλατο αὐτῷ. καὶ ἐκόψαντο[2] οἱ ἄγγελοι ἐν τῷ θανάτῳ αὐτοῦ· καὶ προῆγον[3] αὐτὸν ἀστραπαὶ καὶ λαμπάδες καὶ βέλη πάντα ὁμοθυμαδόν. καὶ ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ οὐκ ἐλέχθη[4] ὁ ὕμνος τῶν στρατευμάτων ἐν τῇ ἐξελεύσει[5] τοῦ Μωϋσέως· καὶ οὐκ ἐγένετο ἡμέρα τοιαύτη ἐξ οὗ ἐποίησεν Κύριος ἄνθρωπον ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, οὐδὲ ἔσται τοιαύτη ἔτι εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, ἵνα ταπεινώσῃ δι' ἀνθρώπους τὸν ὕμνον τῶν ἀγγέλων, διότι σφόδρα ἠγάπησεν αὐτόν. καὶ ἔθαψεν αὐτὸν διὰ χειρῶν αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ ὑψηλῆς γῆς ἐν τῷ φωτὶ ὅλου τοῦ κόσμου.

[1] *περιλέλοιπεν?* [2] *ἔκλαυσαν?*
[3] Possibly *προῆγον αὐτὸν ἀστραπαῖς κ. λαμπάσιν κ. βέλεσιν πάντες.*
[4] *ἐλαλήθη?* [5] *προελεύσει uel ἐκφορᾷ?*

2. *The Vision of Kenaz.*

The second of our extracts is as puzzling a document as one could well wish for. What is its meaning, source, date and purpose? Is it merely a mediaeval attempt at imitating Old Testament prophecy, or is it a real relic of pre-Christian or non-Christian Jewish literature? The answers to some of these questions must be attempted by an editor; but the editor has every right, I think, to ask for some indulgence on the part of his critics; for at first sight there seems to be no corner of apocryphal literature into which we can fit this odd fragment, so completely without context or connexions does it come before us.

It may be asked in the first place whether Latin be the original language of the fragment. This question, it seems to me, must be answered in the negative. There are not many indications to guide us, but such as there are point to a Greek original. Thus the name Gothoniel in the title is the LXX., not the Vulgate form of Othniel[1]. The name Zenez is in no way decisive, for Cenez is the Latin, and Κενέζ the Greek form of the name; and neither C nor K seems particularly liable to be corrupted into Z. In l. 19 'ecce dum mutauit' may point to a misreading of ἰδοὺ for ἴδον; in l. 20 'inter medium...fundamentum superioris et inferioris' may be a clumsy rendering of ἀνὰ μέσον with the genitive; in l. 31 'nesciebat quae locutus fuerat neque quae uiderat' does look like the literal rendering of a Greek double negative. Yet, however few the isolated points which betray the fact that we have a translation before us, the impression gained from reading the whole Vision is very strongly in favour of such an idea. One is constantly being tempted to retranslate into Greek; and the effect of the process is to smooth down and simplify the style, if not the meaning, of the rather rugged and certainly obscure Latin; a result which could hardly be expected if Latin were indeed the

[1] In the Latin (metrical) Heptateuch on Judg. 11 his name appears as Crotoniezelus.

original language. The general impression is to me convincing in favour of a Greek original.

We must next inquire whether this Vision is an extract from a larger pseudepigraphic work or whether it is a complete whole in any sense. Reasons have been given for believing that the Prayer of Moses is a fragment of the *Assumptio Moyseos*. But can we assign to this document a similar origin? No apocryphal book whose name is known to us seems to have dealt with the times of Joshua or of the Judges. But it is possible that the opening words of the fragment may help us; in these, the 'seniores' are mentioned, that is, the Elders of Israel. Now, we know that there was a book which contained prophecies or revelations attributed to two of the seventy or seventy-two Elders. This was the book 'Eldad and Modad,' of which a single clause is quoted in the Shepherd of Hermas (*Vis.* ii. 34) *ἐγγὺς κύριος τοῖς ἐπιστρεφομένοις, ὡς γέγραπται ἐν τῷ* Ἐλδὰδ *καὶ* Μωδὰτ *τοῖς προφητεύσασιν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ τῷ λαῷ*: the book was a short one of 400 *στίχοι*, and apparently existed in Latin, for it was condemned in the so-called Gelasian Decree, as 'Liber Heldam et Modal apocryphus.' It may have been the case that Kenaz was traditionally included in the number of the Elders, and that besides the prophecies uttered by Eldad and Medad, the chief heroes of the book, visions vouchsafed to others of the seventy were therein included.

But for my own part I do not think that this view of the origin of our document is the right one, although at first it attracted me. It seems to me that we ought to take into account the position in which we find the Vision. In the MS. it is separated by a short gap from the Prayer of Moses, and placed in close connexion with the Lamentation of Seila, Jephthah's daughter, which is followed as closely by the Song of David before Saul. Is there anything in the way of the hypothesis that these three writings are really nothing more than supplements to the historical books of the Old Testament? There is certainly a considerable wealth of analogies which favour such an idea. In Job ii. 9 the LXX. put a short lamentation into the mouth of Job's wife, which has affinities, by the way, with the apocryphal Testament of Job. In the Greek version of the Book of Esther it is well known that a number of

supplements have been introduced, some of them with the distinct idea of importing a religious element into the story. In the Book of Daniel, besides the additional chapters at the beginning and end, we have the well-known canticle inserted in ch. iii. in both the extant Greek versions. Again, the Prayer of Manasses was very probably written for insertion into the text of 2 Chronicles; certainly it was the mention of such a prayer in the canonical book which gave occasion for the writing of the spurious one. So that the view commends itself to me that all the three documents, Vision, Lamentation and Song, are specimens of similar supplements intended either to fill a seeming gap, or to introduce a markedly prophetic element into the narrative, or to satisfy a not illegitimate curiosity. Thus, the Vision of Kenaz would help to attest the existence of the prophetic spirit in the dark times of the Judges; the Lamentation of Seila would supplement and simplify the somewhat curt conclusion of the story of Jephthah; and the Song of David would satisfy a natural desire to know what was the spell which proved so potent to put to flight the evil spirit that troubled Saul.

If it be asked further why Kenaz was selected as the recipient of this mysterious vision, I would answer that it was in all likelihood because of his relation to Caleb, on whom the Spirit of the Lord had rested, and who is known to have figured as a seer in the Assumption of Moses. Moreover, in Judg. iii. 9 it is said that the Spirit of the Lord came upon Othniel the son of Kenaz, an expression which, though it is applied to many of the Judges, might yet strike the writer of this Vision, and be connected by him with the prophetic gifts of Caleb.

It is curious that in the tract of Ps.-Epiphanius *De vitis et mortibus Prophetarum*, in which so many Jewish traditions and apocryphal prophecies have been used, the name of Kenaz occurs without adequate reason in the section upon Jonah. This prophet *κατοικήσας ἐν γῇ Σαὰρ ἀπέθανε, καὶ ἐτάφη ἐν τῷ σπηλαίῳ Καινεζιοῦ κριτοῦ γενομένου μιᾶς φυλῆς ἐν ἡμέραις τῆς ἀναρχίας.*

The reference becomes more intelligible when we discover that Kenaz was a reputed prophet: what may be the source of the assertion that he was 'a judge of one tribe in the days of the Anarchy' I have yet to learn.

We must pass to the interpretation of the vision, which at first sight seemed desperate, but turns out to be simple enough in its main lines. It is a broad and general view of the Creation of the Universe. The 'flames that are not burning' and the 'springs that are *not* awaked from slumber'—for the insertion of a negative seems to me unavoidable—represent the void chaos which preceded the Creation. There is no foundation, no firmament, no mountains and no over-arching vault of the sky. A spark rises from the fireless flame, and like a spider weaves the hollow shield-like form of the lower firmament: out of the stagnant springs rises a foam and arches itself into the upper firmament; while from the light of the invisible place proceed the forms of the human beings who are to inhabit the space between the two firmaments for 7000 years, after which all the structure will be dissolved.

Such seems to be the drift of the vision. The name which ought to fill the blank left in the MS. I conjecture with diffidence may be Adam, or perhaps a numerical equivalent of that name (46 or 2044).

The language and cast of thought strongly resemble that of 4 Esdras; e.g. 'uenae' in the sense of springs (4 Esdr. iv. 7, quantae uenae sunt in principio abyssi, vi. 24), 'corruptibili saeculo' (4 Esdr. iv. 11, corrupto saeculo), 'uenas non expergefactas a somno' (4 Esdr. vii. 31, excitabitur quod nondum uigilat saeculum): compare, too, the description of chaos with 4 Esdr. vi. 1—5. So that it does not seem an unreasonable guess that the Latin version of this and of 4 Esdras may have been made about the same date.

Closer resemblances to the diction and thought of Ezekiel were pointed out to me by Professor Robinson. For instance, compare 'imagines hominum' with *ὁμοίωμα ἀνθρώπου* Ez. i. 9, also i. 26; 'similitudo...tanquam' with *ὁμοίωσις* i. 10; 'fundamentum' with *στερέωμα* i. 22 etc.; 'ecce uox dicens' with *ἰδοὺ φωνὴ ὑπεράνωθεν τοῦ στερεώματος* i. 25; 'cum sederent seniores' with *καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι Ἰούδα ἐκάθηντο ἐνώπιόν μου* viii. 1; 'subdiuum' with *αἴθριον* ix. 3, x. 4; and the idea of the Spirit's sudden descent upon Kenaz as he sat among the elders with the situation in c. viii.

In this case also I have attempted a retranslation into Greek.

VISIO ZENEZ PATRIS GOTHONIEL.

Cum sederent seniores insiluit spiritus sanctus habitans in Zenez et extulit sensum eius: et coepit prophetare dicens: Ecce nunc uideo quae non sperabam, et considero quae non cognoscebam. Audite nunc qui habitatis super terram. Sicut commorantes in ea prophetauerunt ante me uidentes horam hanc priusquam corrumperetur terra, ut cognoscatis praedestinatas prophetationes omnes uos qui habitatis in ea. Ecce nunc uideo flammas non ardentes et audio uenas <non> expergefactas de somno, quibus non est fundamentum, neque fastigia montium nec suspensorium fundamenti considero; sed omnia inapparentia et inuisibilia, quibus locus non est in totum: et cum oculus meus non sciat quid uideat cor meum adinueniet quae discat. De flamma autem quam uideo non ardentem, uidi, et ecce scintilla ascendit, et quasi substrauit sibi subdiuum; et erat similitudo substrati eius tanquam aranea ortiens[1] in modum scuti. Et dum factum esset fundamentum, uidi de uena illa excitabatur quasi spumam ebullientem, et ecce dum mutauit se tanquam in aliud fundamentum. Inter medium autem fundamentum superioris et inferioris de lumine inuisibilis loci aduenerunt quasi imagines hominum et perambulabant: et ecce uox dicens: Haec fundamenta erunt hominibus habitantibus in eis annis vii. Et fundamentum inferius substratum erat, superius autem despumauerat[2]; et qui processerunt de luce inuisibilis loci hii erunt qui habitabunt; et nomen
f. 88 a hominis illius[3]. Et erit cum peccauerit mihi et completum fuerit tempus, extinguetur scintilla et pausabit uena, et sic mutabuntur. Et factum est cum locutus fuisset Zenez uerba haec expergefactus est et reuersus est sensus eius in eum. Ipse autem nesciebat quae locutus fuerat neque quae uiderat. Hoc autem solum dixit populo: Si sic est requies iustorum postea quam defuncti fuerint, oportet eos mori corruptibili saeculo, ut non uideant peccata. Et cum haec dixisset Zenez, defunctus est et dormiuit cum patribus suis: et planxit eum populus xxx diebus.

[1] *sc.* ordiens
[2] *sc.* de spuma erat
[3] A blank of three or four letters in the MS. after the word.

ὅρασις ζενὲζ πατρὸς γοθονιήλ.

Καθημένων τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἐφήλατο τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον τὸ κατοικοῦν εἰς Ζενὲζ καὶ ἐξέστησεν τὴν σύνεσιν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἤρξατο προφητεύειν λέγων· Ἰδοὺ νῦν βλέπω ἃ οὐκ ἤλπιζον καὶ κατανοῶ ἃ οὐκ ἔγνων[1]. ἀκούσατε νῦν οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς· ὥσπερ οἱ διαμένοντες ἐν αὐτῇ ἐπροφήτευσαν πρὸ ἐμοῦ, ἰδόντες τὴν ὥραν ταύτην πρὸ τοῦ φθαρῆναι τὴν γῆν· ἵνα γινώσκητε τὰς προωρισμένας προφητείας πάντες ὑμεῖς οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐν αὐτῇ. ἰδοὺ νῦν βλέπω φλόγας μὴ καιομένας[2] καὶ ἀκούω πηγὰς <μὴ> ἐγερθείσας ἐξ ὕπνου· οἷς οὐκ ἔστι στερέωμα· οὐδὲ ἄκρα ὀρέων οὐδὲ μετέωρα[3] στερεώματος κατανοῶ· ἀλλὰ πάντα ἀφανῆ καὶ ἀόρατα, οἷς οὐκ ἔστι τόπος καθόλου. καὶ ἐπεὶ ὁ ὀφθαλμός μου οὐ γινώσκει τί βλέπει, ἐξευρήσεται ἡ καρδία μου τίνα μαθήσεται[4]. ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς φλογὸς ἣν βλέπω μὴ καιομένην εἶδον καὶ ἰδοὺ σπινθὴρ ἀνέβη καὶ ὡσεὶ ὑπέστρωσεν ἑαυτῷ ὑπαίθριον· καὶ ἦν τὸ ὁμοίωμα τοῦ ὑποστρώματος αὐτοῦ ὥσπερ ἀράχνη ὑφαίνουσα τρόπῳ θυρεοῦ[5]. καὶ ὅτε ἐγένετο στερέωμα, εἶδον[6] <καὶ ἰδοὺ> ἀπὸ τῆς πηγῆς ἐκείνης ἠγέρθη ὡσεὶ ἀφρὸς παφλάζουσα[7]· καὶ ἴδον ἕως ὅτου ἤλλαξεν ἑαυτὴν ὡς εἰς ἕτερον στερέωμα· ἀνὰ μέσον δὲ τοῦ στερεώματος τοῦ ἀνωτέρου καὶ τοῦ κατωτέρου ἐκ τοῦ φέγγους τοῦ ἀοράτου τόπου προ[σ]ῆλθον ὡσεὶ ὁμοιώματα ἀνθρώπων καὶ περιεπάτουν[8]. καὶ ἰδοὺ φωνὴ λέγουσα· Ταῦτα τὰ στερεώματα ἔσονται ἀνθρώποις τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἔτεσιν ζ. καὶ τὰ στερεώματα, τὸ μὲν κατώτερον ὑπεστρωμένον ἦν, τὸ δὲ ἀνώτερον ἐξ ἀφροῦ ἐγένετο· καὶ οἱ προελθόντες ἐκ τοῦ φέγγους τοῦ ἀοράτου τόπου, οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ κατοικήσοντες· καὶ ὄνομα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐκείνου <ΑΔΑΜ>· καὶ ἔσται ὅταν ἁμαρτήσῃ κατ' ἐμοῦ καὶ πληρωθῇ ὁ χρόνος, κατασβεσθήσεται ὁ σπινθὴρ καὶ παυθήσεται ἡ πηγὴ, καὶ οὕτως ἀλλαγήσονται. καὶ ἐγένετο μετὰ τὸ λαλῆσαι τὸν Ζενὲζ τὰ ῥήματα ταῦτα ἐξυπνίσθη καὶ ὑπέστρεψεν ἡ σύνεσις αὐτοῦ εἰς αὐτόν· αὐτὸς δὲ οὐκ ἐγίνωσκεν τίνα ἐλάλησεν οὐδὲ τίνα ἑώρακεν· τοῦτο δὲ μόνον εἶπεν τῷ λαῷ· Εἰ οὕτως ἐστιν ἡ ἀνάπαυσις τῶν δικαίων μετὰ τὸ τελευτῆσαι αὐτοὺς, συμφέρει αὐτοῖς ἀποθνήσκειν τῷ φθαρτῷ αἰῶνι, ἵνα μὴ ἴδωσι τὰ ἁμαρτήματα. καὶ μετὰ τὸ εἰπεῖν ταῦτα τὸν Ζενὲζ, ἐτελεύτησεν καὶ ἐκοιμήθη μετὰ τῶν πατέρων αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἔκλαυσεν αὐτὸν ὁ λαὸς ἡμέρας λ'.

[1] ἐπέγνων? [2] uel φλεγομένας [3] αἰώρημα? [4] λαλήσει, = dicat?
[5] ἀσπίδος? uel κύτους cf. Clem. Hom. vi. 4 Orpheus. οὕτως σφαιροειδὲς πανταχόθεν συνελήφθη κύτος.
[6] uel ἰδοὺ [7] ἀναζέουσα [8] uel ἀνεστρέφοντο

3. *The Lamentation of Seila.*

The theory advanced above as to the origin and character of the Vision of Kenaz applies to both of the other fragments,—this and the following one. It will not, therefore, be necessary to do more than attempt in these introductory remarks to throw light on the difficult points in the Lamentation of Seila, or to ask others to perform that service for us.

In the first place, I do not find elsewhere any occurrence of the name Seila for Jephthah's daughter[1], or of Stelac for the mountain to which she resorted. In the next place, I would note that the process of retranslation into Greek helps to clear up some difficulties in this case also; thus, lines 7—10 become simpler in the Greek, if we render them as follows; *ἵνα ὁ πατὴρ μὴ βιάσηται τὴν θυγατέρα ἣν ὤμοσεν θῦσαι, ἵνα ὁ ἡγεμὼν ἀκούσῃ τῆς μονογενοῦς αὐτοῦ τῆς ἐπηγγελμένης εἰς ὁλοκαύτωμα;* again 'utor' with the genitive in l. 12 may well be a Graecism, and 'froniuit' is probably an assimilation to an original *ηὔφρανεν*. Further, in l. 22 'conuirgines' corresponds closely to *συνεταιρίδες*, which is the word used in the LXX. of Judg. xi. 37. The words 'ecce quomodo *accusor*' in l. 5, are still obscure to me; very likely they are a rendering of *ἰδοὺ πῶς διαβέβλημαι.*

Perhaps I may be forgiven for introducing here an odd parallel from comparatively modern literature. Giacomo Carissimi, in his little oratorio *Iephte*, written about 1650, has introduced a lament of Jephthah's daughter, which I transcribe here for purposes of comparison, as it happens to be in Latin. No doubt parallels are to be discovered by dozens in the literature of the last three centuries. Carissimi's lamentation runs as follows:

Abiit ergo in montes filia Iephte et plorabat cum sodalibus uirginitatem suam, dicens: Plorate colles, dolete montes, et in afflictione cordis mei ululate. Ecce moriar uirgo et non potero

[1] Handel's librettist called her Iphis, with an obvious reference to Iphigenia. In one of the *Onomastica* (Lagarde p. 185) we have the entry *Σείλα ἐλπίς.*

morte mea meis filiis consolari. Ingemiscite siluae, fontes et flumina, in interitu uirginis lachrimate. Heu me dolentem in laetitia populi, in uictoria Israel et gloria patris mei! Ego sine filiis uirgo, ego filia unigenita moriar et non uiuam. Exhorrescite rupes, obstupescite colles, valles et cauernae in sonitu horribili resonate! Plorate filii Israel, plorate uirginitatem meam, et Iephte filiam unigenitam in carmine doloris lamentamini.

This composition seems to me to give a fair idea of what we should have read, had the *Threnus Seilae* been merely a mediaeval Latin composition on this obvious theme, instead of a version of a comparatively early Greek document, dating perhaps from the first century.

THRENVS SEILAE IEPTHITIDIS IN MONTE STELACEO[1].

Venit filia Iepte in montem Stelac et cepit plorare. Et hic threnus eius in quo plangens plorauit se : et dixit : Audite montes threnum meum, et intendite colles lacrimas oculorum meorum, et testes estote petrae in planctu animae meae. Ecce quomodo accusor sed non in uanum recipietur anima mea. Proficiscantur uerba mea in caelis et scribantur lacrimae meae ante conspectum firmamenti, ut pater non expugnet filiam quam deuouit sacrificare, ut princeps illius unigenitam audiat in sacrificio promissam. Ego autem non sum saturata thalamo meo, nec repleta sum coronis nuptiarum mearum. Non enim uestita sum splendore sedens in ingenuitate mea, et non sum usa preciosi odoramenti mei, nec froniuit animam meam oleum unctionis quod praeparatum est mihi. O mater, inuanum peperisti unigenitam tuam et genuisti eam super terram, quoniam factus est infernus thalamus meus. Confectio omnis olei quam praeparauit mihi mater mea effundatur, et alba quam neuit mihi tinea comedat, et corona quam
f.88a col.2 intexuit mea nutrix in tempore || marcescat, et stratoria quae texuit mihi de iacincto et purpura uermis ea corrumpat. Et referentes de me conuirgines meae cum gemitu per dies pla<n>gant me. Inclinate arbores ramos uestros et plangite iuuentutem meam : uenite ferae siluarum et conculcate supra uirginitatem meam, quoniam abscisi sunt anni mei, et tempus uitae meae in tenebris inueterauit. Et his dictis reuersa est Seila ad patrem suum, et ipse fecit omnia quaecunque iurauit, et obtulit holocaustomata[2]. Tunc omnes uirgines Israel conuenerunt et sepelierunt filiam Iepte et planxerunt eam.

[1] *uel* STELAC. Et uenit
[2] *uel* holocaustoma[ta]. tunc

4. *The Song of David.*

The last of our fragments is by no means the least interesting nor the easiest to interpret. It takes the form of a rebuke addressed to the evil spirit which troubled Saul. It begins with a short description of chaos and creation, which strongly recalls the language of the Vision of Kenaz. The demon is then told that the tribes of evil spirits were created after other things, and is warned not to be troublesome, inasmuch as it is a late creation. 'Were I to mention (thy name) directly (or, perhaps, 'with threats'), thou wouldest be restrained in that wherein thou now movest.' Time will show of what a mighty stock David comes: for out of his loins will spring one who will vanquish the spirits. In this last sentence it seems at first sight as though we had a prophecy of Messiah, and a possible Christian touch. But a little consideration will show, I think, that the 'vanquisher of demons' who is to spring from David is not Messiah, but Solomon the king of the Genies, the wizard whose spells produced such marked effects in the time of Josephus; the hero, too, of the *Testament of Solomon*, where he figures almost solely as the restrainer and chastiser of mischievous spirits.

The impression produced by the fragment upon our mind is that it proceeds from the same hand as the Vision of Kenaz. And it is most probable that the same is true of the Lamentation of Seila: the subject in this latter case gave the writer less opportunity to indulge his fancy. It should be noticed, as favouring the theory advanced above as to the purpose and character of these fragments, that the one before us is not written, as we might have expected, in the form of a Psalm, but apparently, to judge from its concluding sentence, for insertion in a framework of narrative.

The retranslation of the Song of David into Greek will perhaps sufficiently indicate the interpretation which I put upon the text. I will just append one illustration of the difficult passage in line 11, which is afforded by the *Testament of Solomon* (Appendix to Migne's *Cedrenus* ii. 1321). A female demon Ὀνοσκελίς (compare the Greek goblin Empusa) is being questioned by Solomon, who asks her what her origin is. She answers: Ἀπὸ *φωνῆς ἀκαίρου τοῦ καλουμένου ἤχου* † *ἀνθρώπου μολίβδου* † *ἀφέντος ἐν ὕλῃ ἐγεννήθην.* Corrupt as the text is, it is plain that an idea similar to that of the words 'de resultatione in chao' underlies it.

CITHARISMVS REGIS DAVID CONTRA DEMONIVM SAVLIS.

Tenebrae et silentium erant antequam fieret saeculum: et locutum est silentium, et apparuerunt tenebrae. Et factum est tunc nomen tuum in compaginatione extensionis quod appellatum <est> superius caelum; inferius uocatum est terra. Et praeceptum est superiori ut plueret secundum tempus eius, et inferiori praeceptum est ut crearet escam omnibus quae facta sunt. Et post haec facta est tribus spirituum uestrorum. Et nunc molesta esse noli tanquam secunda creatura: si comminus[1] memorarer artare[2] in quo ambulas. Aut non audire tibi sufficit, quoniam per ea quae consonant in conspectu tuo multis psallo? Aut immemor es quoniam de resultatione in chaoma tonata[3] est uestra creatura? Argue<n>t autem tempora noua unde natus sum; de quo nascitur post tempus de lateribus meis qui uos domabit. Et cum ymnizaret Dauid parcebat Sauli spiritus.

[1] *uel* cum minis [2] *sc.* artarere [3] *sc.* in chaomate nata *uel* in chao maturata

ΚΙΘΑΡΙΣΜΟΣ ΔΑΥΕΙΔ ΤΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΟΥ ΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΟΥ ΣΑΟΥΛ.

Σκότος καὶ σιγὴ ἦσαν πρὸ τοῦ γενέσθαι τὸν αἰῶνα· καὶ ἐλάλησεν ἡ σιγὴ καὶ ἐφάνη ὁ σκότος. καὶ ἐγένετο τότε τὸ ὄνομά σου ἐν τῇ συμπήξει τῆς ἐκτάσεως, ὅπερ ἐκλήθη, τὸ μὲν ἀνώτερον Οὐρανὸς, τὸ δὲ κατώτερον ἐκλήθη Γῆ. καὶ προστεταγμένον ἦν τῷ μὲν ἀνωτέρῳ ἵνα ὕῃ κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν αὐτοῦ, τῷ δὲ κατωτέρῳ προστεταγμένον ἦν ἵνα ποιήσῃ (παρέχῃ) βρῶμα πᾶσιν τοῖς ἐκτισμένοις. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐκτίσθη ἡ φυλὴ τῶν πνευμάτων ὑμῶν. καὶ νῦν μὴ γίνου παρενοχλῶν, ὡς κτίσμα δευτερεῦον· ἐὰν κατὰ πρόσωπον[1] *ὀνομάσω σε, συσχεθήσῃ*[2] *ἐν ᾧ ἀναστρέφει· ἢ οὐκ ἀρκεῖ σοι ἀκοῦσαι, ὅτι διὰ τῶν ἐνώπιόν σου συμφωνουμένων ἐγὼ πολλοῖς ψάλλω; ἢ οὐκ ἐμνήσθης ὅτι ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν τῷ χάει ἀνακρούσεως† ἐγεννήθη ἡ κτίσις ὑμῶν; ἐλέγξουσι δὲ καιροὶ καινοὶ ἐκ τίνων ἐγεννήθην ἐγώ· ἐξ οὗ μετὰ χρόνον γενηθήσεται ἐκ τῶν πλευρῶν μου ὅστις ὑμᾶς ὑποτάξει*[3]*. καὶ ἐν τῷ ὑμνίζειν τὸν Δαυεὶδ ἀφῆκε τὸ πνεῦμα τὸν Σαούλ.*

[1] *uel ἐν ἀπειλαῖς* (=cum minis)
[2] *θλιβήσῃ*
[3] *καταργήσει Test. Salom. passim.*

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

Visio Pauli.

p. 32, l. 36. †*Nefanda ora*† *genitoribus nostris.* This should be *Vindica nosa genitoribus nostris.* The archetype of the Paris MS. may have been obscure at and near this point; in l. 26 it reads *Magnum est* (or *et*) *scire* for *Agnoscite.*

p. 40, 41. The account of Job here should be compared with that in the apocryphal *Testament of Job*, ed. Mai, *Scriptt. Vett. Nova Collectio*, vii. 180 sqq.

Acta Xanthippae et Polyxenae.

The following illustrations from the Acts of Paul and Thecla may be noted: I quote from the edition of Lipsius.

P. et Th. 7 *καθεσθεῖσα ἐπὶ τῆς σύνεγγυς θυρίδος. X. et P.* vii *ἀποσκοπεύουσα διὰ τῶν θυρίδων.*

P. et Th. 11 *ἀναπηδήσας ἐξῆλθεν εἰς τὸ ἄμφοδον. X. et P.* viii *ἐξεπήδησεν δι' ἑαυτοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ ἄμφοδον.*

P. et Th. 18 *ἡ δὲ Θέκλα νυκτὸς περιελομένη τὰ ψέλια ἔδωκεν τῷ πυλωρῷ*, cf. c. xiii Xanthippe gives money and a girdle to the porter.

P. et Th. 18 *εἰσῆλθεν πρὸς τὸν Παῦλον, καὶ καθίσασα παρὰ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ κ.τ.λ.*, cf. xx *ἐκάθισεν παρὰ τοὺς πόδας τοῦ Παύλου.*

P. et Th. 22 *εἶδεν τὸν κύριον καθήμενον ὡς Παῦλον*, cf. *X. et P.* xv *μεταμορφωθεὶς ἐν σχήματι Παύλου.*

P. et Th. 25 *περικαροῦμαι καὶ ἀκολουθήσω σοι*, and also § 40. *X. et P.* xxxiii *ἄλλαξόν σου τὸ σχῆμα ὡς ἀνήρ.*

P. et Th. 26. The Syriarch Alexander *ἰδὼν τὴν Θ. ἠράσθη αὐτῆς*: *X. et P.* xxxiv an *ἔπαρχος* carries off Polyxena.

P. et Th. 27 *προσέδησαν αὐτὴν λεαίνῃ πικρᾷ...ἡ δὲ λέαινα...περιέλειχεν τοὺς πόδας αὐτῆς. X. et P.* xxxvii *λέαινα πικρά...ἥτις...περιέλειχε τὰ πέλματα τῶν ποδῶν αὐτῆς.*

Narratio Zosimi.

p. 100. vi *Οἴμοι, ὅτι ἡ ἱστορία τοῦ Ἀδὰμ ἐν ἐμοὶ ἀνεκεφαλαιώθη κ.τ.λ.*

These words are found in the *Protev. Jacobi* xiii. 1, where Joseph says *μήτι εἰς ἐμὲ ἀνεκεφαλαιώθη ἡ ἱστορία τοῦ Ἀδάμ; ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν τῇ ὥρᾳ τῆς δοξολογίας αὐτοῦ ἦλθεν ὁ ὄφις καὶ εὗρε τὴν Εὔαν μόνην καὶ ἐξηπάτησεν, οὕτως κἀμοὶ ἐγένετο.*

The employment of the word *τράπεζα* in xviii. and xx. rather recalls the expression in *Didache* 11, *ὁρίζειν τράπεζαν ἐν πνεύματι.*

Enoch.

See Mr Charles's *Book of Enoch* 372 sqq.

Apocalypse of Adam.

Compare with the whole idea of the fragment Victorinus *De Fabrica Mundi, sub fin.*

Constituti sunt itaque sine dubio diei angeli duodecim, noctis angeli duodecim, pro numero scilicet horarum. Hi sunt namque xxiiii testes dierum et noctium, qui sedent ante thronum Dei.

Victorinus has also an interesting passage in this tract on the duration of the world, which he fixes at 7000 years: cf. Barnabas xv. 4 and Gebhardt and Harnack's note, and see further the newly-found portion of Hippolytus on Daniel, ed. Bratke. Bonn, 1891, p. 19 sqq. (Kennedy p. 24).

Description of Antichrist, p. 153.

oculi eius fellini, i.e. felini: Antichrist has the eyes of a cat.

(*oculus*) *sinister glaucus* (cod. *gaudens*) *et duos pupulos habens.* The Syriac word corresponding to *gaudens* is ܢܡܪܬܐ, which, curiously enough, as printed here would mean 'singing': it is the word used to render ᾄδοντες in Eph. v. 19. For notes connected with the Syriac text I am indebted to Mr McLean, Fellow of Christ's College.

The double pupil is the sign of the evil eye. So Pliny *N. H.* vii. 16, esse eiusdem generis in Triballis et Illyris adicit Isigonus, qui uisu quoque effascinent interimantque quos diutius intueantur...notabilius esse quod pupillas binas in singulis habeant oculis. 17, huius generis et feminas in Scythia, quae Bitiae uocantur, prodit Apollonides. Phylarchus et in Ponto Thibiorum genus multosque alios eiusdem naturae, quorum notas tradit in altero oculo geminam pupillam, in altero equi effigiem. 18, feminas quidem omnes ubique uisu nocere quae duplices pupillas habeant Cicero quoque apud nos auctor est. 24, Choromandarum gentem uocat Tauron siluestrem,...oculis glaucis.

Professor Bevan tells me that among Mohammedans lost sinners are conceived of as 'blue-eyed'.

dextrum femur eius macrum. In the 3rd of the Greek descriptions (p. 156) the legs of Antichrist are said to be like those of a cock. In a number of mediaeval pictures, both early and late, the devil has one fleshless leg, e.g. in a fresco in Eton College Chapel.

Iste est falx desolationis (cod. *fallax dilectionis: Syr.* ܡܓܕܠܐ ܕܫܘܪܒܐ, tower of desolation): strangely enough the Syriac would mean 'fallax dilectionis' if we were to read ܡܕܓܠܐ ܕܫܘܒܐ, while a marginal reading in Lagarde's MS. gives ܡܓܠܐ, which is 'scythe'. So that the only reading which is not supported by the Latin is ܡܓܕܠܐ, 'tower'. Was the Latin version made from the Syriac?

The signs in heaven. Compare *Sib. Orac.* ii. 21—38, viii. 244, 5 : also 4 Esdr. vi. 18—24. S. Jerome's xv signs, etc.

Children speaking as soon as born, and prophesying the last times. 4 Esdr. vi. 21, anniculi infantes loquentur uocibus suis. *Enoch* 106. Phlegon *Mirab.* ii (the story of Polycritus' ghost).

Children born grey-headed. Hesiod, *Op. et Dies* 180—1

> Ζεὺς δ' ὀλέσει καὶ τοῦτο γένος μερόπων ἀνθρώπων
> εὖτ' ἂν γεινόμενοι πολιοκρόταφοι τελέθωσιν.

Sib. Orac. ii. 155, ἐκ γενετῆς παῖδες πολιοκρόταφοι γεγαῶτες. *Jubilees* xxiii. 24, 'and the heads of the children will be white with gray hair, and a child of three weeks will appear as old as a man of a hundred years'. Plin. *N. H.* vii. 23, Ctesias scribit in quadam gente Indiae feminas semel in uita parere, genitosque confestim canescere : also § 28.

Dexius erit nomen Antichristi. Two explanations of this occur to me : the first is to read Decius and so get a date either for the composition, or more probably for the excerption from a complete book, of this fragment : the second is to transform DEXIVS into Roman numerals, D · L · X · I · V · C, which gives us the familiar number 666. Both solutions are moderate in their demands on our imagination.

Prayer of Moses, p. 172.

Quatuor enim semis, etc. The conjecture that this number is wrong becomes more probable if we recollect that it is exceedingly likely to have been written in figures (iiii) in the archetype of our MS., just as in the Vision of Kenaz we have the number 7000 in figures. The change of iii to iiii is a very slight one.

ut humiliet pro hominibus ymnum angelorum. Compare *Apoc. Virginis*, p. 123, ll. 5, 6, τοὺς ἀγγέλους τεταπεινωμένους διὰ τοὺς ἁμαρτωλούς.

Lamentation of Seila.

in montem Stelac. For this otherwise unknown name, which seems an impossible transliteration of a Semitic word, the name Gilead has been suggested. The letters ορος Γελααδ might easily become ορος στελακ.

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X. = Acts of Xanthippe and Polyxena.
Z. = Story of Zosimus.
M. = Apocalypse of the Virgin.
S. = Apocalypse of Sedrach.
P. = Translation of Philip.
A. D. = Apocalypse of Adam, Hours of the Day.
A. N. = ,, ,, ,, ,, Night.

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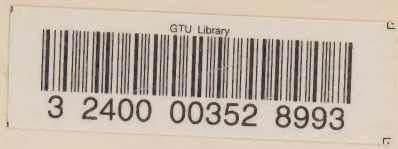

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